

***CREDO IN UNUM DEUM: SITUATING BACH'S B-MINOR MASS WITHIN A
DRESDEN CONTEXT***

by

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B. A., Dordt University, 2013

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

(Music – Musicology)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

January 2023

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Credo in unum Deum: Situating Bach's B-minor Mass Within a Dresden Context

submitted by Joanna Marie Bevaart in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts
in Music – Musicology

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Abstract

The purpose of Bach's completion of his B-minor Mass has, to date, not been fully understood. Although the work was first presented to the Saxon elector as a Kyrie-Gloria *missa* in 1733, the fact that Bach, a staunch Lutheran, included the remaining movements of the mass Ordinary to comprise a full "Catholic" mass in 1748/49 is most intriguing. Many plausible and valid viewpoints have been hypothesized, mainly from the perspective of Bach's own musical tendencies, interests, and circumstances. My research, however, addresses this problem from a wider, contextual point of view, seeking to find answers through contemporary mass writing at the Dresden court. Dresden's importance is clear given its early connections to the mass, and the fact that Bach cultivated significant ties to the city for the remaining years of his life.

Since the Credo movement was Bach's last addition to complete the full mass, and is laden with structural complexity, prominent compositional choices, and interesting theological implications, it will be the focus of this study. To do so, I will explore a selection of extant Dresden Credo movements written within the few decades prior to Bach's own Credo. The late addition of Bach's Credo movement would have allowed him ample time to familiarize himself with these earlier, parallel versions, making the Credo movement an excellent choice for determining a possible Dresden influence. By uncovering the degree to which the Dresden Credo compositions share these musical traits with Bach's, his purpose for writing the full mass can be better understood. To further validate these musical findings, I will also address the cultural and musical context of the city of Dresden, the mass genre more generally, and Bach's own connections to the city. I will show how, despite Bach's personal preoccupation with theological meaning and the *stile antico*, his awareness of the Dresden masses and a possible practical intention for his mass is revealed in his own Credo movement.

Lay Summary

Bach's final composition, the B-minor Mass, is perhaps his most puzzling work to scholars. While Bach had written three of its movements earlier in life, it has never been fully understood why he, a staunch Lutheran, completed a full "Catholic" mass. Plausible theories exist, usually concluding that Bach was exploring the limits of musical styles, or that he was compiling a representation of his best works – all personal purposes.

My focus, however, is to explore the possibility that Bach had practical objectives. Since Bach wrote the original Kyrie-Gloria *missa* for the Dresden court, and continually pursued ties to Dresden, I will explore the musical situation there. Specifically, I will address the Credo movement, for it was Bach's final composition and shows important parallels with Credo movements written by his Dresden contemporaries. Despite the mass's personal character, I will provide evidence that Bach may have had practical intentions for this composition.

Preface

This thesis is the original, unpublished, and independent work of the author, Joanna Marie Bevaart.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Alexander Fisher. Your vast knowledge and expertise, helpful suggestions and guidance, as well as your patience during this project gave me a lot of confidence in and great enjoyment of this endeavour. I am very grateful to have been able to work with you. Thank you also to Dr. Hedy Law for her time and insightful reading of this study, and to Dr. Janice Stockigt for her willingness to answer my questions during my research. Lastly, I am very appreciative of the grant support I received from UBC and from the Elizabeth Lamberton scholarship.

Music has been a continual thread woven throughout my life, and as such, there are additional people who played an important part in it. Special thanks in particular to my undergraduate music professors, Dr. Karen De Mol and Dr. Benjamin Kornelis, who along with my undergraduate vocal instructor, Deb Vogel, first inspired me to learn all I could in the music field, especially around my love of vocal and choral music. A sincere thank you to my post-undergraduate vocal teacher, Marisa Gaetanne, for her constant support and encouragement in my musical activities and in my life. Finally, thank you to my parents as well as my childhood music educators for instilling in me an early love of music, especially the music of Bach. Thank you to all my friends and family who motivated and encouraged me throughout this project as well – my life is richer for all the people and experiences in it.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The persistent question concerning Johann Sebastian Bach's purpose for writing his B-Minor Mass has been given various compelling hypotheses for decades, from a variety of intriguing and valuable standpoints. Still, there is an absence of conclusive evidence as to why Bach chose to devote significant time and energy towards this unusual project. A number of questions have been commonly posed: did Bach have a keen interest in preserving a compendium of his best works in a long-lasting sacred form? Was he interested in pushing the boundaries of the time and experimenting with the limits of the *stile antico* style? Was he simply undertaking a theoretical process for his own enjoyment?

While many of these perspectives on Bach's own reasoning are important and valid, contextual studies are also important to further illuminate Bach's possible objectives. It is for that reason that I have chosen to dedicate my time on this study to the surrounding musical, cultural, and political circumstances in Dresden during the time of the Mass's composition. Since we know that Bach sent the original core of this work, the Missa of 1733, to the elector in Dresden in hopes of achieving the title of court composer, it is relevant to examine musical culture there and to understand how Bach might have sustained his connection to his colleagues and their music at the Dresden court. In particular, I am interested in knowing whether the Dresden mass repertoire exhibits similarities with Bach's mass. If so, could this mean that Bach was purposefully writing in a manner similar to his contemporaries? Was he perhaps composing in a particular Dresden, or even international, style in order to gain favour with the elector there? If so, how might listeners in Dresden have perceived this work? If not, then perhaps he really was more interested in following his own impulses, regardless of the musical styles and fashions

of the time. Ultimately, I believe that the Dresden context may provide important clues regarding Bach's intentions with this work.

It is not only the contextual studies that are important in this paper, however. It is also necessary to examine in-depth the relevant music to more fully ascertain whether or not the music of Bach and of his contemporaries does, in fact, contain similarities. While the entirety of the mass, with its five main movements, provides clues in this regard, it is a giant undertaking to examine the complete composition of not only Bach's mass, but those of his contemporaries that I have included in my research. Therefore, this study will focus on the Credo movement, with a few pertinent glances at the original Kyrie-Gloria core. While Bach's project originally began with the sending of the *Missa* to Dresden in 1733, the final movement of the full mass to be written was the Credo. Indeed, it was written long after: the Sanctus dates from 1724, the Kyrie and Gloria pair were completed by 1733, and the Agnus Dei parodied music of 1735; the Credo, however, was not completed until 1748/49. As a result, it is perhaps the most intriguing and significant portion of the mass to analyze for this study, as it must have had very different influences than the Sanctus of 1724, for example. As we will see, many of the Dresden masses that I examine were written in the time period after 1724, giving Bach ample time and material with which to familiarize himself with before proceeding to complete his own *missa tota*. In addition, the Credo was typically a movement largely recited rather than set to music, especially in Lutheran traditions, but even in some Catholic circles, as we will see. Perhaps the relative newness of its musical settings allowed for greater creativity to emerge from the composers who set it in a concerted fashion. Indeed, George B. Stauffer concludes that it was the most transcendent segment of the mass, as it displays a rich diversity of styles and techniques, perhaps

the perfect container for Bach to display his aesthetic ideals.¹ I would further posit that the Credo held appeal for Bach's contemporaries as well. Thus, its concerted nature and the fact that Bach waited a lengthy amount of time before deciding to completing his mass with largely original music makes it an excellent subject for comparison to the contemporary Dresden repertory.

In order to explore the Dresden context and its music, my study has adopted several tactics to help determine Bach's purpose for his immense final composition. First of all, the situation of Dresden as an important political and cultural city, as well as the history of its musical ensembles, must be understood to provide a broad, opening background. Its development as a cosmopolitan city necessarily included a broad, growing array of instrumental ensembles, internationally-trained musicians, and performing venues. Specifically, court musicians, wind ensembles, operatic soloists, church musicians, court composers, guest virtuosos, and various other city musicians were the bedrock of the musical life of the city, further enhanced by representative venues, such as the court chapel, the opera house, and the various churches, such as the Sophienkirche. The expansion of the court and musical influence under the electors of the time also extended its boundaries into Warsaw when the electors commenced their duties as rulers of Poland from 1697-1763. Finally, the confessional history of Saxony at this point in time is important to address. Why was it that Bach, a devout Lutheran, wrote a full Catholic mass? This puzzling question that has intrigued scholars for years can be elucidated by examining theological currents in Leipzig and Dresden at this time.

From a musical angle, the mass as a genre is important to fully understand. Although the mass form itself was incredibly ancient, and had a substantial received tradition of mass settings in *stile antico* polyphony, by the eighteenth century it had become an elaborate concerted form

¹ George B. Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor* (New York: Schirmer, 1997): 186.

which would persist over decades. As a result of this gradual change towards more complexity, musical theorists took the opportunity to determine certain guidelines and “rules” for the genre (as they did for many other genres and forms), and as we will see, mass writing of this time did largely follow their principles. Nevertheless, we will also see that an eye to the past was important to many of the Dresden composers, and not just Bach. Furthermore, many of these principles can be found in the masses of other major centers, including Italy, Venice, and Vienna, showing that the styles of mass writing during this time were not simply limited to regional tendencies, but rather, were forms appreciated by and important to composers of many different nationalities and sensibilities.

The importance of these broad contextual themes will become apparent when positioning Bach’s own experiences and connections within them. Therefore, I will explore the connections and familiarity that Bach had with Dresden and with mass composition as a whole. Events such as a Bach’s travels to Dresden will be mentioned, as well as the personal acquaintances he had with the Dresden composers. In addition, it is valuable to understand the circumstances of his Leipzig tenure, for his exchanges and relations with the Leipzig council are telling with regards to the latter’s wishes on the trajectory of the city’s musical and theological institutions. Furthermore, although we know that at this time Bach mainly wrote practical music for his Leipzig context, Sunday cantatas being the most prevalent genre, we also know that he did in fact write works for other circumstances, such as Kyrie-Gloria masses. I am interested in further exploring the prevalence of these and other Latin-texted works, whether or not they can be found in his personal library, and perhaps most importantly, if their inclusion and composition correlates to the same time frame as his growing interest in connecting to the Dresden court. Lastly, an important facet of my research involves the *stile antico* tradition that Bach is famous

for. What was his relationship with the *stile antico*, and was this interest solely for his own theoretical enjoyment, or were his contemporaries also interested in exploring this style? Given that Bach explored the limits of this style in many of his works throughout his lifetime, it can sometimes be accepted that it was simply his own personal interest that facilitated its use, and why it is so noticeable in the B-Minor Mass. However, if it can be determined that his contemporaries also actively used this style, a more accurate picture of Bach's intentions for his B-Minor Mass may be drawn.

Alongside this background, it is important to look at the musical styles, forms, and tendencies that Bach and his Dresden contemporaries gravitated towards. In a sense, the music can help to confirm the contextual studies. Therefore, I have compiled a broad list of extant manuscripts of the Credo movements in use at Dresden, many of which were composed by current Dresden composers whom Bach knew and respected. As much as possible, I analyzed these manuscripts and scores in a detailed fashion to look at items such as instrumentation and doubling of voices, the role of obbligato instruments, textual divisions, key structures, instrumental openings and endings alongside ritornello form, the role of operatic writing, and the role of the *stile antico*. These findings are compiled into a chart, which can be seen in Appendix C, in order to clearly lay out patterns, coherence, anomalies, and incongruencies. This snapshot of sacred musical culture in Dresden, alongside an analytical approach to Bach's B-Minor Mass, will surely provide clues as to whether Bach was emulating the styles of the day in hopes of appealing to the elector and having his mass performed in Dresden, or if he was more concerned with creating a lasting, cumulative representation of his life's work. With this data I hope to address the question of whether or not Bach's understanding of the Dresden mass repertory

affected his assumptions about how his own Credo movement should be composed, and how this sheds light on his intentions for the B-Minor Mass as a whole.

Chapter 2: Dresden Settings of the Mass

2.1 Dresden Court Liturgy and Music in the 1730s

Before considering the Dresden mass settings themselves, an exploration of the Dresden court venues and musical ensembles in and around the city, as well as the prevailing court liturgy of the time, is needed in order to provide a necessary background. As the seat of electoral Saxony, Dresden experienced rapid growth in its status, culture, and musical affairs under the electors of the eighteenth century. No longer was it merely another German city. Friedrich August I (ruling from 1694-1733), Friedrich August II (ruling from 1733-1763), and Friedrich Christian (ruling only two months after succeeding Friedrich August II in 1763), Saxon electors from the house of Wettin, placed a high emphasis on the musical life of the court, often due to personal interest, but perhaps especially for the cultural enrichment and prestige it gave to their electorate. On a political and religious level, the conversion of Friedrich August I to Catholicism in 1697 was a catalyst for the establishment of Catholic chapels in and around the city, drawing Bohemian Jesuits to staff them, and attracting even non-Catholic listeners to hear the magnificent music which was to be performed.² As a result of this powerful patronage and correspondingly rich resources, Dresden's esteemed musical establishments and musicians cultivated a style both specific to Dresden as well as a culturally and musically cosmopolitan style. By the eighteenth century, the princely seat of Dresden was ranked with on par with the courts of Naples, Munich, and Versailles, and established musical ties with them as well.³ A contemporary report from Dresden in 1718 notes the impressive cultural climate of the city:

² Janice B. Stockigt, "The Royal Polish and Electoral Saxon Court and State Calendars, 1728-50," in *Bach Studies from Dublin*, eds. Anne Leahy and Yo Tomita (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 49.

³ Janice B. Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," in *Music at German Courts, 1715-1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, eds. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2011), 17.

All arts and sciences seem to unite here in pure pleasure. The extraordinary salaries that the King extends to the players have attracted from Italy, the highest school for music, the best and most excellent masters of this art to Dresden. When Senesino and Berselli sing, and when Lotti sets his melodies, one hears all that music can offer in beauty and tenderness. The entire orchestra is present and filled with the best instruments. The stage, in and of itself, is smaller than that in Vienna, but its equipment and finishing are incomparable.⁴

The Dresden court was comprised of a vast array of venues and musical ensembles, both directly within Dresden itself, and more indirectly through its ties to the court in Warsaw. The musical practices of the court, and thus the venues and ensembles needed were directly impacted throughout the years in the various tastes and interests of the electors, who in turn helped to cultivate a distinctly cosmopolitan style. This can be seen in the time period preceding the focus of this study. The years leading up to 1717 with August I at the helm saw a distinctly French style at court, as the elector showed a predisposition to the French taste, thanks to his *Kavaliersreise* there in 1687 and 1688 and the general interest of the time in French music. His successor, August II, on the other hand, preferred to cultivate the popular Italian style.⁵ Beginning in 1717, the court at Dresden experienced a flowering of even more international sensibilities as a result of the travels of August II (then the electoral Prince), the importing of musicians from places such as Austria, Bohemia, Poland, and Spain, and the hiring of an entire Italian operatic troupe.⁶ By the 1730s, this cosmopolitan style was a typical part of Dresden musical life and enjoyed further growth with the arrival of Johann Adolf Hasse in 1731, whose Italianate training was to impact the court even more. By this time (beginning in 1717) the large, prestigious *Hofkapelle* (“Die Königliche Capell-und-Cammer Musique”) had been divided into

⁴ Referencing an anonymous contemporary report of Dresden in 1718: see Karl Laux, *Die Dresdner Staatskapelle* (Leipzig: VEB Edition, 1963), 27.

⁵ Stockigt, “The Court of Saxony-Dresden,” 17, 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

three components. It included the *Hofkirche*, the Italian opera, and small court chamber ensembles, which were of various sizes and groupings, in order to be flexible and able to accommodate anything from solo cantatas to serenatas for court society in a variety of performance venues.⁷

Working within the main *Hofkapelle* were an array of musicians, often exceptional players on their particular instrument. Records in the *Hof- und Staats-Calender (HStCal)* indicate the following instrumentalists for 1730, a relevant year for the topic at hand: 1 concertmaster, 33 instrumentalists, 10 vocalists, and 4 additional personnel. Fifteen years later, in 1745, the numbers had grown to: 1 *Kapellmeister*, 1 concertmaster, 44 instrumentalists, 16 vocalists (*Majores*), and 6 additional personnel.⁸ Records also indicate that these standard instruments were sometimes supplemented by the recorder, chalumeau, oboe d'amore, viol and viola d'amore when needed, instruments that the "standard" instrumentalists were expected to master.⁹ Among these instrumentalists were notable figures such as Johann Georg Pisendel as concertmaster, Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin and Johann Joachim Quantz as flautists, and Faustina Bordoni-Hasse as a vocalist. It was no accident that such prominent musicians found a place within the Dresden court, and consequently, "an ensemble of a few, elite artists accustomed to playing together made it possible to cultivate ever higher degrees of sophistication in taste."¹⁰ These choice instrumentalists often furthered their education on journeys accompanying the prince on royal trips to Paris, Italy, and Vienna. On such trips they would not only provide entertainment for the Prince, but also interact with other native musicians and virtuosos, thus

⁷ Manfred Fechner, "Dresden. 2. 1694-1763," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed July 26, 2021, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

⁸ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 40-49.

⁹ Fechner, "Dresden. 2. 1694-1763," and Ortrun Landmann, "The Dresden Hofkapelle during the Lifetime of Johann Sebastian Bach," *Early Music* 17, no. 1 (1989): 19.

¹⁰ Landmann, "The Dresden Hofkapelle," 28.

strengthening their own virtuosic capabilities.¹¹ This helped to develop their own competencies on their instruments, leading to the envious acknowledgement of Bach in his 1730 *Entwurf* to the Leipzig town council that Dresden players were good at their craft, and enjoyed regulations specifying a single instrument for each player after August I acceded the throne: “the musicians are [...] obliged each to master but a single instrument; it must be something choice and excellent to hear.”¹² Not only were these regulations distinct compared to other courts of the day, but also in comparison to the other ensembles at the Dresden court.¹³

Of particular note are the wind instruments within the *Hofkapelle*, a relevant point to consider due to the fact that Bach’s B-Minor Mass seems to have placed an unusual emphasis on wind instrumentation. Janice B. Stockigt notes that by 1717, the wind section included two or three flautists, four oboists, three or four bassoonists, as well as two horn players. Incidentally, two *Waldhörner* were purchased in Vienna in 1718, adding to the capabilities of the wind section because they had “silver mouthpieces and two sets of six crooks, [and] would be capable of playing in a minimum of six different keys.”¹⁴ Regarding the horn in particular, Thomas Hiebert has concluded that eighteenth-century Dresden was a hotbed for the horn’s development and usage, likely stemming from the fact that both Friedrich August I and II valued its place both at court and for the hunt. Hiebert notes that horn writing in the Dresden context often was virtuosic, emphasized obligato roles, and experimented with new techniques such as using the clarino

¹¹ Ibid., 22.

¹² Referencing Werner Neumann, ed., *Kalendarium zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Leipzig: Bach-Archiv, 1970). Mary Oleskiewicz has noted that in fact the Dresden musicians may have served on more than one instrument; for example, an oboist also serving on the *chalmereau* or *oboe d’amore* when necessary, and even oboists doubling on the flute or recorder. She posits that Bach may have “stretched the truth” somewhat in this assertion. Mary Oleskiewicz, “For the Church as well as for the Orchestra: J.S. Bach, the Missa, and the Dresden Court, 1700-1750,” *Bach* 38, no. 2 (2007): 3-7. Landmann concurs, stating that players would have been obliged to play on instruments from one family, rather than one instrument alone. Landmann, “The Dresden Hofkapelle,” 17-30.

¹³ Landmann, “The Dresden Hofkapelle,” 20.

¹⁴ Stockigt, “The Court of Saxony-Dresden,” 25.

register and expanding the low register. Even hand-stopping techniques were developed here, especially by Anton Joseph Hampel. Lastly, Hiebert emphasizes the oft-quoted fact that horn players, like the majority of other Dresden instrumentalists, were not required to play another instrument, specifically the trumpet, because of the city's active trumpet guild.¹⁵ As noted above, the *HStCal* of 1730 listed 33 instrumental players, which included 3 flautists, 5 oboists, 3 bassoonists, along with the two *Waldhörner*. By 1745, these numbers had grown to encompass 44 instrumentalists, with the number of oboists rising to six, and bassoonists rising to five.¹⁶ This reveals that indeed, "multiple oboes and bassoons for strengthening the string *tuttis* were consistently used by 1727 at the latest."¹⁷ On the other hand, "cornetts and trombones disappeared altogether in the early years of the 18th century, the former never to return, the latter to reappear only during the 19th century."¹⁸ With respect to the Dresden mass settings that will be analyzed later in Chapter Two, along with Bach's own mass setting, these numbers bear significance, as the settings do in fact place high emphasis on wind instruments.

Just as the electors themselves had their own predilections for certain regional tastes in music, the Dresden musicians also represented a wide variety of nationalities, embracing German, Italian, French, Austrian, Bohemian, Polish, and Spanish players.¹⁹ Both the electors' tastes, and the musicians' experiences contributed to the cosmopolitan nature of the *Hofkapelle*. The *Kapellmeister's* personal contributions had a similar effect as well: the first *Kapellmeister* Johann David Heinichen contributed a native German sensibility, while his successor Johann Adolf Hasse brought a distinctly Italian style even as a native German. Hasse especially helped

¹⁵ Thomas Hiebert, "Virtuosity, Experimentation, and Innovation in Horn Writing from Early 18th-Century Dresden," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 4 (1992): 112-139.

¹⁶ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 40-49.

¹⁷ Landmann, "The Dresden Hofkapelle," 27.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁹ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 23.

to raise the status of the orchestra by adding further strings to the ensemble, insisting on greater technical skill of the instrumentalists, requiring greater precision by solidifying bowing and articulation markings, and creating an original seating plan for his musicians.²⁰ Concertmasters, too, were to have an impact on the orchestra, for example under the leadership of Spanish-born, French-educated concertmaster Jean-Baptiste Volumier, who served from 1709 to 1728. He brought French performance techniques to the ensemble, while at the same time arranging for the delivery of six violins, three violas, and three violoncellos from Antonio Stradivari, probably leading to a more homogeneous string sound within the *Hofkapelle*.²¹ As a result of these developments, contributions, and innovations of the leaders within the *Hofkapelle*, Dresden was viewed as an illustrious place of employment for musicians, and subsequently, these musicians were part of the reason that Dresden gained a place on the European musical map.

As the Catholic seat of Saxony, Dresden also had a prominent court church (*Hofkirche*), which employed its own group of musicians specifically for worship. The *Hofkirche* musicians included the *Kapellknaben*, who were boy, adolescent, and young men choristers (*Juvenes*) and instrumentalists. These musicians were mainly Bohemian, recruited to service when the Dresden court chapel came to be administered by the Jesuit Province of Bohemia in 1710. At this time, there was a paucity of Saxon Catholic children to fulfill this vital choral role in the church liturgy, and so a “constant stream of talented young Bohemian choristers [came] to Dresden.”²² There they would perform the *a capella* repertoire, much of the Ordinary music including litanies, Matins, Vespers, mass Ordinaries, and oratorios, and some of the Solemn music such as

²⁰ David James Wilson, “The Masses of Johann Adolf Hasse,” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1973), 19-21.

²¹ Stockigt, “The Court of Saxony-Dresden,” 24.

²² Janice B. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka: A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 28.

Requiem masses, Easter masses, and masses following the births of electoral progeny, though the Solemn music was delegated to the *Hofkapelle* musicians.²³ They would often stay after their voices broke, and would then typically advance to the *Hofkapelle* itself. Particularly talented singers, such as Franz Benda, would sometimes be given solo roles.²⁴ Just as the number of instrumentalists increased in the court over the years, so too did the number of Bohemian musicians. Stockigt notes that in the *HStCal*, the total number of Bohemian *Kapellknaben* was recorded as ten in 1732, but sixteen in 1733. Working with the *Kapellknaben* were two or three violinists, a double bass player, a choral director, and an organist, sufficient for the performance of four-part music with instrumental doubling of the four voices.²⁵

For the purposes of this study, it is important to investigate whether or not the *Hofkirche* musicians were supplemented on occasion by the stately *Hofkapelle* musicians when greater forces were required, and relevant documents suggest that on some occasions, they did.²⁶ For day-to-day services, the simpler church works could be performed with minimal forces, but Horn notes that larger concerted masses by Heinichen or Jan Dismas Zelenka, for instance, would have had to rely on the addition of more of the *Hofkapelle* musicians.²⁷ In these cases, the *Kapellknaben* would primarily perform the choral movements, and opera singers or other qualified vocalists would perform the solo parts. A typical roster of musicians for a larger concerted mass by Heinichen or Zelenka would have included the following: “2-4 oboes, 4-6

²³ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 68-103.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 68.

²⁵ Wolfgang Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik 1720-1745* (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 1987), 38, and Stockigt, “The Court of Saxony-Dresden,” 22.

²⁶ A Jesuit Diarium entry dated 19 October 1716 reads: ‘Some royal musicians who help in the church had lunch here.’ It is recognized that invitations to dine at the Jesuit house were reciprocal gestures for support given. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 75. Another entry from Christmas Eve 1710 notes that ‘the king attended the mass.’ The specific mention of his presence suggests a unique occasion: “Am Heiligen Abend 1710 wohnte der König der Messe bei; daß seine Anwesenheit eigens erwähnt wird, spricht dafür, daß sie den Charakter des Außergewöhnlichen hatte.” Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 40.

²⁷ Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 38.

first and second violins, 2-4 violas, a richly differentiated continuo, theorbo, 2-4 violoncellos, 2-3 bassoons, and probably 2-4 double basses. This would have been enlarged for great festivities, such as weddings.”²⁸ With the arrival of Hasse and the continued expansion of performing forces, these numbers would have grown to “16 vocal parts (8 castrato and male voices, 8 *Kapellknaben*), 6-8 first and second violins, 4 violas, a strong basso continuo with changing instrumentation and the wind instruments required in each case.”²⁹ Forces of this number would have necessitated resources from court. Another facet that shows the fluidity between court and church musicians is the possibility that these talented *Kapellknaben* singers were used in the service of other court musical activities as well, such as the opera.³⁰

The numbers of the *Kapellknaben* waxed and waned over the years, partly responding to financial cutbacks in 1733³¹, and to the greater use of Italian trained opera singers who were obliged to provide their services in the church. However, the group was still retained and even re-formed in 1734, according to records from 24 December.³² Particularly after 1720, church music in Dresden was cultivated in a manner appropriate to the court of a Catholic prince, and although Wolfgang Horn notes that we have a scarcity of clues as to what this looked like, it is possible that church music was not quite as modest as the minimal, more logistical notes in the Jesuit Diarium suggest.³³ Indeed, the high caliber of these *Kapellknaben* and their supplementary forces was highly regarded by both the Catholic and Protestant communities, as the annual report from 1717 suggests: “the masses and motets performed by the *Kapellknaben* seem to have won secret admirers for the Catholic cult, even among Protestants...they give the

²⁸ Ibid., 194. Trans.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 70.

³¹ Reports in the Diarium of 1733 note that on 29 July, all but six of the *Kapellknaben* were to be discharged at the decision of Friedrich August II. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 200-201.

³² Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 214.

³³ Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 40.

services in our church a more festive shape...the Catholic high offices are far more glorious than theirs [the Lutheran services].”³⁴

Since various ensembles were combined for especially festal events, it is pertinent to note other ensembles of the Dresden court that would have been called upon as needed. As a prominent court, Dresden also had a selection of trumpeters, drummers, hunting, and military ensembles. The *Hoftrumpeter und Paucker* consisted of twelve trumpeters and two kettledrummers, as well as apprentice members, who served the court as “field” or “musical” players. They were often contracted to the *Kapelle* and opera performances, and used for other formal occasions such as processions, banquets, and courtly polonaises.³⁵ For more outdoor music, the *Bock-und Jagd-Pfeifer* often were found at events associated with competitions and hunts, but they could often be called upon for other appointments such as dinners and balls. This ensemble may have resembled that of the court of Württemberg, consisting of Polish bagpipes and violins of various sizes. Despite their outdoor characteristics, they also played indoors: for instance, they were used for dancing in the parade hall of the palace following the performance of Hasse’s *Demofonte* at Carnival in 1748.³⁶ Ortrun Landmann writes that the *Bock-Pfeifer* numbered between twelve to sixteen players, while the *Jagdpfeifer* comprised around ten players.³⁷ In addition to these groups, other military ensembles with wind and percussion players could also be found, often unnamed, but nonetheless present in the *HStCal*. Of note as well is that August II employed a French oboe band, many of whom were kept on as royal musicians even after all musicians of the Dresden court had been dismissed in 1707. August II was keen to

³⁴ Ibid., 37. Trans.

³⁵ Stockigt, “The Court of Saxony-Dresden,” 20.

³⁶ Ibid., 20-21.

³⁷ Landmann, “The Dresden Hofkapelle,” 24.

showcase this up-to-date French style ensemble of woodwind musicians, “which had recently undergone radical development within the French court orchestra.”³⁸

Finally, aside from the multitude of musicians specifically employed or contracted for the benefit of court life, there were many other musicians who worked in and around Dresden at this time. These included instrumentalists of the *Stadtmusik* as well as freelance musicians whose services may well have been called upon as supernumeraries for various events.³⁹ Intriguingly, Stockigt has noted in the autobiography of Bach’s Leipzig successor, Johann Gottlob Harrer, that he “became so accomplished [in music] that the Most August Friedrich Augustus, King of the Poles, deemed me worthy to be appointed as a supernumerary member of the *musicus chorus* in addition to the ordinary number of singers which, through the King’s beneficence, is nurtured in the court.”⁴⁰ Overall, this evidence suggests that the many musicians in and around the Dresden court worked together for the primary benefit of providing high-caliber music befitting a princely electorate.

The Dresden opera house was yet another central aspect of court life. Like the other musical ensembles mentioned, it too participated in the exchange of personnel between court and church life in Dresden. The first operatic premiere of the newly built opera house was Antonio Lotti’s *Teofane*, performed on 13 September 1719, with Lotti’s operatic troupe being hired to work in Dresden. The new orchestra pit was capable of holding thirty-eight to forty-one musicians.⁴¹ As we saw with the *Hofkirche* personnel, however, the Dresden opera house also experienced its rocky moments of expansion and contraction, for soon after in 1720, the opera

³⁸ Stockigt, “The Court of Saxony-Dresden,” 23.

³⁹ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 68.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 75. Referencing a facsimile of the autobiography presented in Wolfgang Reich, “‘Chorus’ und ‘Musici regii’ an der Dresdner katholischen Hofkirche in der Ära Augusts des Starken,” in *Musica Conservata: Günter Brosche zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. J. Gmeiner et al. (Tutzing, 1999), 321-39.

⁴¹ Stockigt, “The Court of Saxony-Dresden,” 24.

house closed down due to a scandal during a rehearsal of Heinichen's opera *Flavio Crispo*. The result, however, was that more serious attention turned to the music of the *Hofkirche*, and opera singers, including members of Lotti's troupe, participated occasionally in worship services.⁴² Upon the revival of the opera house, many Italian singers were engaged to perform there. Moritz Fürstenau notes that three young females and four young male Italians were specifically trained in Italy for service in Dresden, and subsequently brought there, with their first concert together heard on 6 June 1730 at the court comedy house.⁴³ In July 1731, Hasse and his wife, the mezzo-soprano Faustina Bordoni, arrived in Dresden, and once again began to raise the standards of the local opera scene.⁴⁴ The fluidity of musicians between the opera house, the *Hofkapelle*, and the *Hofkirche* continued under his direction as well.

Another institution of note is the Lutheran Sophienkirche in Dresden. Wilhelm Friedemann Bach's employment (from 1733 to 1746) as organist in this church has led to suggestions that it could have been a possible performance space for his father's Mass in B-Minor,⁴⁵ thus making it important to consider in terms of space and available performing forces. The building itself was in the Gothic style building with a double nave dated from 1351; organists were employed by the city by the eighteenth century. The most prominent predecessor to W. F. Bach was the organist Christian Petzold, who also worked in the *Hofkapelle*.⁴⁶ Both Petzold and W. F. Bach enjoyed a Silbermann organ that had recently been installed, and was considered the finest church instrument in the city. Because it was tuned to chamber pitch rather than choir pitch (a whole tone lower), as the organs at St. Thomas's and St. Nicholas's in Leipzig

⁴² Ibid., 26.

⁴³ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 72 citing Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden, Vol. II* (Dresden, 1861; repr., Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1971), 159-60, 165-6, 168.

⁴⁴ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 30.

⁴⁵ Christoph Wolff, *Bach's Musical Universe: The Composer and His Work* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2020), 271.

⁴⁶ Fechner, "Dresden. 2. 1694-1763."

were, and thereby matched the notation of the organ part of the Dresden Mass in B-Minor manuscript set, Christoph Wolff has concluded that it must be considered the most likely location for a performance of that work.⁴⁷ In addition to the organ, we do know that the ensemble retained for the Lutheran chapel at the Dresden court, called the *Hof-Kirchen-Capelle*, was moved to the Sophienkirche in 1737.⁴⁸ As another example of the exchange of musicians between institutions is the fact that the Dresden court pantaleon player, Pantaleon Hebenstreit (inventor of this large 185-string, dulcimer-like instrument), was put in charge of singing in the Protestant palace in 1729, and was named court director of Protestant church music in 1734.⁴⁹ The singing of the church music here was provided by the choirboys of the Dresden *Kreuzschule* (the choir school of the *Kreuzkirche*) from 1610 until 1923.⁵⁰

Dresden also maintained close ties with the court at Warsaw. Since 1573, the rulers of the kingdom of Poland and grand duchy of Lithuania were elected from other regions, and when the Saxon house was elected in 1697, Friedrich August I, and later August II, became rulers of both Dresden and Warsaw. Friedrich August I was known as August II in Warsaw (ruling there from 1697-1706 and 1709-33), while Friedrich August II was known as August III in Warsaw (ruling there from 1733-63).⁵¹ While they concentrated most of their time in Dresden, they did spend extended periods of time in Warsaw, during which they enjoyed a full retinue of musicians, although not quite at the level of that in Dresden.

⁴⁷ Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2013), 369.

⁴⁸ Fechner, "Dresden. 2. 1694-1763."

⁴⁹ Dieter Härtwig, "Hebenstreit [Hebestreit], Pantaleon," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed July 28, 2021, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

⁵⁰ Wolfram Steude, "Dresden. 1. To 1694," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed July 28, 2021, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

⁵¹ Alina Zórawska-Witkowska, "The Saxon Court of the Kingdom of Poland," in *Music at German Courts, 1715-1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, eds. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2011), 51.

The “Pohlnische Capelle” under August I was comprised of about twelve players, who were not native to Poland and who were of a ‘lesser status’ than his Dresden players (as seen from their relatively low wages and origins as military musicians).⁵² Originally it included four core players (two violinists, a bass player, and a horn player), but with the arrival of Tommaso Ristori’s *comici italiani* troupe in February 1716, August I summoned more musicians to provide their services to Ristori.⁵³ For keyboard accompaniment, Ristori as harpsichordist and Piotr Kosmoski as organist could be counted on as well, when needed.⁵⁴ Although there was no *Kapellmeister*, it is likely that the Dresden ensemble leaders, namely Johann Christoph Schmidt, Johann David Heinichen, and Johann Adolf Hasse, were obliged to provide musical direction in Warsaw as well. Mimicking the Dresden pattern of growth, the ensemble had by 1729 four violinists (which probably also included a viola player), one oboist, two horn players, and four members of the bass section (bassoonist, lutenist, violoncellist, and contrabassoonist). By the end of 1732, the ensemble had grown to fifteen players, with an additional violinist, oboist, and an unknown (perhaps viola) player.⁵⁵ These musicians served a variety of functions at the Warsaw court, and they were adept in the blending of styles known as the ‘*vermischter Geschmack*’ (mixed taste), as the music at court included Italian theater, German instrumental forms, Latin sacred music, and a wide array of native Polish dances, including polonaises, *mazurkas*, and *kozaks*.⁵⁶ August I’s desire to have his Polish *Kapelle* be an itinerant ensemble had several outcomes: musical life in Warsaw remained inferior to that in Dresden, and the musicians were

⁵² Zórawska-Witkowska, “The Saxon Court of the Kingdom of Poland,” 55-56.

⁵³ Ibid. Although it is unknown which instruments the seconded members of this ensemble played, it is likely that it modelled the Italian theatre orchestra, and therefore would have included first and second violins, a viola, a basso continuo section, pairs of flutes or oboes, and horns, and vocal parts would have been sung by members of Ristori’s opera troupe.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 57

⁵⁵ Ibid., 61.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 60.

plagued with the problem of low wages leading to constant battles for improved remuneration. Nevertheless, under August I, high caliber musicians were employed, and their participation in the Warsaw ensemble undoubtedly improved their future careers.⁵⁷

As was customary, the death of an elector meant that all his effects from Warsaw were transferred to Dresden. When August II succeeded the throne, records indicate that he retained some of the same musicians for his own Polish *Kapelle*. In 1734, under August II, the reduced ensemble of Warsaw musicians included two violinists, one horn player, and three ‘Bassisten’ as a core group, most likely complemented by others from places such as the *Hofkapelle* in Dresden, St. John’s Collegiate Church in Warsaw, and also the new Warsaw ensemble formed under cabinet minister Heinrich von Brühl.⁵⁸ In December 1735, many Dresden members arrived, bringing the total to twenty-six members, including five singers, not including possible recruitments from St. John’s or other churches, or the trumpeters/kettledrum players/*Bockpfeifer*.⁵⁹ In 1738, the group expanded again to thirteen people, most likely because of a new season of the royal troupe of the *comici italiani* of Andrew Bertoldi. On the occasion of an unusually extended stay of the elector in Warsaw from 1748-49, Giovanni Alberto Ristori was seconded to Warsaw, in connection with the demanding artistic schedule of the *comici italiani*. Hence, he is also noted as *Kapellmeister* in the court records.⁶⁰ The ensemble membership had now grown to twenty-five, with somewhat higher remuneration by now, and included Polish musicians in the records from 1736 onwards. The members included two or three singers, an organist, seven or more violinists, at least three bass players (lute, double bass, and bassoon), one flautist, two oboists, four horn players, and three unspecified musicians who might have included

⁵⁷ Ibid., 63.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 64.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 65-66.

a viola player, another flautist, and a bassoonist. At the same time, a new theatre had opened in the city, filled with *dramma per musica* productions, *comici italiani*, and ballets and comedies.⁶¹ The musical expectations of August II were just as varied as those of his father August I. With the now-expanded Warsaw ensemble, the elector enjoyed a wide diversity of musical styles and events, including French ballets, Italian opera, comedies, and Polish dance music such as polonaises and mazurkas. However, it should be remembered that August II and his wife Maria Josepha were especially keen on religious rituals, and so the court ensemble played an important role in facilitating these sacred observations.⁶²

While both electors maintained separate Warsaw ensembles, these were considered itinerant because of the frequent amount of travel that took place between the two courts. This pattern likely began because of the lowly size of August I's first ensemble, which meant that for larger or more festal events, supplementary musicians were needed and were seconded from the court at Dresden.⁶³ For example, when the prince made his first visit to Warsaw from December 1725 to September 1726, many more personnel were requested to follow in order to provide service for the many comedies, ballets, and concerts that were hosted for the Prince's weekly entertainment.⁶⁴ Not only were musicians brought from Dresden to Warsaw, but as the Warsaw ensemble grew, they too began to travel often to Dresden to assist in festive events there. These events ranged from Ristori's premiere of *Cleonice* on 5 August 1718, the wedding celebrations of Friedrich August II to Archduchess Maria Josepha in 1719, as well as more general traveling back and forth "at regular intervals" in the 1720s.⁶⁵ Greater travel seems to have taken place

⁶¹ Ibid., 68.

⁶² Ibid., 73.

⁶³ Ibid., 52.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 60.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 57-60.

during the reign of Friedrich August II, as “the Polish ensemble of August III maintained closer links to Warsaw than its predecessor [...] the *Kapelle* does not seem to have been used as a unit for performances in Dresden.”⁶⁶ By this point, the “Pohlnische Capelle” of Friedrich August II had grown to become a much more self-sufficient organism, and was ably positioned to support a wide variety of musical activities at the Polish court.

Not only was a position in the Dresden or Warsaw courts ideal for young as well as experienced musicians, it was also a fortunate position for the *Kapellmeister*. On the whole, the Dresden *Kapellmeister* were able to enjoy the luxury of working with the finest musicians, and having important resources at their disposal. They were usually able to dedicate themselves to bringing the finest music to the court and enjoy the prestige that such a court would add to their own renown. Although the musical tastes of the electors had to be considered, the *Kapellmeister* had freedom in choosing the repertoire to be used at court. Acquiring a collection of sacred music for the *Hofkapelle* was a task of the *Kapellmeister*, and this would come directly out of his pocket too, if he sought works by others.⁶⁷ Thus, *Kapellmeister* often composed their own works for the court, as will be seen in the cases of Heinichen, Zelenka, and Hasse, the three main *Kapellmeister* for the period of this study.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the duties of the *Kapellmeister* were many and varied, and they would make use of works by other composers, often changing them to suit their needs:

In any event, there are a number of ‘outside’ works that survive in versions peculiar to Dresden, incorporating changes in structure, abbreviating or lengthening individual movements, substituting entirely different movements for existing ones, and so on. These versions also make changes to the original instrumentation: a concerto originally calling for an accompaniment of strings and basso continuo, for example, might be augmented to

⁶⁶ Ibid., 73.

⁶⁷ Landmann, “The Dresden Hofkapelle,” 25.

⁶⁸ Johann Christoph Schmidt is one other name listed in the membership of the *Hofkapelle* in the 1717 records, working alongside Heinichen as *Oberkapellmeister*, just as Zelenka worked as *Vicekapellmeister* under Hasse in 1745. Stockigt, “The Court of Saxony-Dresden,” 40-41.

included oboes and bassoons, at the very least, with horns and other instruments added on occasion as well. These parts generally double existing lines, but newly-composed obbligatos are also found on occasion [...] and if the original work called for an instrumental ensemble that seemed too meagre, the forces would be augmented.⁶⁹

Considering that the *Kapellmeister* often served as composer as well, the next section will outline the contributions of several important Dresden composers: Johann David Heinichen, Jan Dismas Zelenka, Johann Adolf Hasse, Giovanni Alberto Ristori, and a handful of even lesser-known composers, including Tobias Butz, Father Johann Michael Breunich, and Johann Georg Schürer. Of note too is that Johann Sebastian Bach was granted his much-anticipated titular position as church composer for the court of Dresden in 1736. Court records indicate the official titles of these musicians, but especially in the early Wettin court their duties very much overlapped, especially in the case of Heinichen, who was listed as *Kapellmeister*, but not court composer, despite his many works written for Dresden. In many respects, these composers are relatively obscure to us, given that as time passed, they were overshadowed by other larger figures (such as Bach); nevertheless, many were considered the finest of their day and contributed magnificent works for the eighteenth-century court.

One of the earliest composers to be considered in this time period was Johann David Heinichen (1683-1729). A harpsichord and organ student of Johann Kuhnau in Leipzig, he later became a barrister, but while practicing law in Weißenfels he became further interested in composition. Occasions to write music for the court there led also to further compositional opportunities for the Leipzig opera house and the courts at Zeitz and Naumburg from 1706 to 1710. His interest in the popular Italian operatic style led him to travel to Venice in 1710, where he met both Lotti and Vivaldi, became immersed in the Italian musical traditions, and subsequently caught the eye of the Prince-Elector Friedrich August I of Saxony, who hired him

⁶⁹ Landmann, "The Dresden Hofkapelle," 26.

to the post of *Kapellmeister* in Dresden in 1717. He remained there for life, first sharing duties with *Oberkapellmeister* Johann Christoph Schmidt, and later delegating many of his duties to Jan Dismas Zelenka as a result of his poor health, until his death in 1729.⁷⁰ In addition to his compositional activities, Heinichen was a theorist and made several important contributions to this field with the publication of his treatise entitled *Der General-Baß in der Composition*. Although he wrote in nearly every popular genre of music, including opera, he focused on church and instrumental music during his time in Dresden, and despite being a Protestant, wrote many Catholic sacred works. Although many of his works remained unpublished and many have since been lost, he dated his works carefully, providing relatively accurate insight today into his compositional oeuvre, his masses in particular.⁷¹ Horn notes that the earliest dating we can find in his church works is Pentecost of 1721, and because of the rapid succession of dated sacred works thereafter, it is safe to assume that this was a new venture for him.⁷² The body of repertoire we do have suggests that he was a competent and admired composer who “has not been sufficiently recognized for his importance to the musical history of the age of Bach.”⁷³

Perhaps better-known today is Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679-1745), a Bohemian-born and Jesuit-educated musician and composer. Although he arrived in Dresden earlier than Heinichen (1711), he was first employed as a *violone* (or *contre-basse*) player in the *Hofkapelle*. Nevertheless, in the same year he also wrote his first known mass, the *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* (ZWV 1), performed on the saint’s feast day in Dresden’s new Catholic court church. From 1716 to 1719, Zelenka spent time travelling, and requested the opportunity to study in France and

⁷⁰ George J. Buelow, “Heinichen, Johann David,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed August 4, 2021, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

⁷¹ Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 48.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Trans.

⁷³ Günther Haußwald, “Heinichen, Johann David,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, vol. 6 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), column 51f.

Italy; he may have studied in Naples and under Lotti in Venice, though these trips have not been confirmed. What is known is that he was sent to Vienna for eighteen months, with the main intention that he serve the electoral prince as part of his retinue there, but where he also had the opportunity to study with Johann Joseph Fux.⁷⁴ Here he composed as well as gathered scores of polyphonic masters to make use of in Dresden.⁷⁵ As a result of his solid compositional understanding and “continuous practical activity over the years, Zelenka developed into a comprehensively educated musician who was familiar with all the compositional currents of his time.”⁷⁶ Another useful source of information on Zelenka’s sphere of works is his *Inventarium rerum musicarum ecclesiae servientium*, into which he compiled a list of his own sacred compositions and collected works. From this record we can relatively securely date his extensive output during the latter half of the 1720s and into the next decade. Upon Heinichen’s death in 1729, Zelenka assumed most of the royal chapel duties, but despite this new role and his compositional contributions, he was still only paid as a middle-ranking instrumentalist.⁷⁷ This problem was to plague Zelenka for the remainder of his career, for even after requesting the position of *Kapellmeister* in 1733 (for which he was doing the majority of the work already), the position was taken up by Hasse in 1734 (though he was formally promised the position in 1731). Stockigt suggests that Zelenka may have been unaware (unwillingly or unwittingly) of the changing climate of the court towards the Italianate style, perhaps expecting that Hasse would take care of secular musical activities alone, or that multiple *Kapellmeister* openings would be available, as had been the case when Heinichen and Schmidt led the position together.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Janice B. Stockigt, Andrew Frampton, and Frederic Kiernan, “Zelenka, Jan (Lukas Ignatius) Dismas,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed August 5, 2021, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

⁷⁵ Ibid. This collection is entitled ‘Collectaneorum musicorum libri quatuor, D-DI Mus. 1-B-98.’

⁷⁶ Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 52.

⁷⁷ Stockigt, Frampton, and Kiernan, “Zelenka, Jan (Lukas Ignatius) Dismas.”

⁷⁸ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 204.

Nevertheless, Zelenka was considered acting *Kapellmeister* in Hasse's frequent absences and he became the principal church composer.⁷⁹ Though his compositions significantly decreased during this time (perhaps due to the demands of serving as Hasse's substitute), Zelenka completed the last five of his great mass cycles (ZWV 17 to 21) between the years of 1736 and 1741.⁸⁰ Despite his indefatigable spirit in providing service above and beyond his pay and position, court records still only listed Zelenka as "königlicher Kompositeur" upon his death. Unassuming and underappreciated for the majority of his career, Zelenka's "personal commitment to the direction of the court church music can only be described as exemplary."⁸¹

As has been mentioned, Zelenka's acclaimed competitor for the coveted position of Dresden *Kapellmeister* was Johann Adolf Hasse (1699-1783), a German-born musician who studied opera in Hamburg, but concentrated on composition in Italy. Despite focusing on opera in Hamburg under the director of the Hamburg Opera, Reinhard Keiser, it was Keiser who also nurtured Hasse's education in church music.⁸² While in Italy beginning in 1722, he spent extended periods of time in nearly every major city there, studying under composers such as Alessandro Scarlatti and also converting to Catholicism while in Naples. He spent most of his time in Naples, where he quickly became one of the most sought-after opera composers of the eighteenth century. While in Venice for Carnival of 1730, he was hired for the position of *Kapellmeister* in Dresden, as the elector was keen to elevate his court with the Italianate style. While Hasse and his wife, the acclaimed mezzo-soprano Faustina Bordoni, did not officially relocate to Dresden until 1733 (after the death of Friedrich August I), they made several trips

⁷⁹ Stockigt, Frampton, and Kiernan, "Zelenka, Jan (Lukas Ignatius) Dismas."

⁸⁰ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 218-24.

⁸¹ Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 52. Trans.

⁸² Wilson, "The Masses of Johann Adolf Hasse," 11. At this time, the church cantata and passion oratorio forms were being cultivated by Keiser, as well as Handel, Telemann, and Mattheson.

there in the meantime, premiering *Cleofide* and performing other works such as cantatas. During the reign of Friedrich August II Hasse composed works for the court, but no new operas.⁸³ He was treated generously by the court, and both he and Faustina were well paid and given many travel opportunities. Travels to Italy from 1734 to 1737 and 1738 to 1739 meant that they could respectively supervise and perform in productions of his many operas while the Elector spent time in Warsaw. Clearly, Hasse enjoyed greater prestige than the other *Kapellmeister* such as Heinichen and Ristori, who were required to accompany the king as he went to Warsaw; the Elector recognized Hasse's status and made sure to treat him as such.⁸⁴ Anna Amalie Abert notes that Hasse led a 'double life' as both a permanently appointed German *Kapellmeister* and a freelancing Italian opera composer.⁸⁵ Although he was primarily an opera composer, he also wrote instrumental music and sacred works for the court chapel, such as sonatas, *Te Deum* settings, and masses with his signature Italianate style – notably his Mass in D-minor which was performed at the consecration of the newly built Catholic *Hofkirche* in 1751. The newfound interest in sacred music in Dresden coincided with the arrival of Maria Josepha and increased as the court established itself as a Catholic center. However, we do not know how many masses were written for Dresden, as of the seven mass manuscripts found in the Dresden Sächsische Landesbibliothek, only four bear a Dresden court inscription, and are dated in the latter part of Hasse's career (1751-1783).⁸⁶ Perhaps this is because Hasse was primarily involved in opera

⁸³ David J. Nichols and Sven Hansell, "Hasse Family [Hesse, Hassen, Hass]: (3) Johann Adolf [Adolph] Hasse," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed August 6, 2021, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

⁸⁴ Ibid. Interestingly, after the Seven Years' War, Hasse would travel to Warsaw with the elector with the purpose of providing operas for that city's burgeoning opera scene from 1754-1763; with 1762 being the most brilliant year for artistic works in Warsaw. This reveals further the artistic developments that continuously followed an upward trajectory there during the Wettin dynasty.

⁸⁵ Wilson, "The Masses of Johann Adolf Hasse," 23. Referencing Anna Amalie Abert, "Johann Adolf Hasse," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, vol. 5 (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1949--), 1774.

⁸⁶ Wilson, "The Masses of Johann Adolf Hasse," 24-25.

composition and travelling in the beginning stages of his Dresden career, and had Zelenka as a capable acting *Kapellmeister* do this work in his absences. Hasse was further promoted to *Oberkapellmeister* in 1750 when Nicola Porpora was named *Kapellmeister* in Dresden, allowing Hasse's career to flourish elsewhere in Europe for many years after the scope of this study. After being dismissed from service in Dresden in 1763, at the succession to the throne of Friedrich Christian,⁸⁷ he lived primarily in Vienna and Venice, where he died in 1783. Famous throughout his lifetime, he was virtually forgotten after his death thanks to newfound interest in the music of Haydn and Mozart.⁸⁸

Another Italian figure in Dresden was Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1692-1753), the son of a musician-actor, Tommaso Ristori, who directed a *commedia dell'arte* troupe in Dresden for the elector Johann Georg III. In his earliest years, Giovanni wrote operas in Italy, but thanks to his familial connections to Dresden he was officially hired as composer of the Dresden Italian comic theatre in 1717 (run by his father), as well as the *cappella polacca* ("Pohlnische Capelle") which served August I during his journeys to Warsaw.⁸⁹ When the opera disbanded, both he and his father were retained, and Ristori began to collaborate with Heinichen and Zelenka in particular for the court's liturgical music, where they would share the tasks for the service duties at the various venues around the city.⁹⁰ Ristori established himself as a key figure at this time for the church music at court, and references in the Diarium reveal Ristori's extensive contributions in many sacred genres, undoubtedly placing him on par with Heinichen and Zelenka. His mass compositions listed in the 1765 Catalogo total fourteen, as well as several mass movements.⁹¹ At

⁸⁷ Ibid., 29-30. Nevertheless, he "retained the title of *Kurfürstlicher Oberkapellmeister*, by which he continued to be listed in the list of members of the *Kurfürstliche Kapelle* until his death."

⁸⁸ Ibid., 32.

⁸⁹ Sven Hansell and Wolfgang Hochstein, "Ristori, Giovanni Alberto," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed August 7, 2021, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

⁹⁰ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 94-100.

⁹¹ Ibid, 62.

the death of August II in 1733 and the turn to more serious opera under Hasse, Ristori was temporarily demoted to chamber organist, but he still kept up with new compositions for the court, both in Dresden and Warsaw, and operas especially for other European centers. At this point, much of his time was spent in Warsaw, where he was promoted to *Kapellmeister* as seen in the records of 1748/49,⁹² and was responsible for many kinds of works at the court of Warsaw.⁹³ In 1746, back in Dresden, Ristori was appointed court *Kirchenkomponist*, and in 1750 was named *Vicekapellmeister* under Hasse. Although much of his music is lost, his competence is noted especially in his chamber cantatas and large sacred pieces, which even surpassed the complexity of Hasse's.⁹⁴

Numerous liturgical settings in addition to the masses of this study were composed by the above-mentioned composers. Assisting them in various capacities were figures such as Tobias Butz (Buz), Father Johann Michael Breunich, and Johann Georg Schürer. While little is known about their biographies, we do have a few manuscripts with some of their works, and have evidence in the court records of services during which their music could have been performed.

Tobias Butz (d. 1760) was a composition student of Zelenka, listed in the *HStCal* between Zelenka and Bach in 1745, and with Nicola Porpora (titular) and Johann Georg Schürer in 1756.⁹⁵ Relatively unknown to us, with scant details about his life and compositional activity, his only known work to survive in Dresden is a single mass setting dedicated to the electoral prince (later August III).⁹⁶ Father Johann Michael Breunich (b. early 1700s.; d. after 1756) was a multifaceted figure, working as a Jesuit priest, a *Kapellmeister* in Mainz, and later the successor

⁹² Zórawska-Witkowska, "The Saxon Court of the Kingdom of Poland," 65-66.

⁹³ Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 63.

⁹⁴ Hansell and Hochstein, "Ristori, Giovanni Alberto."

⁹⁵ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 33.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 87.

to Zelenka as church composer in Dresden, where he composed mainly sacred music⁹⁷ and additionally frequently accompanied Ristori to Warsaw.⁹⁸ His published masses are distinct in comparison to others by his German contemporaries, possessing more elaborate vocal solos, more idiomatic violin parts, and a greater tendency towards utilizing the clarino register in brass parts.⁹⁹ Zelenka's *Inventarium* lists masses by Breunich, suggesting that they were nevertheless appropriate for court services.¹⁰⁰ Johann Georg Schürer (c. 1720-1786) was another Bohemian-born, German musician who had in fact served as one of the *Kapellknaben* at court before continuing on to other roles in the Dresden court.¹⁰¹ Schürer was primarily an opera composer working at court, but later turned to sacred compositions, and though considered a 'very skilful composer' by music critic Johann Friedrich Reichardt, his music was generally not in line with the prevalent neo-Neapolitan taste. He succeeded Zelenka as director of church music.¹⁰² Schürer is also an important figure in Dresden due to the fact that he instigated the compilation of the *Hofkirche* Catalogo of 1765, which lists all the court chapel scores, and is supremely beneficial for our use today.¹⁰³

In addition to these composers working at the court of Dresden, the court held a vast collection of works by other composers that the *Kapellmeister* had opportunity to consult and make practical use of. Two important inventories can provide significant insight into the holdings of the court: Zelenka's *Inventarium* and the 1765 Catalogo of *Hofkirche* music,

⁹⁷ Elizabeth Roche, "Breunich [Breunig, Brauenig, Bräunich, Breuenich], Johann Michael," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed August 8, 2021, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

⁹⁸ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 66.

⁹⁹ Roche, "Breunich [Breunig, Brauenig, Bräunich, Breuenich], Johann Michael."

¹⁰⁰ Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 137; Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 152.

¹⁰¹ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 22.

¹⁰² Dieter Härtwig, "Schürer, Johann Georg," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed August 8, 2021, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

¹⁰³ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 37, n. 108.

compiled by Schürer. Zelenka's *Inventarium*, begun in 1726, contained works by Johann Joseph Fux, Georg Reutter, Johann Georg Reinhardt, Franz Ludwig Poppe, Johann Anton Reichenauer, Antonio Caldara, Francesco Conti, Antonio Lotti, Carlo Baliani, Antonio Bioni, Alessandro Scarlatti, Francesco Mancini, Domenico Sarri, Francesco Durante, Johann Gottlob Harrer, Johann Friedrich Fasch, Johann Ernst Eberlin, Fr. Johann Michael Breunich, Marcus Teller, Giovanni Pisani, Mathias Oetl, and Giovanni Palestrina.¹⁰⁴ The vast majority of Zelenka's collection are full masses, and could have come into his hands from his own travels (for example, to Vienna) and the travels of Maria Joseph and the electoral prince, as well as through the court employment of composers such as Antonio Lotti.¹⁰⁵ Although the 1765 Catalogo was compiled by Schürer, its size was due in large part to the foresight and interest of Maria Josepha, who obtained much of the musical estates of the Dresden court composers after they had passed away. These composers have a significant presence in the Catalogo and include Heinichen, Zelenka, Ristori, and Breunich, but other important collections include 51 sacred works by Hasse, 73 sacred works attributed to Baldassare Galuppi (works by Vivaldi and others have since been identified in this collection), as well as other church music by a wide variety of Italian composers which the electoral prince Friedrich Christian brought back to Dresden after his Italian tour of 1738/39.¹⁰⁶ Although the Catalogo includes more than just masses, of the 860 total listings, 91 are complete masses and 36 are Kyrie-Gloria settings.¹⁰⁷ The breadth of works in both inventories demonstrate the value that the Saxon court placed upon its sacred music, and the

¹⁰⁴ Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 149-189.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 149; Stockigt, "The Royal Polish and Electoral Saxon Court and State Calendars," 50.

¹⁰⁶ "Welcome to the Catalogue of the Music Collection of the Dresden Catholic Court Church 1765," Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, accessed September 5, 2021, <http://hofkirchecatalogo1765.mcm.unimelb.edu.au/>.

¹⁰⁷ Janice B. Stockigt, "Bach's *Missa* BWV 232 in the Context of Catholic Mass Settings in Dresden," in *Exploring Bach's B-minor Mass*, eds. Yo Tomita, Robin A. Leaver, and Jan Smaczny (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 41.

scope of both German and Italian manuscripts which the court composers and *Kapellmeister* would have had access to.

Having examined the circumstances, resources, and personnel in and around the Dresden court, we will turn next to uncovering what the mass Ordinary as a genre looked like in the early to mid-eighteenth century. This will provide insight into how the composers in Dresden typically proceeded to write their mass settings. In looking at the Ordinary, the politics surrounding the time will be briefly mentioned, as well as the differences in setting it in both Catholic and Lutheran churches, before finally looking at its formal structure.

Like other cities of the time, the confessional history of Dresden was intertwined with political events arising out of the Reformation. Despite post-Reformation efforts to remain Catholic, its location in the midst of surrounding Protestant lands meant that the Saxony eventually acceded to the influence of Lutheranism; indeed, it was the birthplace of the thriving movement. However, the speedy transition to Protestantism in Saxony led to some discomfort on the part of many, and that meant that the two religions had to be reconciled in many ways.¹⁰⁸ As a result of these necessary negotiations, Lutheran Saxony retained much of the Catholic traditions and liturgy, in particular Luther's Latin *Formula Missae* of 1523 rather than the more commonly endorsed German mass of 1526.¹⁰⁹ The resulting changes lasted until 1806, and meant that although Saxony was in name Lutheran, it retained an intense Catholic history.¹¹⁰ Thus, by the early eighteenth-century, an older, more orthodox form of Lutheranism, closer to Luther's perspective, prevailed in Saxony, and especially in Leipzig, and would impact the liturgical and musical tendencies of this time period.

¹⁰⁸ Jeffrey S. Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach: Church and Concert Life in a German City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 19-25, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190616953.001.0001>.

¹⁰⁹ Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 25.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

From a Catholic viewpoint, more changes took place by the time the Catholic-leaning Wettin rulers emerged. Jeffrey S. Sposato argues that by this point, Saxony remained conservatively Protestant because of the elector's conversion to Catholicism in 1697, "which led to a deliberate effort to prevent changes to the Saxon Lutheran service, so that it would remain as close to the Catholic mass as possible."¹¹¹ In establishing his Catholic domain, August I nevertheless carefully allowed his subjects to freely practice their respective religions (considering the 1648 Peace of Westphalia), while still making efforts to revive Catholicism by planting daughter churches and transforming the Dresden opera house into a court chapel, for example.¹¹² His successor Friedrich August II maintained this energy by marrying Maria Josepha, a devout Catholic, and constructing the lavish new *Hofkirche*. Sposato concludes that both electors

were interested in introducing a Catholic faith that would be seen by the populace as something not all that different from Saxon Lutheranism...this required integrating traditional Protestant elements into Catholic services...and retarding the pace of change within Lutheran services, keeping them as similar to Catholic rituals as possible. Indeed, I would argue that it was the desire to maintain this equality between the services that kept the Saxon Lutheran *Hauptgottesdienst* so static during a century when it underwent such significant change elsewhere.¹¹³

Thus, both rulers were aware of the need to tread carefully in a largely Lutheran territory, but as Catholics nevertheless made headway in establishing a strong Catholic electorate, and the lavish music of the court at Dresden would play a significant role in elevating the status of Catholicism here.

In setting about to establish a Catholic court liturgy, one influence was to be the liturgical calendar that was used. Due to the Jesuit influence in Dresden, the calendar that was followed

¹¹¹ Ibid., 40-41.

¹¹² Ibid., 41-47.

¹¹³ Ibid., 48.

was the Meissen calendar (of the old Saxon Catholic See). This was a relatively recent change that was introduced in 1717 to replace the Prague calendar.¹¹⁴ Interestingly, the Meissen calendar closely paralleled the Lutheran ‘Verbesserte’ calendar.¹¹⁵ The connection of this calendar to the Bohemian Jesuits meant that additional saints were honored, and therefore there were extra celebrations and feast days. All of this impacted the musical styles and performances in the *Hofkirche*.¹¹⁶

Keeping in mind this background information, the mass compositions written in and for Dresden are of course the most pertinent to address for this study, but before doing so it is also important to analyze what the typical formal structure of the concerted mass genre was at this time in Europe. Originating centuries before with a simpler focus, by the eighteenth century it had evolved to become an elaborate construction, involving soloists, one or more choirs, and obbligato instruments with organ continuo, although the performing forces could vary depending on the needs of the occasion or the wishes of the *Kapellmeister*.¹¹⁷ These were not arbitrary constructs, but followed conventions used in many parts of Europe. One way that uniformity was maintained was through the work of theorists. Of particular note is that in his 1737 article entitled *Critischer Musikus*, the theorist Johann Adolph Scheibe offered a series of fifteen recommendations to composers on how to properly write in this genre, in the most tasteful way possible. Some of these recommendations were natural for many genres of the day, such as the admonition to write “singable melodies” or that instruments “should clarify and support the

¹¹⁴ Stockigt, “The Royal Polish and Electoral Saxon Court and State Calendars,” 52.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Joseph Dyer, “Roman Catholic Church Music: III. The 17th century: (4) Concerted Vesper Psalms and the Ordinary of the Mass,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed August 12, 2021, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

intent of the text,” but others are geared specifically towards the mass.¹¹⁸ Of particular note are his instructions that “masses consist of choruses as well as movements for one, two, and three voices;” “choruses are best set as fugues, with double counterpoints, canons, etc. and with a straightforward, singable subject (*Hauptsatz; Thema*) that is not too elaborate;” and “use of instruments for such choruses must be clever and splendid (*sinnreich und prächtig*), support the words or voices, clarify the intent of the text, strengthen the harmony, and provide ‘filler’ when necessary.”¹¹⁹ In the next section, it will be seen that on the whole, the Dresden mass settings generally followed these principles. On a broader level, Johann Mattheson, in his 1739 treatise *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister*, additionally recognized the three spheres in which music was used (church, theater, and chamber), but intriguingly admitted that theater and chamber styles may be of some use for the church¹²⁰, an idea that found its way into the masses that will be looked at in this study – especially as operatic models appeared in many of the masses.

By this time, there were three main types of masses that could make use of these ideals: *missa solennis*, *missa brevis*, and the cantata (‘number’) mass. On the whole, the Neapolitan number mass was the most commonly seen, and, in conjunction with the growth of opera, was to have a profound influence on the evolution of the late-Baroque concerted mass. Here, the setting of the Ordinary text as a series of large, usually independent movements was preferred over the typical Venetian/Viennese-style chain of connected sections.¹²¹ The number mass is the dominant form of the masses of this study as well. Each movement of the Ordinary also varied widely in the number of subsections. MacIntyre notes that each of the five mass parts were

¹¹⁸ Bruce Campbell MacIntyre, “The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period: History, Analysis, and Thematic Catalogue,” (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1984), 131-32.

¹¹⁹ MacIntyre, “The Viennese Concerted Mass,” 131-32.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 132-33

¹²¹ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 8.

comprised of anywhere from one to ten separate movements, with *Missae breves* naturally having fewer than their extended counterparts. Due to their longer texts, the Gloria and Credo naturally featured the most divisions.¹²² The majority of the masses examined here had a large number of subsections in the Credo. However, this was not always the case, particularly in the later masses, as Wilson observes that Hasse usually divided his mass settings into a total of sixteen subsections, with the Credo comprising only three of them: *Credo*, *Et incarnatus est*, and *Et resurrexit*.¹²³ The same can be said for the masses of Ristori that I analyzed; perhaps in these cases a constraint on time was the motivation behind having fewer subsections.¹²⁴

Each of these divisions often invited specific techniques to be used. The treatment of the mass Ordinary sections could include concertante, homophonic, or *stile antico* choruses, showy or sentimental solos or duets, or the combination of these styles set in a concerto-like fashion. Other techniques such as ritornello and da capo forms could be used as well.¹²⁵ In addition, both text and instruments were of service to the form, with text being used as a vehicle to help with the requirements of the form, and instruments to help maintain a rhythmic flow.¹²⁶ Symbolism too, was a factor in these compositions; as will be seen shortly, many techniques were used to convey a specific affect related to the text, such as a sorrowful emphasis in the *Crucifixus* movement, or a joyful exuberance in the *Et resurrexit* section. Many of the choruses used fugal writing, as part of the connection to the *stile antico* tradition, as will be further explored later. Contrasting *stile moderno* techniques were also used, providing further resources at each composer's disposal.¹²⁷ Incidentally, these Baroque techniques of fugal writing and symbolism

¹²² MacIntyre, "The Viennese Concerted Mass," 291.

¹²³ Wilson, "The Masses of Johann Adolph Hasse," 69.

¹²⁴ Perhaps as well that due to the length of the text, it was sometimes necessary to simply get through a lot of text quickly by providing fewer subsections, as noted by Joseph Dyer: Dyer, "Roman Catholic Church Music."

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 5-6.

continued to be used toward the end of the eighteenth century alongside more symphonic techniques, as well as sonata form.¹²⁸

Although Vienna is outside the scope of this study, it is worth brief mention due to its strong musical and cultural connections with Dresden.¹²⁹ As we have seen, Zelenka had the opportunity early in his career to study in Vienna sometime in the late 1710s (an opportunity that arose as a result of the electoral prince's courting of the Archduchess Maria Josepha). Here he studied contrapuntal principles under Fux and interacted with Antonio Caldara, then the vice-*Kapellmeister* at the Habsburg court; he encountered other polyphonic works by older masters as well. It is known that Zelenka composed at least one work here, the offertory *Currite ad aras* (ZWV 166), and that the contrapuntal techniques he acquired under Fux had a direct influence upon his future compositions.¹³⁰ Hasse, too, travelled there in 1731 presumably for the court premiere of his new oratorio *Daniello*, and also in 1733 when he divided his time between Venice and Vienna while the Dresden court was in mourning after the death of August I.¹³¹ These travels would have provided the opportunity for further connections to be made between the two centers, and we have evidence based on performance materials found in Austrian libraries and monasteries that the Viennese were very much aware of Hasse's masses.¹³² Fux's importance for this study rests especially on the dissemination of his ideas on counterpoint, represented in his 1725 treatise *Gradus ad Parnassum*. Fux, as David Wyn Jones writes,

sought to define the [polyphonic] style in a way that was to influence its development in Austria throughout the eighteenth century. Perhaps the familiar terms 'Palestrina style' and 'stile antico' are unfortunate ones, in that they suggest a wholly conservative

¹²⁸ MacIntyre, "The Viennese Concerted Mass," 320.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹³⁰ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 36-47.

¹³¹ Nichols and Hansell, "Hasse Family [Hesse, Hassen, Hass]: (3) Johann Adolf [Adolph] Hasse."

¹³² MacIntyre, "The Viennese Concerted Mass," 195.

approach, as if the composer was writing in an alien, archaic style. For Fux, however, it was an up-to-date challenge.¹³³

This is intriguing, as the “polyphonic challenge” for Fux appears to align with Bach’s view of the *stile antico*, as not simply an ancient style, but as an important technique that deserved to be fully explored; Bach, certainly, was fully aware of Fux’s ideas.¹³⁴ Michael Maul has additionally suggested that the Mass in B-Minor may have even been composed for Vienna: although Viennese masses were typically smaller, there are a few examples of large-scale masses in Vienna, especially for St. Cecilia’s Day, that align closely with the monumental nature of Bach’s Mass in B-Minor.¹³⁵ Although relatively insular in their traditions, the Viennese were nevertheless interested in the Neapolitan style, and encountered it through the exchange of ideas and musical works from other centers such as Dresden, or in Naples itself.

Several characteristics of Viennese masses can be mentioned here. In general, they resembled chamber works in that church orchestras were small and the performing forces used were mainly strings, sometimes with doubled oboes or with more fanfare-like wind parts, such as those added by Fux.¹³⁶ For some movements of the Ordinary, impressive instrumental obbligatos can be found.¹³⁷ Although composers such as Fux and Georg Reutter, Joseph Haydn’s teacher, worked with fugal styles in their masses, they tended to have “rather dull” homophonic choral parts with busy orchestral figurations.¹³⁸ The more operatic *bel canto* vocal style and the

¹³³ David Wyn Jones, “Haydn’s *Missa sunt bona mixta malis* and the *a capella* Tradition,” in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 90.

¹³⁴ The principal theme throughout Christoph Wolff’s latest book, *Bach’s Musical Universe*, is that in all his compositional activities, Bach sought to bring to the forefront his interpretation, mastery of, and “ever-deepening scholarly quest for the ‘secret of the fugue.’” Wolff, *Bach’s Musical Universe*, 339.

¹³⁵ Michael Maul, “‘The Great Catholic Mass’: Bach, Count Questenberg and the Musicalische Congregation in Vienna,” in *Exploring Bach’s B-minor Mass*, eds. Yo Tomita, Robin A. Leaver, and Jan Smaczny (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 98.

¹³⁶ Denis Arnold and John Harper, “Mass: III. 1600-2000: (3) 18th Century,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed September 5, 2021, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, and MacIntyre, “The Viennese Concerted Mass,” 251.

¹³⁷ MacIntyre, “The Viennese Concerted Mass,” 254.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

symbolic, expressive gestures of the Neapolitan school, used by composers such as Hasse, were not typical in Vienna.¹³⁹ Nonetheless, grand fugal endings remained a constant in Viennese masses, especially in the Gloria and Credo movements.¹⁴⁰ In addition, the modest Viennese mass typically set the text as a long chain of connected sections, rather than the Neapolitan “number” mass of separate movements.¹⁴¹

However, the cross-pollination that occurred between cities at this time meant that the Neapolitan style gradually became more integrated within the Viennese mass tradition; Bach himself would unite the two styles in his B-Minor Mass.¹⁴² Additionally, the Neapolitan style was to have an impact on the mass writing that was to develop in the Classical era. In particular, the Viennese tradition of Joseph Haydn and Mozart showed similarities to earlier Baroque techniques. MacIntyre notes that the newer generation of Viennese composers began to use some of Hasse’s techniques in their own masses in the 1770s and 1780s.¹⁴³ From 1766 onwards, Haydn made his most intense foray into sacred writing, and his masses of this time show consistency with the Baroque techniques outlined above, such as ritornello structure, *stile antico* treatment, and musical symbolism, while also working in the modern style. In his *Missa Cellensis*, a musical recapitulation occurs in the *Et resurrexit*, an emotional affect is present in the *Et incarnatus* to *Crucifixus* movements, and the concluding *Et vitam* is set as a fugue.¹⁴⁴ Another popular form in the Viennese tradition was the “Credo” mass, whereby the word “Credo” was interjected throughout the Credo movement. Mozart favoured this technique,

¹³⁹ Ibid., 196.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 327.

¹⁴¹ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 8.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ MacIntyre, “The Viennese Concerted Mass,” 196.

¹⁴⁴ James Dack, “Sacred Music,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Leslie Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 144.

as did other Dresden composers such as Zelenka and Heinichen.¹⁴⁵ The mingling of these approaches and styles in Dresden and Vienna, and their subsequent persistence into the Classical era, helps to illustrate their centrality to the overall genre of the mass in this era.

2.2. Defining the Neapolitan Mass Credo setting in Dresden to the 1750s

Having investigated some of the prevailing patterns and models around mass composition in eighteenth-century Dresden, we will now turn to addressing and defining the Neapolitan mass setting in Dresden, specifically looking at the Credo movement. Items of note are the conventions used in movements (such as instrumentation, obbligato roles, form, length), divisions of text, the role of operatic techniques, and the presence of *stile antico* treatment. In addition, composers had individual stylistic tendencies that could vary over time according to circumstance.

Before looking at these specifics, some general tendencies have been noted, both in my own investigations and in that of other scholars. Horn in particular has observed a few key overall points, such as the notion that Dresden composers were not typically interested in retrospection for its own sake (as Bach was perhaps more inclined to), but preferred to follow (and possibly cultivate) current styles and trends of the time.¹⁴⁶ Their writing was also extremely practical; they would set the same text in a variety of ways, depending on the needs related to the occasion and time for which the work was created.¹⁴⁷ Stauffer has also noted several common characteristics of the Dresden mass settings, including a widespread use of Renaissance vocal style and recurring features in the mass writing that point to long-standing traditions, such as ending the *Crucifixus* quietly before commencing the jubilant *Et resurrexit* and a strong

¹⁴⁵ Arnold and Harper, “Mass: III. 1600-2000: (3) 18th Century.” Two prime examples of Mozart’s Credo Mass settings are his *Missa Brevis* in F major, K. 192 and his *Mass* in C major, K. 257.

¹⁴⁶ Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 204.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

emphasis on the chorus.¹⁴⁸ These and other characteristics have been confirmed in my own analyses of the works at hand, some of which will be seen next by briefly covering each composer's tendencies.

Since Zelenka's career spanned many years, it is no surprise that his works displayed differing characteristics depending on the period of composition. His early compositions laid the foundation for his unique musical traits, which, when combined with the later influence of Neapolitan principles in his Dresden years, created an impressive later style. Nevertheless, there were some struggles to reconcile stylistic differences. Foremost for Zelenka throughout his career was his desire to compose in a highly personal and expressive manner, and to carefully elucidate the text.¹⁴⁹ Thus we see his intentions to dramatize parts of the Credo. This could be done, for example, by creating an atmosphere of chilling terror through tremolo and pauses at phrases such as "resurrectionem mortuorum" and "judicare vivos et mortuos,"¹⁵⁰ or by using musical-rhetorical figures such as anabasis at "ascendit" and catabasis at "descendit." Zelenka also tended to highlight dogmatic statements that were of great significance to him, such as "non erit finis" and "et unam Sanctam Catholicam Ecclesiam" with decisive homophony or contrasting gentle sections.¹⁵¹ In addition, the chromatically descending fourth of the *passus duriusculus* was to become almost a personal leitmotif of Zelenka's.¹⁵² His harmonies characteristically moved through the circle of fifths, especially in the Credo,¹⁵³ and often shifted to unexpected parallel keys with the use of the musical-rhetorical figure *mutatio toni*, a propensity that was an important trait of his writing.¹⁵⁴ Unsurprisingly, given his studies with

¹⁴⁸ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 19-22.

¹⁴⁹ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 23.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 12.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 252.

¹⁵² Ibid., 23.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 252.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 14.

Fux, his excellence in double counterpoint was noteworthy even in his early years.¹⁵⁵ This *stile antico* treatment was carried out with a high degree of chromaticism, and a tendency to be economical and utilitarian in its approach. My own analyses of the Credo movements shows that the concluding *Et vitam* was set as a double fugue in all but two movements that I examined, with one additional movement being simply imitative rather than a strict double fugue. The later *Crucifixus* movements from 1739 onwards were also set as double fugues, showing that contrapuntal settings were clearly important to Zelenka.

From his Dresden period of 1723-1732, Zelenka gravitated towards a type of liturgical *Gebrauchsmusik* (utility music) which followed the “number” setting. He often revised these masses due to the changing performance practices, available musicians, and prevailing musical tastes.¹⁵⁶ Autograph scores indicate that most of his sacred compositions required four (sometimes five) vocal soloists, a four-part choir, a string section of two violins and viola, ripieno oboes, and a basso continuo section that included bassoons. Other instruments or obbligato roles would sometimes be added, depending on the availability or new employment of certain musicians.¹⁵⁷ My own observations particular to the Credo movement at this time show that Zelenka almost always set the opening *Credo* movement as a homophonic chorus, which would quickly turn into polyphonic settings. In general, this format occurred in other sections such as the *Et incarnatus* as well, with the remainder of the Credo utilizing a mixture of chorus, concertante, and solo settings.

Upon officially commencing his position in Dresden after the death of Heinichen in 1729, the arrival of the opera singers in 1730/31 and the subsequent arrival of Hasse in 1734, Zelenka

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 19.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 135.

¹⁵⁷ Stockigt, Frampton, and Kiernan, “Zelenka, Jan (Lukas Ignatius) Dismas.”

experienced a somewhat tumultuous time in his compositional career, being compelled to accommodate his early style with the new Italian theatrical trends, which included slower-moving harmonies, symmetrical phrases, and the prominence of the melodic line, which interfered with his desire for rapid harmonic change and textual ardour.¹⁵⁸ Expansion of ritornello ideas (which manifested earlier as essentially ABA form)¹⁵⁹ can also be seen, whereby multiple ideas would be set forth, to be later used as connecting passages for the various episodes, to act as a background to choral declamations of text, or to function as instrumental interludes.¹⁶⁰ Thus, in comparison to his earliest masses, we see an increased length of the instrumental openings and interludes; a feature that would expand even up until his final masses. His notable rhythmic invention (perhaps drawn from his native Bohemian immersion) prevailed in his later masses, including frequent use of triplets as well as asymmetrical groupings of bars to help create his unique settings.¹⁶¹ Zelenka continued to incorporate his skills in double fugues, mixing of styles, and unexpected harmonic changes into his works. His guiding principle remained the elucidation of the text, and it was in Zelenka's ability to combine his early emphases with the more modern *galant* style where he finally achieved mastery – especially seen in the choruses of his last masses and the tender affecting arias, which were longer and more lavish.¹⁶² At this point, his compositional writing owed much to the Italian theatrical influence of Hasse.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 229.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 229.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 251-259.

¹⁶¹ Stockigt, Frampton, and Kiernan, "Zelenka, Jan (Lukas Ignatius) Dismas."

¹⁶² Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 229.

¹⁶³ Wolfgang Horn, "Preface," in *Zelenka: Missa Omnium Sanctorum, ZWV 21*, ed. Wolfgang Horn (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), vii-viii.

Heinichen brought dichotomies to his masses as well. His masses represent the *Missa Concertata* genre,¹⁶⁴ and were mixed in two ways: first, following the typical *stile misto* in vogue he used a mixture of chorus, concertante, and arias,¹⁶⁵ and secondly, because of his Italian experiences and training he used mixed national styles, rendering his music more *galant* than that of his German contemporaries.¹⁶⁶ His masses can also be divided into two types: the first with a consistently structured key plan, and the second stimulated more by the text, thus lending itself to more unstable keys depending on the required affect.¹⁶⁷ Regardless of the great variety in his compositions, he frequently used repeating themes that tied together his masses with the technique of linking or cyclical rounding.¹⁶⁸

Another varietal feature of Heinichen's masses is a high emphasis on rich and diverse instrumentation. He frequently made use of unusual combinations, wrote virtuosic brass parts, and showed tonal splendor in the tutti movements above all.¹⁶⁹ In comparison to his contemporaries, Heinichen used relatively extensive solo sections, perhaps due to the experienced players to be found at court,¹⁷⁰ and from my observations, the brass parts are especially prominent because they are often playing independent lines. He always used the *corno da Caccia* for the horn parts, which was written in pairs, and found in all the Ordinary masses.¹⁷¹ Aside from the pronounced brass instruments, Schmitz writes that the instrumentation was also based on the sound of the string quartet, with the oboes generally doubling the violins.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁴ Katrin Bemann, "Foreword," in *Johann David Heinichen: Missa Nr. 9 in D*, ed. Katrin Bemann, trans. John Coombs (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 2003), 3.

¹⁶⁵ Eberhard Schmitz, "Die Messen Johann David Heinichens," (PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 1967), 30-36.

¹⁶⁶ George J. Buelow, "Heinichen, Johann David."

¹⁶⁷ Schmitz, "Johann David Heinichens," 30-36.

¹⁶⁸ Schmitz, "Johann David Heinichens," 40.

¹⁶⁹ Bemann, "Foreword," 3.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Schmitz, "Johann David Heinichens," 11-12.

¹⁷² Ibid.

Being situated between the old and new meant that Heinichen's music displayed specific characteristics at varying points of the timeline as well. His earlier masses (c. 1721-22) are subdivided the most and are generally longer in length, whereas the later masses (c. 1723-29) are markedly shorter with less subdivisions and thus a more uniform style, for liturgical considerations. The masses between show a gradual merging of movements as the transition occurred, although from my observations, some of his latest masses show a return towards separated movements again. Lastly, the notion of early, middle, and late periods of composition can be applied to Heinichen's use of the fugue as well. His earlier masses made use of numerous fugues, but by about Masses No. 6 and 7 he turned away from this form, only to reinstate its use in his later period. An awareness of the value of the *stile antico* seems to have returned to Heinichen,¹⁷³ and perhaps simultaneously to his contemporaries as well.

Although the majority of Hasse's masses were written after 1751, past the scope of this study, the cosmopolitan composer valued the *bel canto* style, and took a neo-Classical approach to writing even in his earlier masses.¹⁷⁴ As a result of his status at court, he was always able to avail himself of the international Dresden orchestra, his usual instrumentation requiring two oboes, two horns, first violins, second violins, viola, and continuo (he never used trombones).¹⁷⁵ Because of his Italianate training, he focused on beautiful melodic vocal lines, though he did not exploit the extreme registers of the voice.¹⁷⁶ Another trait of Hasse's was his focus on textual continuity and refinement, whereby dramatic effects such as text painting are not included; if desired, however, the singer could bring the emotion of the piece to the fore.¹⁷⁷ As a primarily

¹⁷³ Ibid., 55, 66, 94.

¹⁷⁴ Nichols and Hansell, "Hasse Family [Hesse, Hassen, Hass]: (3) Johann Adolf [Adolph] Hasse."

¹⁷⁵ Wilson, "The Masses of Johann Adolf Hasse," 74, 78.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 74.

¹⁷⁷ Nichols and Hansell, "Hasse Family [Hesse, Hassen, Hass]: (3) Johann Adolf [Adolph] Hasse."

operatic composer, it is notable that Hasse never made use of the da capo aria in his masses, but used several other forms instead, such as through-composed arias, binary or tertiary arias, or a modified ABA form.¹⁷⁸ Although he generally wrote homophonic choruses,¹⁷⁹ when he did make use of the fugue he regularly used the distinctive trait of requiring the first violins to double the alto voice at the octave, allowing an inner voice to be heard as the top voice.¹⁸⁰ His Mass in D minor of 1751 shows many of these tendencies, as it is brief, mainly homophonic with no counterpoint, and jubilant by way of its instrumentation, fast strings, and upbeat vocal patterns.

Although Ristori's masses reflect his Italianate training as well, they seem to display a different character and focus. From my observations, he was less concerned with text painting than many of his contemporaries; and an accurate description of Ristori's masses could be termed as refined and efficient. His masses, typically divided into three sections, do not linger on any part of the text for long, and are consequently quite short. Apart from the slow, contemplative *Et incarnatus* and *Crucifixus*, the remaining sections are jubilant and driving. He makes frequent use of *solis* vocal groupings of 2 or 3, but only very brief solo sections, with the instruments remaining quite independent of voices. Interestingly, while the two masses we have contain no fugal movements, and very little, if any, imitation, Hansell notes that "his best works are his chamber cantatas and his large sacred pieces, which contain contrapuntal complexities beyond those of Hasse's works of the 1740s."¹⁸¹ It would appear that in his mass writing, time was of the essence and in that spirit, he chose to leave out the lengthy fugal form.

Brief mention of the compositional styles of the lesser-known composers can be made as well, on the basis of the few masses we have. Breunich sought to bring a distinct Italianate style

¹⁷⁸ Wilson, "The Masses of Johann Adolf Hasse," 75-76.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 71.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 82.

¹⁸¹ Sven Hansell and Wolfgang Hochstein, "Ristori, Giovanni Alberto."

to his masses, by including elaborate vocal solos and independent instrumental parts. His masses also have the distinctive feature of clarino writing in many of the choral movements, including the fugal movements.¹⁸² Schürer was not attracted to the mainstream neo-Neapolitan style, but combined a more forward-looking approach that anticipated galant features, along with his mastery of counterpoint. As a result, the “serious, expressive cast” and “tedious melodic ideas” of his six masses were more appreciated outside of Dresden.¹⁸³ In a very different format, the sole surviving mass composition of Butz (written between 1700 and 1732) that I have analyzed is very much grounded in the solemn *stile antico*. It is almost entirely polyphonic, and largely fugal. Although it is rather lengthy, there are very little instrumental beginnings, interludes, or endings, giving the text and chorus primary importance.

Although it is beneficial to provide an overarching sense of each Dresden composer’s strengths and tendencies, for the purposes of this study it is also important to examine in closer detail the specific mass characteristics that may be found in the composers’ works. In this way, a sense of compositional commonalities or anomalies may be better seen and understood. To do so, I will investigate topics such as instrumentation, including obligato roles and whether or not instruments doubled the vocal parts, divisions of text, key structures, and the frequency of instrumental openings, interludes, and endings. Mention will also be made of current trends such as the role of operatic styles in the mass, as well as the usage of the *stile antico* – in particular, how often homophony versus imitation was observed. Lastly, some other conventions that I have noted in my score studies such as the “Credo Mass” format, specific chant tunes used, voice pairings, and text painting, and the role of the polonaise will be covered. Where possible, I will examine these tendencies by analyzing specific subsections of the Credo movement, as this

¹⁸² Roche, “Breunich [Breunig, Brauenig, Bräunich, Breuenich], Johann Michael.”

¹⁸³ Härtwig, “Schürer, Johann Georg.”

provides an appropriate means of comparison. Brief mention of my chart included in the appendix of this study should be made here. I collected a sample of works written by the Dresden composers as a subset, and was able to examine works by Zelenka, Heinichen, Hasse, Ristori, and Butz as a basis on which to build my observations. The majority of my selections were based of course on extant manuscripts available in an online format from German libraries, as well as print scores in circulation. This selection of sources naturally favours more prominent composers, while the music of lesser-known composers tends to remain difficult to access and is not as well represented in this chart.

The instrumentation used in the Credo movements of the Dresden composers is significant given the lavish musical outlays of the Saxon electors. The emphasis placed on the orchestra, and the subsequent cosmopolitan nature of the musicians hired, meant that high-caliber instrumentalists made their home at court from across Europe. The Dresden court composers were keenly aware of what the musicians had to offer and exploited their talents in their weekly offerings. Of particular note are brass and wind instruments that are frequently featured in the oeuvres of Dresden composers.

The recurrent use of the key of D for masses is related to the frequent inclusion of the trumpet. As we have seen, no less than twelve trumpeters served the court in various capacities for the church and court occasions.¹⁸⁴ As a result, all of Zelenka's D-major masses required trumpets and timpani, although in one exception, a pair of horns is used instead.¹⁸⁵ Hasse's mass of 1751 also called for trumpets and timpani, as did five of Heinichen's eight D-major masses. Heinichen's brass parts have been noted as particularly virtuosic, showing that he indeed had the

¹⁸⁴ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 120.

¹⁸⁵ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 139. Most of these masses are not included in my chart as they did not include the Credo movement, or the score could not be accessed.

luxury of engaging top-quality musicians.¹⁸⁶ In the works studied here, those written before the 1720s do not include brass instruments, suggesting that the practice was more common towards the middle of the century, the height of Dresden's musical fame.

Other wind instrument parts in Dresden showed virtuosity and ambition as well, thanks to the multitude of high-calibre players throughout the city who helped to create this standard. Recall, for instance, that royal musicians were hired from the up-to-date French oboe band that the elector employed, an excellent arrangement for both parties.¹⁸⁷ Moreover, Stockigt has surmised that the frequent use of *corni da caccia* was reminiscent of the hunt, symbolizing the relationship of the goddess of the hunt, Diana, with the Habsburg Maria Josepha, who was to become part of the Dresden electoral family. This association originally began in Vienna, and followed Maria Josepha to Saxony in music and other court entertainments as a way to honour her. Zelenka in particular wrote astonishingly virtuosic horn parts in this respect. Stockigt speculates that the players were virtuosi from the court at Vienna, or even Bohemian or Polish players who periodically played in Vienna but were employed by the Dresden court.¹⁸⁸ In addition, educational collaborations, apprenticeships, or other trainings may have also existed for musicians; at the very least, the fact that players were "required to excel on one instrument alone" helped provide the time required to expand their virtuosity. While it is hard to assess the educational opportunities that may have existed, what is known is that the collaboration between *Kapellmeister* and concertmaster was a highly successful one: the connection between Hasse and Pisendel, for instance, "led to great advances in orchestral discipline and performance style in Dresden."¹⁸⁹ In a celebratory allegory, Johann Gottlob Kittel (pseudonym Micrander) lauded the

¹⁸⁶ Bemmann, "Foreword," 3.

¹⁸⁷ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 23

¹⁸⁸ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 48-50.

¹⁸⁹ Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," 30.

Dresden orchestra and all those involved, singling out the wind players Johann Christian Richter on oboe, Buffardin and Quantz on flute, and Johann Wilhelm Hugo on chalumeau as an “incomparable four-leafed clover,” while the bassoonist Johann Gottfried Böhme was lauded as a provider of the “foundation” and “right strength” necessary to the orchestra. The *Waldhorn* players, too, including Johann Georg Knechtel and Anton Hampel, were admired for enabling their horns to “sound like a trumpet.” While other members of the orchestra were also applauded, it was not meant to be an all-encompassing acclamation, as “the Dresden viola players rate[d] no mention at all.”¹⁹⁰ Lastly, it should be noted that the Dresden ensemble invited many guest virtuosi for recitals or other honorary positions – notably the recital of Johann Sebastian Bach on the Frauenkirche’s Silbermann organ in 1736.¹⁹¹ It follows that wind players could have been among these distinguished visitors at court. Thus, it is apparent that virtuosic, ambitious instrumentation was possible at Dresden due to the availability of key players and the high emphasis placed on their performances. As we have seen, many of the Dresden composers wrote their liturgical music for practical purposes, and often for specific events, so it is not unlikely that they may have had these key players in mind when writing their masses.

Some of these instruments had obligato roles, although they appeared infrequently. The Credo subsections of Zelenka’s that I examined do not have obligato opportunities for any of the players, though oboe obligatos are present in others of his sacred compositions between 1733 and 1736, thanks to the 1732 arrival of J. W. Hugo, who performed on both oboe and chalumeau.¹⁹² Furthermore, the younger Zelenka in his pre-Dresden years apparently favoured the tone colour of the obligato chalumeau in “certain arias of a dolorous nature.”¹⁹³ Heinichen

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 32-34.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 35.

¹⁹² Stockigt, Frampton, and Kiernan, “Zelenka, Jan (Lukas Ignatius) Dismas.”

¹⁹³ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 16-17.

occasionally writes obbligato parts in certain subsections; for example, Mass No. 3's *Crucifixus* subsection has a pair of bassoons accompanying the continuo, Mass No. 5's *Crucifixus* subsection has *sol*i parts written for a pair of oboes, and Mass No. 9's *Crucifixus* subsection is written for two bassoons doubled by violins an octave higher. Wilson determines that the bassoon was typically used as part of the continuo section,¹⁹⁴ and Stauffer notes that due to the bassoon virtuosos at court, namely Johann Gottfried Böhme, Jean Cadet, and Caspar Ernest Quantz, Zelenka and Heinichen both made use of these key players from service to service,¹⁹⁵ accounting for the unusual use of bassoon outside of its typical continuo role (alongside Heinichen's predisposition to writing for unusual combinations). Butz uses obbligato oboes in the *Et unam* subsection of his mass that I analyzed, while Ristori and Hasse do not appear to have included obbligato parts in their Credo subsections. Thus, despite the many talented instrumentalists at court, it does not appear that obbligato roles played an overwhelming part in the Dresden composer's writing of the Credo movement.¹⁹⁶ One reason for this may be that a principal tenet of church music composition was that the text must be clearly understood; thus, the instruments did not usually supersede the vocal line.¹⁹⁷ In general, the Dresden composers favoured the sound of full orchestra or full sections in smaller ensembles above all for this point in the liturgy.

The instruments would, however, often double the voices in motet style in the Dresden Credo movements that I examined. This can be seen especially in a few key subsections, such as the *Et incarnatus*, *Crucifixus*, and *Et vitam*. Furthermore, *colla parte* writing was used for special

¹⁹⁴ Wilson, "The Masses of Johann Adolf Hasse," 80.

¹⁹⁵ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 90.

¹⁹⁶ For example, the "Domine Deus" from the *Gloria* of several masses contain scoring for pairs of obbligato woodwind instruments. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 142.

¹⁹⁷ Wilson, "The Masses of Johann Adolf Hasse," 59.

emphasis in the opening *Credo* subsection. In Zelenka, Heinichen, and Hasse's opening *Credo* subsections, the instruments are generally quite independent of the voices. However, there is doubling that occurs seemingly for textual emphasis especially in the works of Heinichen, with occasional rhythmic matching as well. Butz's opening *Credo* subsection shows the instruments continually matching the voices, though this is not a surprise as his entire mass is set in the *stile antico* style.

The *Et incarnatus* and *Crucifixus* subsections typically are set *colla parte* in Zelenka's writing. In Hasse's, there is instrumental matching for the most part, but occasional deviation from this. Heinichen's settings of these subsections are written in a variety of ways: at times there is much instrument matching of the voices, while sometimes just the instrumental rhythms will match the voices, and other times there is more independence overall. Additionally, if there is a pulsing eighth-note line in the bass, the other instruments often match that rhythm, but the voices will not. For Ristori, these subsections tend to have largely independent instrumental parts.

For the *Et resurrexit* to the ending *Et vitam*, Zelenka tends to separate the instruments from the voices, while Hasse and Ristori's treatment of the same subsections show little separation from the voices. Heinichen overall tended to set the instruments differently from the voices in these subsections, although interestingly, he often set the *Et unam sanctam* subsection as a fugue or in motet-style especially in his earlier masses before 1724, perhaps to emphasize the unified meaning of the text. The *Et vitam*, however, which is nearly always set contrapuntally, will of course have the instruments matching the voices. The same is true for the *Crucifixus* subsections, which are frequently set as fugues as well. His masses written after 1724 in particular tend to have less fugal forms and thus more instrumental independence; Schmitz

writes that by this point, Heinichen tended towards less strict counterpoint and included greater contrast of thematic material in the movements.¹⁹⁸

To summarize the motet-style settings that can be found in the Credo movement, it can be said that the Dresden composers most often set the instrumental parts independently of the voices, with the exception of the *Et incarnatus*, *Crucifixus*, and *Et vitam* movements, which were typically grounded in the *stile antico* and were more likely to involve *colla parte* practice. Zelenka appears to have paid special attention to the mood of each subsection – this would be in line with his desire to illuminate the text – as he used instrumental doubling of voices around twelve times in sad or proclamatory and emphatic passages, while not at all in around seven of the more jubilant passages. Independent instrumental lines for him, then, appear to be synchronous with joyful exuberance. In addition, Stockigt notes that Zelenka’s adherence to the Neapolitan “number” style setting meant that his subsections could be composed in three basic ways: *stile antico* choruses, usually with instrumental doubling, choruses with independent roles, or in a solo capacity;¹⁹⁹ the method chosen was perhaps related to the character of the text. Heinichen tended to deviate more from the other composers’ style by often writing more independent lines for the instruments, as Bach did. However, when a composer desired to emphasize certain portions of the text, one way they could achieve this was by writing for *colla parte* instruments.

The wide variety of settings used within the Dresden masses was often made possible by the divisions of the text into subsections. After an examination of the Dresden Credo movements collected in my chart, it appears that on the whole, there was not a set way of dividing the text, although a few key points can be gathered from the chart. First of all, Zelenka, Hasse, Ristori,

¹⁹⁸ Schmitz, “Johann David Heinichens,” 92-94.

¹⁹⁹ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 139.

and Butz all have a clear division before the *Et incarnatus* subsection, and Heinichen usually does as well. In the cases where Heinichen does not, there is some other indication of a change in the score, such as a preceding fermata, a meter change, or a tempo change. The one place where every composer in this study consistently provides a marked division is between the *Crucifixus* and *Et resurrexit* movements. The contrasting text and character of these two sections of the Credo likely requires this. From *Et resurrexit* to the ending *Et vitam*, there is great variety among these composers as to how the text is divided. Heinichen created many divisions within the text (as Bach did), while Zelenka and Ristori often set the text continuously, making use of various concertante, aria, and chorus settings typical of the Neapolitan style. Of the twenty-two Dresden masses I examined, eleven of them set the *Et vitam* as its own distinct subsection, most often in fugal form.

A few words can be said about the number of divisions contained as well, especially in relation to the time in which they were composed. The divisions for Heinichen's earlier masses of c. 1721-1723 are more numerous, while those of c. 1724-1729 contain less divisions. In addition, these later masses often blur clear divisions between the sections: for example, between the *Credo* and *Et incarnatus*, or between *Et resurrexit* and the *Et vitam* (again using effects such as fermatas or meter changes). For Zelenka, his earliest mass dated 1711 has the most Credo divisions of any of his masses, whereas both of Ristori's masses, composed after 1730, have only three divisions; the same is true of Hasse's 1751 mass. Heinichen's masses show a gradual reduction of internal divisions as the years go on as well. MacIntyre concurs with this observation, noting that longer movements were more common after the middle of the century, and were even limited to no more than four movements.²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ MacIntyre, "The Viennese Concerted Mass," 291.

If the earlier mass settings tended to have more internal divisions than the later settings, there does not appear to have been a fixed method for dividing the text. Rather, the composer's preference and the demands of the moment seem to have had the most influence, since the Dresden composers wrote these masses for practical, weekly usage.

The division of text also plays a part in how the keys of the *Credo* movements are structured. While there does not appear to have been a set formula for this, some observations can be determined by composer, particularly with regards to the earlier versus later masses and whether or not the keys were highly structured or more freely wandering. Instances of the typical pattern of a major key modulating to its relative minor or to the dominant key can easily be found across all composers and time periods as well. With respect to Heinichen, Schmitz notes that the earlier masses from 1721 were more highly structured, with the tonic playing an important beginning, middle, and ending role, while the music otherwise meandered through related keys, the penultimate key being the subdominant. This can be seen in Mass No. 2 as an example.²⁰¹ The movements from roughly 1724 onwards (Mass No. 6), however, had freer, more unstable key relationships – for example, focusing more on the subdominant, without a key center or conclusion at the tonic, and hardly visiting the dominant key.²⁰² The differences between these earlier and later approaches have parallels with the amount of textual subdivision that occurred; larger subsections and greater key flexibility in the later masses liberated the composer from the need to travel to the expected modulatory arrival points, thus shortening the overall length of the mass and allowing for the text to be recited syllabically and efficiently to accommodate liturgical time constraints.²⁰³ By referring to the Credo chart I constructed, it is

²⁰¹ Schmitz, "Johann David Heinichens," 36.

²⁰² Ibid., 29-33, 36.

²⁰³ Ibid., 39.

evident that starting at Mass No. 6, the subsections from *Et resurrexit* onward are more frequently combined and have substantially fewer total measures in comparison to the earlier masses. For Zelenka, a tendency towards minor keys and predisposition for major-minor shifts remained common in his writing. Stockigt remarks that the A-minor tonality of his *Missa Omnium Sanctorum* (ZWV 21) is consistently affirmed throughout.²⁰⁴ The *Et incarnatus*, though, frequently modulates and is tonally blurred, often ending on the dominant of the following key of the *Crucifixus*, which itself is quite chromatic.²⁰⁵ For the majority of the masses I analyzed, Zelenka follows the principle of modulating to relative or dominant keys, particularly in his earlier masses. On the other hand, Hasse's key structures are different, because they are more fully grounded in the *stile moderno*. Here, the harmonic change is slow in order to give precedence to the melody, and generally only changes to dominant or relative keys, and sometimes to mediant keys in the more extensive movements.²⁰⁶ Wilson also notes that the stated keys of his masses are usually retained for all five movements, but can be changed to the relative key.²⁰⁷ Thus, his 1751 D-minor mass has the *Kyrie* written in D minor, but the *Credo* written in D major. From my observations here, the key changes are all straightforwardly composed with dominant or relative relationships. The same can be said for the compositions of Ristori. Thus, in general it appears that the earlier works, particularly of Heinichen in the latter half of the 1720s, involved more unstable key relationships, while the later ones, written after 1730 by Zelenka, Hasse, and Ristori, gravitated towards a more tonally hierarchical, *galant* structure.

Another aspect of the Dresden masses is the length of instrumental openings, interludes, and endings within the subsections. While perhaps it is a seemingly innocuous facet of

²⁰⁴ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 252.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 254-55.

²⁰⁶ Wilson, "The Masses of Johann Adolf Hasse," 83.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

composition, I found that the length of any of these solely instrumental passages fluctuated between composers and time periods. In particular, the opening *Credo*, the *Et incarnatus* and *Crucifixus*, the *Et resurrexit*, and the *Et vitam* show some peculiarities. Furthermore, instrumental sections are in many respects connected to the development of and usage of ritornello features at this time, and nearly all of the Dresden composers utilized the ritornello form to varying degrees.

In general, composers set the opening *Credo* subsection with an instrumental introduction that varied in length from one to twenty-nine measures in the masses I examined.²⁰⁸ Only two, namely Heinichen's Mass No. 7 of 1724 and Butz's mass, were written with no instrumental opening. Zelenka's *Credo* subsections have relatively short instrumental openings and endings in this subsection, but those written after 1736 have the longest introductions of the sample; between seventeen and twenty-nine measures. In conjunction with the ritornello style, they would usually end with a short reprise of the opening theme. On the other hand, Heinichen's *Credo* subsections show especially short openings and endings, and many contain no introduction or ending at all. The same is true for Hasse and Ristori's *Credo* subsections. Finally, Butz's *Credo* subsection has no instrumental opening or ending; here, the chorus enters immediately at "Patrem omnipotentem."

Following the *Credo*, the *Et incarnatus* typically begins with the voices and *colla parte* instruments, but without an independent instrumental introduction. In Zelenka's settings, the voices generally begin and end the *Et incarnatus* subsection; the same is true for Heinichen, Hasse, and Butz. In general, Heinichen and Butz's *Et incarnatus* subsections are quite short

²⁰⁸ The shortest introduction I encountered was in Heinichen's Mass No. 9, which contains one four-beat measure plus one additional beat of rapid string figurations outlining tonic and dominant before the first voice comes in.

regardless of instrumental framing. The *Crucifixus* has a greater diversity, however, as it was frequently set as a fugue or as a solo section. Heinichen especially uses a variety of forms in this subsection, and thus made greater use of short instrumental openings and endings here. The jubilant *Et resurrexit* subsection to follow usually opened with an instrumental prelude. All of Zelenka's masses contain such preludes, which could become lengthy in his later works. Heinichen, even more so than his contemporaries, wrote shorter introductions here, and in a few instances even begins immediately with the chorus or even with solo voices a couple of times (see Masses Nos. 4, 9, 11). Hasse and Ristori wrote short openings and endings here as well, while Butz utilized a lengthy introduction. Firm conclusions cannot be made for the music from the *Et resurrexit* through to the end, because it was set in a great variety of ways. Finally, for the *Et vitam* subsection, none of the Dresden composers in this study provide instrumental endings after the "Amen," save for Ristori's Missa in C major, which ends with a mere two measures of instrumental music.

While instrumental prefaces and conclusions varied amongst the Dresden composers, ritornellos were commonly used in a variety of sacred and secular compositions at this time in Dresden. The ritornello form commonly found in this repertoire involves principal themes that are typically followed by modulatory, episodic material that transitions to the motive in another key. At times, more fragmentary ritornellos of the primary theme may recur at varying points during the subsection. In my examinations, I found that the same motive, with or without the same instrumentation, frequently returns regardless of whether the vocal forces were singing or resting. This recurring motive helps to lend structure to the movement. However, these motives found in the Dresden repertory were solely instrumental, rather than being combined with the vocal forces, as is seen in the ritornello structure of Bach's "Et resurrexit" subsection. While this

chapter is concerned with addressing the characteristics of the Dresden masses, it is worth mentioning here that Bach himself was exploring the potential of the ritornello form, which would later segue into the recapitulation form that, among other things, was commonly featured in the *galant* style (this phenomenon will be further explored in the following chapter). Despite Bach's interest in this form, scholars have determined that his contemporaries did not seem to experiment with it. Miriam K. Whaples, in studying over seven hundred Bach arias, has determined that while Bach was utilizing the concerto-recapitulation technique (in his arias as well as his choruses and instrumental concertos), taken from the Vivaldian concerto form, his contemporaries remained content with binary or da capo forms.²⁰⁹ A deviation from this could include the modified da capo form, which as we saw, was used by Hasse, since the text of the liturgy did not easily allow for exact repetition.²¹⁰

Despite Dresden's importance for opera, operatic techniques were generally regarded as inappropriate for the church, and seldom appear in these masses. Walther Müller has written that opera composers who wrote at a "shallow" level for the secular realm were effectively able to "extend" themselves by writing serious harmony and counterpoint for the church.²¹¹ Hasse in particular, who early in his career had been trained in the sacred style by Reinhard Keiser, shows this seriousness in his mass of 1751, which shows few operatic tendencies. Nevertheless, the influence of the opera did find its way into the church, and the liturgically "respectful" nature of contrapuntal forms coexisted with aspects of operatic virtuosity and grace that served the

²⁰⁹ Miriam K. Whaples, "Bach's Recapitulation Forms," *Journal of Musicology* 14, no. 4 (1996): 475, 507-508. The fact that Bach's contemporaries were not exploring the ritornello form is startling, especially given the evidence that many composers of this time and proximity shared music with one another. Whaples notes that the single exception to this may be Telemann's aria "Nun, ich halte mich bereit" (TWV 1:877/BWV 160 – which, ironically, was falsely attributed to Bach), which could be seen as written in ABC form, and thus connected to the concerto-ritornello form.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 511, and Wilson, "The Masses of Johann Adolf Hasse," 75-76.

²¹¹ Walther Müller, *Johann Adolf Hasse als Kirchenkomponist* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910), 2.

emotional projection of the text. Still, operatic forays remained tempered due to the fact that Pope Benedict XIV as well as other diverse parties, including clergy, Pietists, and music professors, were hostile to the inclusion of the opera in the church.²¹²

Although there were many opportunities for solo voices in the Dresden masses, composers tended to avoid da capo arias in favour of brief concertized arias (“ariosi”), whose melismas are not excessively virtuosic. The prescribed text of the mass, of course, does not easily allow for the strict repetition of the da capo aria form: Wilson notes that the da capo aria could instead be found in other sacred forms, such as hymns and psalms.²¹³ As we have seen, even the operatically-inclined Hasse did not use da capo arias in his masses (preferring binary forms or modified da capo arias); instead, his operatic influence emerged through *bel canto* melodic lines. Heinichen, too, included relatively extensive solo sections “such as are hardly to be found in the Dresden church music of the later eighteenth century”²¹⁴ These principles were made possible by the inherent structure of the number mass (itself originating from the secular cantata) which, by nature of its smaller divisions, allowed for a more diverse exploration of mood and texture, and the inclusion of more virtuosity.²¹⁵ Thus, the interplay between sacred and secular was tempered to align with the religious atmosphere of the time.

What was significantly more prominent in the Dresden masses was the role of the *stile antico*, which can be seen in imitative and fugal forms as well as the use of choral homophony in the Credo subsections. As has been mentioned previously, there were certain sections that tend to use homophonic choruses rather than contrapuntal ones, occasionally making use of *colla parte* instrumental writing. In addition, the presence of long note values, particularly at the whole and

²¹² Wilson, “The Masses of Johann Adolf Hasse,” 53-56.

²¹³ Ibid., 58.

²¹⁴ Bemmann, “Foreword,” 3.

²¹⁵ Wilson, “The Masses of Johann Adolf Hasse,” 61-62.

half note level, is a key aspect of the historical style. Therefore, I will more closely address how this manifested amongst the Dresden composers, and in which subsections they tended to draw upon these techniques.

Homophonic writing is common within the Credo movement, which is unsurprising given the large amount of text that the Creed is comprised of. A brief look at the Gloria movements of the masses I studied reveals that they too use homophony to contend with a large amount of text. However, in many instances of the longer movements, the text is very much drawn out and often repeated several times polyphonically, hinting that perhaps time was not a matter of concern. At the same time, it also appears that the shorter Credo movements mirrored the shorter Gloria movements, suggesting that for these masses, the composer was addressing the need to fit the mass within a specific time frame.²¹⁶ Specific to the Credo, homophonic writing tends to appear in the opening *Credo* subsection, and is generally found in the *Et incarnatus*, *Crucifixus*, and *Et resurrexit* subsections. Zelenka often, if not always, begins his *Credo* subsection with tutti voices in homophony, with the exception of ZWV 18, in which the vocal parts take turns with the chant melody. Following this unified opening that corresponds to the text, the voices usually change to become more polyphonic.²¹⁷ This is also true for Heinichen's masses, though within the polyphonic parts he often returns to homophony, perhaps for textual emphasis. Hasse and Ristori's opening subsections are almost exclusively homophonic, and in Hasse's case, it is continual through the entire movement of his 1751 mass. However, for Zelenka, in all these cases (excepting the *Et incarnatus* and *Crucifixus* subsections, which

²¹⁶ See Appendix A on page 147 for a chart comparing the length of the Gloria movements of Bach's Mass in B Minor; Zelenka's Masses Nos. 1, 11, 13, 17-19 and 21; Hasse's Mass in D Minor; Heinichen's Masses Nos. 1-9 and 11-12; Ristori's *Messe per il Santissimo Natale* and Mass in C Major; and Butz's Mass in G Minor.

²¹⁷ It is important to define what I mean by the term "polyphonic" here. For this study, this texture tends to exist in a more "concerted," modern style which is loosely imitative, often lengthening the motivic lines. Other polyphonic forms, such as imitative or fugal, will be clearly referenced and distinguished.

frequently use *colla parte* writing), it is only the voices that are set in homophony, while the instruments feature independent lines. The few exceptions to this occur if, for example, the oboe doubles a soprano line, or if a certain word such as “descendit” or “mortuorum” is emphasized through a sudden application of *colla parte* writing. The same is true for Heinichen, although he does include more exclusively homophonic writing, chiefly in some of his earliest masses. He also uses more rhythmic matching of instruments and voices at certain points of the text.

As a long-sanctioned historical procedure, homophony frequently occurs in the *Et incarnatus* and *Crucifixus* movements as well. Notably, these subsections tend to start in homophony and then gradually change to a more polyphonic texture, especially with the occurrence of the text “passus.” However, this often depends on the composer as well. For Zelenka, particularly when these two subsections are combined, the *Et incarnatus* begins in homophony, but by the arrival of the *Crucifixus*, the setting has been replaced by polyphony. Nonetheless, Zelenka does have more contrapuntal settings for the *Crucifixus* in comparison to the other composers. Ristori’s arrangements overall contain more polyphonic writing (particularly in the *Crucifixus*), as well as duets. Still, the *Et incarnatus* begins homophonically. Despite this diversity amongst composers, Heinichen’s settings show the greatest variety here for one composer. His masses show more imitative openings in the *Et incarnatus*, more fugal or solo settings for the *Crucifixus*, or sometimes simple homophonic settings for the *Crucifixus*. Homophony sometimes seems to arise as a means of emphasis in certain parts of the text. However, his later masses in general are more in line with his contemporaries, using the more typical homophonic beginning that develops into a polyphonic texture.

The *Et resurrexit* subsections, in keeping with their jubilant atmosphere, are almost always set in homophony – even in the mass of Butz, which is substantially contrapuntal

otherwise. Here again, for Zelenka and Ristori, the settings will often change into a more polyphonic arrangement after beginning in homophony. Ever divergent, Heinichen uses a polyphonic texture for most of the choral parts, however, with some homophony again perhaps for emphasis. However, starting with mass No. 5, there is a broad increase in homophonic textures – including in the *Et vitam* of masses 6 through 11, which previously had mostly been fugal. His final mass, No. 12, reverts to a fugue again. Typically, most composers will set the *Amen* polyphonically (if it was not included as part of the normally fugal *Et vitam*), and often imitatively, including Hasse, whose entire 1751 mass is homophonic otherwise. Sometimes the final “Amen” will transition from polyphonic to homophonic texture as a way to conclusively end the entire *Credo* movement. This situation can be seen at some point in the oeuvres of all the Dresden composers.

As has just been suggested, there were two main subsections for which the Dresden composers typically used fugues, the *Crucifixus* and *Et vitam* subsections. Zelenka set the *Crucifixus* as a fugue four times out of the seven works I analyzed, often in double counterpoint, which lent an expansive effect to the setting. These fugal settings occurred in his last three masses, from 1739 to 1741, as well as his first in 1711. For Heinichen, however, only Mass No. 2 (1721) had the *Crucifixus* set as a fugue. As for the *Et vitam*, Zelenka always set this subsection as a double fugue, except for ZWV 13, which was not set contrapuntally at all. He often would intermingle the texts “Et vitam” and “Amen” to create the double fugue setting. Heinichen set the *Et vitam* as a fugue only in his earlier masses, Nos. 1-5 (1721-1723), while the remainder of his masses rather strikingly set this text homophonically from the period of 1724 to 1728, with a return to the fugal form in his last mass (No. 12) in 1729. Apart from these two main subsections, on occasion there were some other anomalies I found where the fugal form

was exercised. These include the *Et expecto* in Zelenka's ZWV 17, and the *Et unam sanctam* in Heinichen's masses Nos. 1 and 4. Interestingly, none of the masses I examined set the *Confiteor* as a fugue, as Bach did. As might be expected from what we have seen so far in their compositions, Butz set these two movements as full fugues, while Hasse and Ristori did not use any fugues in their masses.

In summary, then, the *Credo*, *Et incarnatus*, and *Et resurrexit* subsections almost always begin in homophony and then switch to a polyphonic texture. Once again, it appears that Heinichen tended vary his approach relative to other composers, as he had more polyphony starting the *Et resurrexit* subsection, and more homophony than fugues in his final *Et vitam* movements. As a side note, this is alike to Bach, who also arranged his *Et resurrexit* with a homophonic texture that became more polyphonic. It appears as well that fugal forms were commonly used in the earlier masses, declining in use during the middle years, but with a renewed interest in them during the later years.

An important aspect of the *stile antico* is the presence of long note values, most commonly in connection with the pulse at the half note level, and occasionally in connection with true *alla breve* time signatures. In a few main subsections, it can be seen in the works of Zelenka, Heinichen, and Butz, and is most frequently used in the *Et incarnatus* and *Crucifixus* subsections, and occasionally *Et unam*. Zelenka takes this approach in nearly all the masses analyzed: ZWV 1, 11, 13, 17, and 19. While only the first mass uses an *alla breve* time signature at the "passus" of the *Crucifixus* subsection, the rest feature the *Et incarnatus* or *Crucifixus* movement in 3/2 time. Both ZWV 17 and 19 call for 3/2 time at the *Et unam* subsection as well. Heinichen likewise uses this time signature, with many of his masses containing long-held note values: in the *Et incarnatus* subsection of Nos. 4, 6, and 7; in the *Crucifixus* subsection of Nos. 1

and 2; and the *Et unam* subsection of Nos. 2, 4 (with a specific *alla breve* marking here), and 5. Occasionally he writes some subsections (such as the opening *Credo* subsection of Nos. 7, 8, and 12) with cut time indication, but the note values are mostly quarter or eighth notes. For Butz, nearly the whole *Credo* movement is written in long note values.

Further key principles of the *stile antico* are present in the Dresden masses. In Zelenka's *Et incarnatus* and *Crucifixus* subsections, several elements can be found, including: instrumental doubling of the voices, fermatas between section divisions, and voices usually beginning and ending the subsection without solitary instrumental passages. As we have seen, his *Crucifixus* is most often set as a fugue – often in double counterpoint. With the exception of a few anomalies in his late style, these movements seem very much grounded in the *stile antico*. In the latter parts of the entire *Credo* movement, there is often a pause at “mortuos” and “mortuorum” before proceeding. For the *Et vitam* subsection, fugal form along with instrumental doubling is typical. Interestingly, the *Et unam* subsection of ZWV 17 is very different than other settings of his; here, *stile antico* elements such as instrumental doubling and long note values are present.

Heinichen's compositions reveal some *stile antico* characteristics, though not quite as much as his contemporary Zelenka. Heinichen does incorporate some instances where a pause or marked difference can be found before the text “et homo” in the *Et incarnatus* subsection, and the *Crucifixus* of his mass No. 2 reveals a markedly fugal form. In general, when Heinichen does use counterpoint, *colla parte* writing can be found, but otherwise voices and instruments are quite independent. Hasse, as might be expected, shows little adherence to the *stile antico*. While his *Et incarnatus* and *Crucifixus* subsections have some instrumental doubling, they soon start to embellish the vocal line. Likewise, Ristori does not show *stile antico* treatment either. In contrast, Butz's mass does show clear allegiance to the *stile antico*, particularly in his fugal

writing of the *Crucifixus* and *Et vitam*. The *Crucifixus* is written with only continuo, and the *Et vitam* contains pronounced instrumental doubling. In summary, then, it appears that Zelenka and Butz gravitated the most to the *stile antico*, with Heinichen occasionally opting for these elements.

The Dresden masses also show some other important conventions that may be found in Bach's B-Minor Mass. These include the "Credo Mass" model, certain voice pairings, text painting, steady, pulsing eighth or quarter note lines, and the occasional appearance of the polonaise form. These elements will round out this discussion of Dresden mass characteristics.

The so-called "Credo Mass" made several appearances in my examinations, and has been cited as "common fare in Dresden in Bach's time."²¹⁸ In these masses, the text "Credo in unum Deum" or simply "Credo" returns several times over the course of the subsection or movement, interspersed between or alongside the remainder of the text. Bach's mass contains this repetition of the text, as do two of Zelenka's masses (ZWV 1 and 18), where the opening Credo text is reiterated throughout the first subsection or movement. Two of Heinichen's masses analyzed (Nos. 3 and 6) have the text "Credo" repeated occasionally, and Ristori's *Messe per il Santissimo Natale* has the bass line singing "Credo" (using the same type of chaconne as Pachelbel's canon) for the entire Credo subsection of the mass, while the other voices continue the rest of the text. In addition, this line and another Credo line (a 6-note descending line) also appears in each of the voices in the *Et resurrexit* subsection of Ristori's mass. It can therefore be confirmed as a technique not uncommonly seen in Dresden.

Another aspect worth mentioning regarding the Dresden masses is the frequency of vocal pairings, which are often seen in shifting combinations of voices. The composers of this study

²¹⁸ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 109.

appear to have a variety of predilections for doing so, but the most typical procedure is to pair up SA and TB voices. Zelenka, in the *Credo* and other subsections most often uses the standard SA and TB pairings, while in his *Et incarnatus* movements he often employs a *sol*i trio such as SAT. Heinichen doesn't typically utilize voice pairings in any of his subsections, but the pairings vary on the occasion that he does use them. His *Et incarnatus* is often a *sol*i trio as well. Then, from the *Et resurrexit* on, he prefers using solo voices rather than vocal pairings. Hasse's mass is largely for full chorus, although as seen in the works of his contemporaries, his *Et incarnatus* movement also has a *sol*i trio for ATB voices. Ristori does not have voice pairings in the *Credo* section of either of his masses, but instead he includes some solo opportunities. He does have SA and TB paired in the *Et incarnatus* and *Crucifixus* movements of his *Messe per il Santissime Natale*, however, and there are also similar pairings in the remaining movements of both masses. Lastly, Butz also adheres to the SA and TB pairings for his double fugue *Credo* subsection. Thus, in keeping with the desired affect of the text, composers took the opportunity for intimate *sol*i trios especially in the *Et incarnatus* subsection. For other points in the *Credo* movement, they employed vocal pairings or solo voices, perhaps to provide contrast with the full chorus.

Text painting played a role in the Dresden masses, and a few general observations can be made. All the composers show the occasional use of text painting at "factorem coeli et terrae" and "descendit." Here, it was typical to compose wide, intervallic, upward to downward motion to represent the descent from heaven to earth. A downward progression would again be used for "descendit," this time in a stepwise motion, and often set as a melisma. Another significant word in the *Credo* text is "passus." Here, it is Zelenka who most often has a descending line written here and the *passus duriusculus* (descending fourth) in the *Crucifixus*. Hasse uses a drawn-out

melisma here, and Heinichen sometimes treats “passus” in a downward melismatic gesture as well.

For the text “Et sepultus est,” Heinichen again uses a descending, melismatic motion. However, it is most typical for the composers to have some instruments drop out (though never altogether, as Bach did), or for a dynamic or tempo change to occur here. Zelenka never fully removes the instruments; instead, there is usually another means of signalling here, such as only the continuo remaining, a pause with a fermata, and/or an indication to further temper the dynamics. In his ZWV 19 the strings perform a soft tremolo with continuo, providing the necessary subdued atmosphere. For Heinichen, it was not usual to drop any instruments at this point; however, sometimes he would end the *Crucifixus* subsection with a few measures of instruments alone. The remaining composers displayed no obvious treatment of this text.

“Mortuos” and “mortuorum” also deserve special mention because composers frequently practiced special treatment here too. Zelenka nearly always diminishes the tempo here, thins the instruments, and sometimes lengthens this passage, often ending it in a weighty pause. Heinichen sometimes emphasizes the text with these means as well. At “mortuorum,” Hasse succinctly provides longer notes and a brief melisma, before returning with quick strings and shorter note values at “Et vitam.” Butz uses the aforementioned pulsing quarter note continuo line at “mortuorum” to heighten the affect, while Ristori avoids text painting for this passage.

Bach’s *Et incarnatus* and *Crucifixus* subsections have striking pulsing quarter note lines in the continuo sections that are present for the duration of the subsections. Bach originally re-worked these Credo subsections from the cantata chorus of BWV 12, “Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen,”²¹⁹ so it is beneficial to address whether or not there was a precedent for this amongst his

²¹⁹ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 108.

contemporaries. Upon examining the Dresden masses, I found some evidence of this topos. While Zelenka's *Et incarnatus* subsections do not have this pulsing line, his earlier masses do feature eighth-note pulsation in his *Crucifixus* subsections. Furthermore, Heinichen uses this technique quite often, especially in the *Crucifixus* subsections of his earlier masses (Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, and 12). It can also be found in the *Et incarnatus* of Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5 and in the *Et in spiritum* of No. 4. Once again, the works of Hasse and Ristori do not display similarities with this technique, while Butz features it prominently in the *Et incarnatus*. Here can be found continuous movement in the string sections, and a pulsing continuo quarter note line at "mortuorum." From observing its presence only in the more sorrowful sections of the movement, it appears that it was used as a means of further evoking the pathos required for these texts.

Chant tunes also played a role in these masses, perhaps as a way to ground the setting in its liturgical heritage. Interestingly, Hasse's 1751 mass uses the same Credo chant tune as Bach's, so it is of value to mention in this study. George Stauffer has noted that this chant tune is Credo II as found in the *Liber usualis*, which contains six separate chant tunes for the Credo. Of additional note is that this tune itself originated as a Saxon variant of the Gregorian 'authentic tone' of the Roman rite, and is also an alternate version of the tune Credo I.²²⁰ The availability of this chant tune appears to be widespread. Even Bach would have had easy access to it, for not only was it printed in the Vopelius Hymnbook of 1682, found in his personal library, but the St. Thomas School library also housed the medieval manuscript containing this chant tune, the St. Thomas Gradual.²²¹ Such effortless access to the chant tune in Lutheran circles would surely mean that Catholic institutions would have had even greater connections to it.

²²⁰ Ibid., 100. I also observed that of these six, half of them (tunes I, II, and IV) open in the same way with the beginning words "Credo in unum deum."

²²¹ Malcolm Boyd, *Bach* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 188.

Of further note is that this tune in particular reverses the fourth and fifth notes of the Credo intonation; this was a Lutheran feature found in the Vopelius hymnbook, but intriguingly, is also found in Catholic masses intended for special occasions, like Hasse's 1751 mass.²²² By using this tune with the fourth and fifth notes reversed, Bach was not only drawing on his Lutheran background, but also recognized that it was of value if he indeed was intending his mass for a special occasion as well, as will be explored further in this study. Despite the widespread availability of the chant tune, other Dresden composers did not typically appear to use this or other chant tunes in their Credo compositions. From my examinations, only Zelenka's ZWV 18 appears to use a chant tune in its Credo Mass form, although it is not one of the standard melodies for the Credo. Heinichen's Mass No. 8 opens with the words "Credo in unum Deum" in unison, single note form, which appears chant-like, and Ristori's *Messe per il Santissimo Natale* has a whole note Credo chant in the bass line, used in Credo Mass form; neither of these are in forms transmitted by the *Liber usualis*. One anomaly in my score findings is Butz's mass, which does not notate the opening "Credo in unum deum," suggesting that here a chant tune was used and intoned by a soloist.

Special mention should be made of the polonaise dance form. In his monograph detailing the role of the polonaise in the music of Bach, Szymon Paczkowski also made mention of its place in the compositions of the Dresden composers.²²³ This is not surprising, given that we have seen close connections between the courts at Dresden and Warsaw. Stockigt, too, notes the many ways that Polish styles were imported to Dresden – especially in relation to the impressive cultural displays that were mounted to signify Dresden's international status. Music and dance

²²² Ibid., 189.

²²³ Szymon Paczkowski, *Polish Style in the Music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, trans. Piotr Szymczak (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017).

were prominent vehicles for this, and the ‘Polish style’ within music was described by theorists such as Mattheson, Scheibe, and Kirnberger.²²⁴ An account of Charles Burney following a personal visit with Hasse notes that Hasse praised the Polish style, and stated himself that one of his vocal pieces (unnamed) was “one of the most singular and the best received of any one of his compositions,” and it utilized the polonaise.²²⁵ Even more relevant for this study is the distinct usage of the polonaise in the *Et resurrexit* subsection of Heinichen’s masses Nos. 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, and 12.²²⁶ Zelenka, too, engaged the polonaise style in the *Et resurrexit* of his 1739 Missa Votiva (ZWV 18).²²⁷ Although Paczkowski did not mention the inclusion of the polonaise in other subsections of the mass, this could be in large part because of what the polonaise signified in relation to the text it supported. The polonaise was regarded as a kingly form, often utilized for ceremonial purposes. By aligning it with the triumphal *Et resurrexit* text proclaiming Christ’s victory, an association between sacred and secular could be manifested to great effect in the Saxon electorate.²²⁸

This chapter has been concerned with investigating facets of music at the Dresden court and the compositional attributes of the Credo movement that prevailed amongst the composers engaged there. Many of these traits related to past traditions of mass composition, and were influenced by the unique confessional history of Saxony, as well as the individual styles of the composers who provided vast amounts of music for the court. The elevation of the court into a culturally competent and sophisticated center of music was a specific intention of the Wettin rulers that glorified not only their domain as a whole, but also the place of Catholicism in the

²²⁴ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, 56-57.

²²⁵ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Provinces* (London, 1773), reprinted as *Dr. Burney’s Musical Tours in Europe*, 2 vols., vol. 2 as *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands*, ed. P. Scholes (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 118.

²²⁶ Paczkowski, *Polish Style*, 210.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 211.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 215.

city. Such a sphere consequently drew in large numbers of talented composers and musicians who were competent in both sacred and secular forms.

These composers simultaneously followed current conventions and tastes in their mass writing and cultivated their own unique signature style, while also considering the practicalities of composing for weekly liturgies and festivals. Overall, it appears that the earlier masses from this sample took many cues from the *stile antico* tradition, but gradually gave way to the inclusion of more modern techniques. Interestingly, though, a return to the *stile antico* seems to have been favoured in the later years of this study, with surprisingly little operatic influence despite Dresden's increasing fame in this capacity. This information suggests potential political or theological motivations for the change; for example, the possibility that the resurgence of *stile antico* forms was a reaction against the encroachment of operatic influence in the church. Perhaps out of all the composers, Heinichen appears the most atypical from the rest, utilizing the greatest variety of styles and techniques in his compositions. At first glance, this hints at resembling Bach's approach, to whose attention we will turn in the following chapter. Having established the musical and liturgical climate in Dresden, we can now address Bach's place there, and how his B-Minor Mass connects with the works of his contemporaries.

Chapter 3: Bach in the Context of Dresden

3.1. Bach's Connections to the Dresden Court

Key instances of Bach's connections to Dresden have been well-researched in the relevant historical scholarship. In this chapter, these important events will be reviewed, in addition to presenting lesser-known evidence that Bach was not only connected to Dresden's musical life, but was also highly interested in it. In doing so, I will demonstrate that Bach was quite well informed on church music in Dresden – not only through his personal acquaintances, but also through his breadth of experience with Catholic masses of the past and present. It will also be seen that Leipzig city officials themselves were cultivating an interest in Catholic musical traditions. Bach's frequent travels to Dresden further indicate a preoccupation with these traditions and with establishing his reputation there. Finally, a survey of some of the other music that Bach wrote for the Dresden court will further provide evidence of the connections he nurtured and valued in his admiration of the musically excellent Dresden court.

Musical circles amongst European courts, including Dresden and its surrounding cities, were highly connected. Therefore, it is not surprising that Bach had established personal associations with several of his contemporaries in Dresden. Even already during the 1720s he was acquainted with Heinichen, and was the Leipzig representative for Heinichen's new theoretical treatise of 1729, *Der Generalbass in der Composition*.²²⁹ He also knew Zelenka, to the point that he may have shared some of the music copies of his personal music collection with him.²³⁰ An advantageous friendship with Hasse was most likely begun at Bach's attendance of Hasse's *Cleofide* in 1731, or perhaps the year earlier, since we know that Bach attended the

²²⁹ Robert L. Marshall, "Bach the Progressive: Observations on His Later Works," in *Bach*, ed. Yo Tomita (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 402.

²³⁰ Paczkowski, *Polish Style*, 209.

opera in Dresden several times with his son, Wilhelm Friedemann.²³¹ Not only did Bach know these contemporaries even from the earliest of his Leipzig years, but in a 1775 letter to Johann Nikolaus Forkel, Bach's son Carl Philipp Emmanuel wrote that his father highly esteemed Hasse and Zelenka.²³² In addition, Bach knew many of the leading Dresden court musicians and was friends with the concertmasters Jean-Baptiste Volumier and Johann Georg Pisendel, and the lutenist Silvius Weiss, among others.²³³ It is not difficult to imagine that all these connections were commonplace for musicians working in such close proximity, and were profitable for all.

Not only did Bach enjoy personal acquaintances with these colleagues, but as a well-rounded and enterprising musician, he had direct experience with many of the Catholic masses that would have been familiar to the Dresden musicians, in addition to composing his own. Being a devout Lutheran did not exclude Bach from a deep knowledge of, appreciation for, and practical application of Catholic ideals. Part of this is due to the confessional history of Leipzig, since the religious climate in the city affected Bach's weekly responsibilities, and furthermore, Leipzig officials appeared to have been increasingly shifting towards tactful incorporation of Catholic worship traditions throughout their leadership, as a way to mediate the Catholic viewpoints of the court in Dresden with their own Protestant tenets, as well as resist the influence of Pietism within Leipzig. Thus, an inquiry into this religious disposition and trajectory deserves further mention.

From a modern vantage point, it is tempting to imagine a bigger chasm between Lutheranism and Catholicism than what was characteristic in the centuries immediately following the Reformation. In actuality, the difference was less extreme, particularly in Leipzig,

²³¹ Boyd, *Bach*, 165-166.

²³² Marshall, "Bach the Progressive," 413. Other composers mentioned in high esteem were Fux, Caldara, Handel, Kayser, Johann and Carl Graun, Telemann, and Benda.

²³³ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 18, 37.

which, due to its geographical and political position, was somewhat caught between the two viewpoints. As has been seen in the previous chapter, the Saxon electors were careful to reconcile these two sides for the overall political peace of the region, especially upon the conversion of Friedrich August I to Catholicism, and in doing so, an orthodox (i.e. Catholic) form of Lutheranism, closer to Luther's original teachings, prevailed in Leipzig.²³⁴ The state of affairs was such that mutually beneficial interactions occurred between Dresden under their newly-converted Catholic ruler and the Leipzig councillors, who themselves maintained varying viewpoints on theology, music, and their authority in each.²³⁵ This meant that a tactful amount of give-and-take, especially around rituals, adiaphora, and "staging elements" rather than direct theology, was necessary in order to maintain good relations with Dresden.²³⁶ As a direct result, their liturgy was in many ways grounded in the older traditions and had a fair amount of resemblance to the Catholic *ordinarium missae*; indeed, the *Leipziger Kirchenstaat*, a pamphlet outlining the Leipzig service structure for visitors, shows that the same structure was retained over the centuries.²³⁷ Significantly, the retention of the Latin language was high, and the typical Lutheran inclusion of the Greek *Kyrie* and Latin *Gloria* on ordinary Sundays was supplemented by the use of the Latin *Introit* and *Credo* on high feast days.²³⁸ Furthermore, there is evidence that the use of the Latin *Credo* was also used even on lesser feast days in Leipzig. Remarkably, the more dominant usage of German in the service was not begun in Leipzig until 1770.²³⁹ This, then, was the religious climate of which Bach was a part; Lutheran to be sure, yet distinct from other regions at the time, and no doubt influential for his musical activities. Even the tenets of

²³⁴ Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 27.

²³⁵ Tanya Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society, and Music in Leipzig, 1650-1750* (New York: Routledge, 2017): 99, 102, 107, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315096636>.

²³⁶ Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 63.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 17, 68-69.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 48-49.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 68-70.

Pietism, to which Bach is often connected, was less of an influence upon Bach in Leipzig than might be thought – indeed, Robin A. Leaver reveals that the Pietists comprised a small minority in this city, and Bach’s closest acquaintances in his position there were not Pietists, but were rather more inclined towards Lutheran orthodoxy.²⁴⁰ Furthermore, the work of Tanya Kevorkian shows that Pietism, for many years an underground movement, opposed the values to which the Leipzig councillors subscribed to. Since church and state were inextricably bound at this time, this opposition aggravated the Leipzig officials.²⁴¹ The councillors themselves were bound by a covenantal duty to ensure the proper transmission of the Word, which encompassed a responsibility for nearly all areas of life, including spiritual welfare, education, charity, and the appointment of all those who were involved in the church. The Pietistic tendencies of this time, even around the adiaphora, did not square with Orthodox views on this covenantal responsibility.²⁴² Perhaps it could even be said that pushback against Pietism contributed to the increased in Italianate-style church music in Leipzig, for Kevorkian notes that Pietistic arguments against the Italian, operatic styles (in favour of a more participatory, devotional style) were overruled by the Orthodox side, who already by the late 1720s were defending the inclusion of more secular styles in the church.²⁴³

Against this background, more specific indications contribute to the overall picture of the values and priorities of the Leipzig council – in particular, the hiring of Bach’s successor, Johann Gottlob Harrer in 1750. Harrer is significant here in that he was a composition student of Zelenka in Dresden, and as such, he was often assigned to copy sacred music; three masses

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 37. Referencing Robin A. Leaver, “Bach and Pietism: Similarities Today,” *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (January 1991): 5-8, 8-13.

²⁴¹ Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety*, 167.

²⁴² Ibid., 81, 136-140.

²⁴³ Ibid., 137-138.

survive in his handwriting – Zelenka’s ZWV 4, 9, and 11. He also worked for Count Heinrich von Brühl’s private musical establishment in Dresden from 1731 to 1750, and we know that he copied a Mass in D-major for him as well, in addition to other sacred works.²⁴⁴ Horn notes that a mass of Harrer’s, no. 65, shows considerable similarity to Zelenka’s masses after 1730, and that Harrer knew exactly what was required for performance in Dresden – both composers showed their dependence on the latest Italian opera music. Furthermore, Harrer was also one of the few contemporary composers who performed works by Zelenka.²⁴⁵

Why would Harrer have been chosen as successor to Bach in Leipzig? He was indeed willing to teach (principally important to the Leipzig council, given their struggles with Bach in this regard) and received a decisive recommendation from von Brühl,²⁴⁶ but it also appears that by this point Leipzig officials desired to further emphasize the Latin liturgy. This inclination was already growing during Bach’s tenure and was concurrent with Friedrich August II’s accession to the throne, which led to a surge of Catholic sentiment that found its way to Leipzig.²⁴⁷ Several clues can be brought forward that suggest the Leipzig council intentionally wanted their new cantor to forge a different path. Sposato first notes that as a result of the struggles the council had with Bach, who desired to be more of a musician than a teacher, they now desired a successor who was more invested in teaching. Town council meeting minutes of July 29, 1750 reveal this desire, with Burgomaster Christian Ludwig Stieglitz uttering the sentiments of many:

The School needed a Cantor and not a Capellmeister, although he must understand music. Harrer had made excellent promises and had declared himself agreeable to everything required of him. Partly on this account, therefore, and partly in consideration of the high

²⁴⁴ Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 107-108, and Norman Rubin, “Harrer, (Johann) Gottlob,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed March 22, 2022, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

²⁴⁵ Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 181-182.

²⁴⁶ Rubin, “Harrer, (Johann) Gottlob.”

²⁴⁷ Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 98.

recommendation [from the Saxon Prime Minister, Count Heinrich von Brühl], he [Stieglitz] would cast his vote for him.²⁴⁸

In addition, Harrer's contract had very specific stipulations intending to make clear his subordinate position – for example, limiting his ability to travel and engage in activities outside of this position, and noting his need to “show respect” – all difficulties that the council had experienced with Bach. Furthermore, the Leipzig council must have been aware of what kind of musician they were getting with Harrer, as he had served for twenty-five years with the Catholic court and was immersed in its music through his copy work and own compositions. Under his position with von Brühl, Harrer had even studied for three years in Italy with Hasse, and the new homophonic Italian style was clear in his compositions. Although he auditioned for the position with a German cantata (possibly because he would have assumed it to be an appropriate choice, since he had spent time in Leipzig as a university student), Sposato writes that there is no evidence that this is what attracted the officials to him; indeed, upon commencing his duties, the majority of his output and performances were of weekly mass settings in the new homophonic Italian style.²⁴⁹ Thus, it is no coincidence that all but four of Harrer's twenty surviving works are in Latin, nine of which were masses or mass movements. Furthermore, his music library contained seventy-nine sacred works, only four of which were in German, the vast majority being mass settings. Although one might assume that this was due to his activities in Dresden, Ulrike Kollmar has demonstrated that seventy-two of the works can be tied to performances in Leipzig.²⁵⁰ It is also significant that Harrer rarely used the works of Bach, despite having access

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 104, citing Hans T. David, Arthur Mendel, and Christoph Wolff, *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 246-47.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 105-108.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 109, citing Ulrike Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer (1703-1755), Kapellmeister des Grafen Heinrich von Brühl am sächsisch-polnischen Hof und Thomaskantor in Leipzig* (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2006), 118, 197-222.

to them, and that he discontinued the use of regular cantata cycles during his tenure.²⁵¹ To replace these, weekly cycles of masses equivalent to the cantata cycles of Bach were programmed. These were either newly written in Leipzig, reused from his masses written earlier in Dresden, or were works from his library that were programmed as a result of his own interest in other composers, such as Palestrina, Fux, Zelenka, and Ristori.²⁵² Not only that, but the masses in his library were full six-movement works, although he usually made parts for just the Kyrie-Gloria *missa* in Leipzig. Highly skilled in this genre given his experience, Harrer was later described by Hiller as “a prominent composer of masses.”²⁵³

Even more significantly, these changes occurring under Harrer’s leadership were already underway during Bach’s tenure. In analyzing service text booklets printed for the benefit of the congregation, Sposato notes that they suggest that changes were emerging in cantata cycles of the 1730s and 40s, involving the music of Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel rather than that of Bach, and including an increase in the performance of concerted mass settings.²⁵⁴ Sposato posits that this shift in the balance of cantata settings allowed more time for concerted mass settings, a trend which we can see continued under Harrer.²⁵⁵ Kollmar affirms that it was not new that the Ordinarium was chanted on regular Sundays in Leipzig, and that polyphonic masses were used on special occasions and feast days. Harrer continued this, yet he also began performing the polyphonic Latin compositions also for regular services.²⁵⁶ Concurrently, the growth of Leipzig

²⁵¹ Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 113-114, and Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer*, 124. Kollmar says that the city bought “Kirchen-Lieder” from Anna Magdalena Bach’s legacy after Bach’s death, and notes Andreas Glöckner’s suspicion that this acquisition of Bach’s chorale cantatas could be related to the fact that Harrer did not have many Protestant cantatas at his disposal.

²⁵² Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer*, 122-23.

²⁵³ Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 114.

²⁵⁴ Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 94.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 103-4.

²⁵⁶ Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer*, 125, citing Christoph Wolff, *Der stile antico in der Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs: Studien zu Bachs Spätwerk* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1968), 32-33.

as a major trade center led to the desire for more professional music in the city; lacking entertainment from an opera company or a court, music societies such as the Collegium Musicum filled the gap. Early records of sacred music performed in the Grosse Concert of the Collegium Musicum suggests that the repertoire performed there not only followed the liturgical calendar, but was increasingly large-scale and contained much music that was usually in Latin.²⁵⁷ Thus, in response to all these developments, the atmosphere in both sacred and secular music appears to have been changing.

This brief foray into the circumstances of Leipzig in the mid-century provides important context relevant to Bach's circumstances. As an experienced musician within an orthodox Lutheran center, Bach was also keenly interested in and appreciative of the music of Catholic traditions, valuing it as well as music of the past. He was also responding in a practical way to the nascent usage of Latin *ordinarium* settings and newfound similarity to the Catholic mass within the Leipzig services.²⁵⁸ The new balance of mass cycles, beginning during the 1730s and 40s and continuing under Harrer's tenure, correlates with the fact that Bach's composition of cantata cycles appears severely reduced at this time and that both his oeuvre and personal library show that his attention was directed elsewhere. Indeed, he endeavoured to create his own library of mass settings and to acquire the concerted mass settings of others.²⁵⁹ Bach's own mass settings include the Kyrie-Gloria *missa* of 1733 (BWV 232), connected to his later B-Minor Mass, and four Kyrie-Gloria *missae*, BWV 233-236, written in the later 1730s. To add to this, he collected at least nine masses and a Sanctus setting from 1730 to 1735, and he gathered a further two masses and three Sanctus settings from 1736 to 1747.²⁶⁰ While the *missae* were

²⁵⁷ Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 89.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 93.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 93, 98.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 103.

commonplace within the Lutheran service, the remainder of the mass movements would not ordinarily have been used.

We also know that concerted mass settings of the Credo were becoming more popular in Dresden.²⁶¹ Here, single Credo movements were being composed to replace the intonation of the creed, and often to supplement the Kyrie-Gloria or other incomplete masses when necessary. Evidence that this practice found its way to Leipzig can be both anticipated and established at several levels. As was previously mentioned, in the very orthodox Lutheran context of Leipzig, musical settings of the Credo were still performed in Latin. Furthermore, although we do not have evidence that a complete mass was performed in Leipzig during Bach's tenure, we do know that Harrer performed Fux's *Missa canonica*, apparently complete, in 1751.²⁶² This performance took place in both the St. Thomas and St. Nicholas churches in Leipzig and Yoshitake Kobayashi suggests that it is very likely that this practice may have also occurred during Bach's employ.²⁶³ Given that Leipzig was keenly interested in expanding their musical traditions, the performances of more Catholic works is perhaps not so unusual, especially by the time of Harrer.

Bach's intense interest in music of other composers also led him to make several manuscript copies of their works – affirming the idea that he desired to expand his library of Catholic works. The research of Kobayashi, commented on by Gerhard Herz, presents this in a new light. Kobayashi's updated chronology of Bach's oeuvre, which expanded on the work of Alfred Dürr and Georg von Dadelsen, shows a new timeline of works that were either composed, copied, or printed by Bach between 1736 and 1750. Bach's keen absorption in the music of other

²⁶¹ Robin A. Leaver, "The Mature Vocal Works and their Theological and Liturgical Context," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 117.

²⁶² John Butt, *Bach: Mass in B Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 5.

²⁶³ Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Universality in Bach's B Minor Mass: A Portrait of Bach in his Final Years (In Memoriam Dietrich Kilian)," trans. Jeffrey W. Baxter, *Bach* 24, no. 2 (1993): 23.

composers at this time is evident, as the new chronology focuses on nineteen works of fourteen composers that Bach listed, ranging from the *stile antico* tradition of Palestrina to the *stile moderno* of Johann Gottlieb Graun.²⁶⁴ Of particular note are the manuscript copies he made of masses by Lotti, Caldara, Bassani, and Palestrina.²⁶⁵ Knowing of his interest in the Dresden court, it is also pertinent to mention the *Hofkirche* repertory; as both Horn and Stauffer note, it included a vast assortment of Italian and Viennese pieces, including many masses of Palestrina, which were often performed.²⁶⁶ As newly-minted honorary court composer at Dresden, with friendships made with his colleagues there, Bach may have even had access to this repertory.²⁶⁷

Given this vital background information, the significance of Bach's intentions to gain a title in Dresden and his frequent travels there cannot be underestimated. He would have viewed a title and presence there as important to his growth as a musician within the city of Leipzig, and especially so as he faced constant struggles in his position there as cantor of the St. Thomas school. Bach's personal connections to Dresden, begun even in the early stages of his Leipzig career, helped to nurture his fascination with the affairs of Dresden and led to his frequent travels there. Indeed, Bach was disgruntled by the fact that the musical circumstances in Leipzig were subpar and he was duly envious of his Dresden colleagues. This is indicated in his famous letter regarding the excellent musical atmosphere in Dresden, in which he also observed that musical styles were changing.²⁶⁸ Perhaps perpetuating his dissatisfaction with Leipzig, key trips that Bach undertook to Dresden included the presentation of several organ recitals, excursions with

²⁶⁴ Gerhard Herz, "Yoshitake Kobayashi's Article 'On the Chronology of the Last Phase of Bach's Work – Compositions and Performances: 1736-1750' – An Analysis with Translated Portions of the Original Text," in *Bach*, ed. Yo Tomita (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 149-171.

²⁶⁵ Leaver, "The Mature Vocal Works," 117.

²⁶⁶ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 19. Referencing Wolfgang Horn's study, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*.

²⁶⁷ Stockigt, personal correspondence.

²⁶⁸ Marshall, "Bach the Progressive," 403-4.

his son Wilhelm Friedemann to attend concerts and to assist with Friedemann's subsequent post at the Sophienkirche, and events possibly connected with his court title re-application, further compositions, and Count von Keyserlingk. A brief chronological exploration of these travels will serve to indicate his early and continued interest in this city.

Even as early as the commencement of his post in Leipzig, Bach undertook the first of his travels to Dresden. Having previously worked at other courts, the chance to immerse himself in the court of Dresden was no doubt a priority for him, and the beginning of his attraction to the city. In 1717, he traveled there to participate in an organ contest with Louis Marchand.²⁶⁹ Soon after, he had further opportunities to display his own talents as an organist by presenting his own organ recitals in 1725 and 1731 at the Sophienkirche.²⁷⁰ Furthermore, Peter Williams points out a recorded absence of Bach's from Leipzig in March of 1729, as well as another visit to Dresden in September of 1731. These visits may have been in connection with a paid position at the elector's court, the capellmeistership (recall that in July 1729, the incumbent of this position, Heinichen, died after illness), during which time he may have been heard and praised by Hasse, Hasse's wife Faustina, and J.J. Quantz, as indicated later by Carl Philipp Emmanuel.²⁷¹

Many of these travels were also in part related to his son, Wilhelm Friedemann, who was himself an accomplished musician. On June 22, 1733, Friedemann was appointed organist at the Sophienkirche, receiving the keys on July 11, a position that would expand his father's access to the city in many ways.²⁷² However, hopes that Friedemann's new position might also merge with that of court chapel organist were not brought to fruition, as Giovanni Alberto Ristori was hired a

²⁶⁹ Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 208.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Peter Williams, *J.S. Bach: A Life in Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 221.

²⁷² Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 426.

few weeks after Friedemann's audition.²⁷³ Although the family's visit to Dresden in July was primarily to help settle Friedemann into his new post, Bach must have been preoccupied with capitalizing on this fortuitous connection, for Joshua Rifkin posits that Bach probably got the idea to assemble and present the initial Kyrie-Gloria *missa* of his later B-Minor Mass only after he learned of Friedemann's success in June of 1733 – leaving him one month to assemble the work (itself comprised of much borrowed material), and a short period to supervise the copying of the parts after his arrival in Dresden.²⁷⁴ This was only a few weeks prior to his letter of July 27, 1733, in which he unsuccessfully petitioned for the title of court composer. Indeed, though Bach profited from his son's new position, the father-son interest in the city was mutually beneficial – Friedemann's appointment here may have come about exactly because he and his father frequently traveled to Dresden to attend concerts and network with other musicians. We know that they often attended concerts (such as Hasse's opera *Cleofide* in 1731), and that Bach cultivated ties with the Dresden musicians through his *collegium musicum* performances.²⁷⁵ Such events must have increased their equal admiration for musical affairs in Dresden.

At the time of Bach's presentation of the 1733 *missa* to the elector, his dissatisfaction with his position in Leipzig was becoming apparent. Conflicts between Bach and the Leipzig council were becoming more common, as city officials repeatedly belittled his position and desires. This led to Bach's increasing sense that he was denied autonomy, respect, and the resources with which he could develop musical excellence in Leipzig. A court title in Dresden was thus even more desirable. However, Bach had held the honorary title of *Kapellmeister* to

²⁷³ Gerhard Poppe, "Bachs Kyrie-Gloria-Messe h-Moll (1733) und die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik," in *Bachs Messe H-Moll: Entstehung, Deutung, Rezeption*, ed. Michael Gassmann (Stuttgart: Internationale Bachakademie Stuttgart, 2014), 102.

²⁷⁴ Butt, *Mass in B Minor*, 11. Referencing Joshua Rifkin, review of facsimile editions of Bach's Mass in B Minor, *Notes* 44, no. 4 (1988): 792-3.

²⁷⁵ Boyd, *Bach*, 165.

Duke Christian of Saxe-Weissenfels since 1717, and it may have hindered his request for a title in Dresden. Upon the duke's death on June 28, 1736, and the subsequent dissolution of his honorary title, Bach may have been led to petition yet again for the title of court composer in Dresden. This time, on November 19, 1736, his request was granted.²⁷⁶ Concurrently, an intense dispute surfaced with the Leipzig authorities and the rector Johann August Ernesti, known as the "battle of the prefects." At issue was authority over the school prefects of St. Thomas. The elector eventually supported Bach, who felt his authority had been undermined by the rector, and the issue exacerbated by the city authorities.²⁷⁷ In deep gratitude for new his court title, and perhaps for the elector's support in the prefect dispute, Bach presented another organ recital in 1736 at Our Lady's Church in Dresden.²⁷⁸

Bach visited Dresden in both 1738 and 1741, although Wolff remarks that his purpose there is unknown.²⁷⁹ However, a couple of assumptions can be made. The Dresden court calendar regularly lists Bach's name during the years of 1738 to 1750; even though official commissions in this regard are doubtful, it is likely that close ties with Dresden were maintained at this time – especially given Friedemann's position in the city.²⁸⁰ Williams postulates that some of Bach's pieces, such as the Lutheran masses, the harpsichord concertos, and even the Goldberg variations may have been provided for Friedemann's use at this time.²⁸¹ Williams also suggests that these visits may have in part been to support Friedemann, since he often supported his sons in various ways.²⁸² Whether or not the Goldberg variations were used by Friedemann, scholars

²⁷⁶ Mary Dalton Greer, "From the House of Aaron to the House of Johann Sebastian: Old Testament Roots for the Bach Family Tree," in *About Bach*, eds. Gregory G. Butler, George B. Stauffer, and Mary Dalton Greer (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 23-24.

²⁷⁷ Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 348-350, and Boyd, *Bach*, 167-171.

²⁷⁸ Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 371.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 208.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 372.

²⁸¹ Williams, *J.S. Bach*, 354.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 247.

have acknowledged that the work was connected to Dresden. It is known that in November 1741, Bach visited Count von Keyserlingk in Dresden – a perfect opportunity to present him with a gift, perhaps in recognition of Keyserlingk’s recent acquisition of the title of Imperial Count. Such a move would no doubt have bolstered his ties with patrons and professionals in the city.²⁸³ In any case, all of these possibilities suggest that professional visits to the city of Dresden remained important to Bach.

Given this apparent personal and professional immersion with the Dresden musical atmosphere, it is fruitful to closely look at some of Bach works that were written at this time, especially those with links to the court at Dresden. These include, of course, the 1733 Kyrie-Gloria *missa* (BWV 232) which formed the basis of the full B-Minor Mass, the four short Lutheran *missae* (BWV 233-236) which were written around 1738, a few works written as part of Bach’s involvement with the *collegium musicum*, as well as congratulatory gifts written for the elector. As well, a brief consideration of the Magnificat (BWV 243) is beneficial, as it has also been linked to Dresden.

Bach’s situation in a city that valued the musical ideals of Dresden supports the perspective expressed by several scholars that the Dresden masses must have offered the closest model of composition for Bach to follow. Not only was Bach interested in their masses, but he was eager to engage with the Neapolitan form that prevailed there. As we have already seen, the Dresden models themselves followed structural patterns and tendencies that originated in Venice, Rome, Vienna, and Naples.²⁸⁴ Furthermore, composers in Naples itself often concentrated on the Kyrie-Gloria pair, either because in the local rite there was little need for elaborately setting the

²⁸³ Wolff, *Bach’s Musical Universe*, 356, and Williams, *J.S. Bach*, 248.

²⁸⁴ Paczkowski, *Polish Style*, 209, and Hans-Joachim Schulze, “Missa H-Moll BWV 232/I: Die Dresdner Widmungsstimmen von 1733: Entstehung und Überlieferung,” in *Bach-Facetten: Essays – Studien – Miszellen. Mit einem Geleitwort von Peter Wollny*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2017), 481.

remaining movements, or because the Kyrie-Gloria *missa* became so large that the other movements had to be left to mere chant intonations. Indeed, concerted settings of the Kyrie-Gloria had been composed since Monteverdi's time.²⁸⁵ Despite the ubiquity of full mass settings in the Catholic church in Dresden and elsewhere, abbreviated versions of the sung mass were also prevalent. Significantly, scholars even remark that the *missa brevis* was the preferred and inherent type at the Dresden court church and elsewhere.²⁸⁶ While it is true that Hasse brought much Italian influence with him upon his arrival in Dresden, it must be said that Zelenka and Heinichen owned these Neapolitan abbreviated masses in the 1720s, even before Hasse's arrival.²⁸⁷ To demonstrate their popularity, it is worth reiterating from the previous chapter that the 1765 Catalogo of the *Hofkirche* library included thirty-six Kyrie-Gloria settings, alongside the ninety-one full masses. These abbreviated masses could be expanded as necessary by adding pre-existing or newly-composed single movements to create a *missa tota* or a *missa senza Credo*.²⁸⁸ As we have seen, individual Credo settings could be found in the *Hofkirche* library, and additionally, individual Sanctus and Agnus Dei settings also appear in the 1765 Catalogo, suggesting that this practice was commonplace.²⁸⁹ Further evidence of this can be found in the fact that the *Hofkirche* library contained separate folders for the movements of the Ordinary, so that it was easy to store the parts in order to excerpt and insert movements as necessary.²⁹⁰

Although this study is mainly concerned with the Credo movement of the mass, specific

²⁸⁵ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 10.

²⁸⁶ Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 367; Wolff, *Bach's Musical Universe*, 277; Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 121, 176; Richard D. P. Jones, *The Creative Development of Johann Sebastian Bach, Vol 2: 1717-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 289. Horn notes this in reference to several masses by Scarlatti, Mancini, Sarri, and Durante in the Dresden repertoire.

²⁸⁷ Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 176.

²⁸⁸ Stockigt, "Bach's *Missa* BWV 232," 41, and Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 138. Many of Zelenka's own masses were incomplete, such as: *Missa Corporis Domini* (no Gloria), *Missa Divi Xaverii* and *Missa Sancti Josephi* (no Credo), *Missa Dei Filii* (only Kyrie and Gloria), and the original version of *Missa Nativitatis* (no Sanctus or Agnus Dei).

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁹⁰ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 22.

attributes of these other movements have been noted as being quite similar in appearance in the masses of Bach, Zelenka, Hasse, and even Harrer. For example, a Neapolitan tendency was to connect the “Dona nobis pacem” to the Kyrie or Gloria by simply reusing the original music of the latter, a practice that can be seen in Bach’s B-Minor Mass.²⁹¹ Studies by Janice Stockigt and Jordi Rifé i Santaló have also addressed congruences found in the structural elements of the Kyrie and Gloria movements of Bach’s B-Minor Mass and those of his contemporaries. Therefore, in order to later elucidate the connections between Bach’s Credo movement and those of his contemporaries, it is beneficial to discuss the similarities to be found amongst the Kyrie and Gloria movements as well.

As the earliest of Bach’s *missa* compositions, the 1733 Kyrie-Gloria pair will be discussed first. Forming the basis of the later complete mass, it also was the work that helped to secure Bach his coveted Dresden title, and was most likely intended for a Dresden performance.²⁹² While there is the possibility that it was used for a Leipzig performance,²⁹³ or for a service at the Sophienkirche under Wilhelm Friedemann,²⁹⁴ a mass of this sort would nevertheless have been very appropriate within a Catholic service. Important indications towards a Dresden intention include the dedication phrase on the title wrapper and the fact that the parts for it were copied in Dresden on unusual paper in the hand of Bach’s immediate family members rather than the Thomasschule copyists.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ Marshall, “Bach the Progressive,” 424, citing Georg von Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Trossingen: Hohner-Verlag, 1958), 152.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Both Wolff and Michael Maul note that it could have been used for celebrations in Leipzig that paid homage to the new elector, during which he or his entourage was present. Wolff, *Bach’s Musical Universe*, 271, and Michael Maul, “Das Kyrie der H-Moll-Messe: Eine genuine Musik für die Leipziger Erbhuldigung?” in *Bach’s Messe H-Moll: Entstehung, Deutung, Rezeption*, ed. Michael Gassmann (Stuttgart: Internationale Bachakademie Stuttgart, 2014): 11-20.

²⁹⁴ Wolff, *Bach’s Musical Universe*, 271.

²⁹⁵ Butt, *Mass in B Minor*, 10.

Regardless of where it was performed, it is useful to consider any stylistic connections to the Neapolitan type in use at Dresden. Janice Stockigt has compared Bach's 1733 *missa* with eight masses that were either composed or reworked by Zelenka around the same time, between 1729 and 1733. Although she notes some differences, such as the enormous length of Bach's *missa* and the fact that the performing materials did not appear to include chorus parts (it only included the solo parts) or specific instruments for the basso continuo (as was typical in most Dresden scores), two important similarities should be acknowledged. First, Bach appeared to adhere quite closely to the general "number" setting of the Neapolitan mass; and second, he appeared to have a knowledgeable understanding of the vocal and instrumental forces required for the *Hofkirche* sacred music, creating his *missa* to align with these principles.²⁹⁶ In following the Neapolitan "number" setting as Zelenka did, Bach duly interspersed choral with solo movements in both the Kyrie and Gloria movements, often scoring sections with obbligato instruments as well. For Kyrie I, a tutti or concerted setting was most often used, contrasting with Kyrie II which was usually set in *stile antico* fashion. Sandwiched between the two was a contrasting Christe movement that was typically a solo or small ensemble aria with reduced instrumentation.²⁹⁷ This framework can be seen in Zelenka's works as well as Bach's. Regarding the Gloria, the usual structure in Stockigt's sample of Zelenka includes concerted choruses and solo or ensemble arias, as Bach's also does. Stockigt also notes the number of subsections in the Gloria; at minimum it was divided into four in the Zelenka settings.²⁹⁸ Interestingly, however, Bach increased this division in comparison to Zelenka and his contemporaries, as his contains nine subsections. This appears comparable to the amount of divisions seen in his Credo

²⁹⁶ Stockigt, "Bach's *Missa* BWV 232," 44, 53.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 44-46.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

movement, and is perhaps related to his desire for symmetry and symbolism. Scholars such as Martin Petzoldt have noted Bach's rearrangement of the subsections from eight to nine so that the fifth subsection stood alone and could be considered as the central part of the movement (theologically and musically), and the other eight symmetrically organized around it.²⁹⁹ Lastly, Stockigt also notes that although four-part vocal scoring was more typical in Dresden's sacred music, five-part scoring was also acceptable. From a practical point of view, this is because many of the castrati in Dresden could have been summoned when more soloists were needed.³⁰⁰ Stauffer confirms the five-part model as being typical in Dresden, further observing that it would have been impractical in Leipzig, as the model would be too taxing on the school choirs there. He remarks that even works that Zelenka may have performed by other composers were written in a five-part texture; many of these were also large in scale and could last up to 45 minutes, and were not typical in German Protestant churches.³⁰¹ Perhaps even more intriguingly, Jordi Rifé i Santaló has analyzed Bach's Kyrie alongside the Kyrie of Harrer's 1735 D-major mass (Harwv 32). Although he surmises that Harrer's Kyrie was more *galant* in nature than Bach's, nevertheless both contain the Kyrie I – Christe – Kyrie II division, demonstrate operatic influence in the Christe arias, and use fugues for the Kyrie II, although Santaló suggests that Harrer's fugue is more modern.³⁰²

Furthermore, the Kyrie-Gloria masses also shed light on the tastes of the elector and his wife in 1733, a time when the opera in Dresden was at its zenith and when Bach was also writing

²⁹⁹ Martin Petzoldt, "Bachs Komposition des Credo als Ergebnis Theologischer Reflexion," in *Bachs Messe H-Moll: Entstehung, Deutung, Rezeption*, ed. Michael Gassmann (Stuttgart: Internationale Bachakademie Stuttgart, 2014): 117-128.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 48. For example, Zelenka's *Missa Sancti Josephi* and *Missa Purificationis* require five vocal soloists.

³⁰¹ These include Lotti's *Missa Vide Domine*, Sarri's *Missa Adjutorium nostrum* and *Missa Divi Nepomuceni*, Alessandro Scarlatti's *Missa Magnanimitatis*, Baliani's *Missa* in A major, Durante's *Missa Modestiae*, and others. Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 22, 52.

³⁰² Jordi Rifé i Santaló, "The Kyries of J. S. Bach's B-minor Mass and Gottlob Harrer's D-major Mass (Harwv 32): Between Late Baroque and the 'Style Galant'," *Bach* 45, no. 2 (2014): 68-93.

secular works. Therefore, the soloistic nature of Bach's *missae*, including the 1733 *missa* and his four Lutheran masses, may be linked to the operatic inclinations of the Saxon house. Stauffer points out that a very striking characteristic of these masses is the intentional display of the many solo voices and instrumentalists available at the Dresden court – indeed, each voice is featured at least once within the five arias of the 1733 *missa*, and there are many obligato roles for the instruments.³⁰³ In this light, Stockigt's observation that the solo parts were present in the manuscripts, but not the choral parts, perhaps signals the Dresden-related motive Bach had for his 1733 *missa*. Because much of this *missa* was derived from cantatas which were primarily soloistic,³⁰⁴ it follows that they could have intentionally been recycled to feature singers from the Dresden court chapel, perhaps even with individual singers in mind. Butt also notes that, given the similarities between the Dresden mass repertory (especially Heinichen's, as we will later see), Bach also made efforts to associate the *missa* with the style of Dresden masses. This can be seen, for example, in the scoring of two soprano parts in Zelenka's works, the duet arrangement of the "Christe," the absence of *da capo* arias, and the use of independent instrumental parts (especially the horn in the "Quoniam").³⁰⁵ Although it is outside the scope of this study, an intriguing topic for further research could be a comparison of the secular cantatas that Bach wrote for Dresden and even performed with the *Collegium Musicum* around this time (such as BWV 215). In any case, it is certainly possible that his *missa* was influenced by the operatic expansion of this time, especially given the soloistic nature of many of the arias. Thus, the five-part scoring of Bach's 1733 *missa*, his usage of similar structures and his apparent knowledge of the Dresden performing forces, the elector's fondness for opera, and the soloistic character of the

³⁰³ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 97.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Butt, *Bach: Mass in B Minor*, 9.

missa, all lend support to the idea that this composition was intended for the Dresden court and was also performable there.

Bach's four Lutheran masses also contain intriguing details, especially when assessing their structural components and their parody models. They embody many similarities with the *missae* of the Dresden composers, such as Zelenka and Heinichen; additionally, their remarkable similarity with one another suggests a single period of composition (largely thought to be around 1738) and perhaps even a common purpose.³⁰⁶ Unlike the 1733 *missa*, three of the four Lutheran masses offer a continuously scored Kyrie movement, akin to the types more often found in smaller Italian centers, rather than the typical, larger-scaled Neapolitan division into Kyrie I – Christe – Kyrie II. Only the Kyrie of the A-major *missa* (BWV 234) is split into three parts. All four masses, however, separate the Gloria into five subsections, with three arias surrounded by two choruses in typical Neapolitan fashion.³⁰⁷ Referring to Bach's penchant for symmetry, Leaver argues that the Gloria movements of BWV 233 and 234 were purposefully constructed so that the center of the Gloria is the "Qui tollis," especially since this acknowledgement of redemption and need for forgiveness is at the heart of the Eucharist.³⁰⁸ This type of symbolic symmetry will be seen in Bach's Credo movement of the B-Minor Mass as well. In addition, the sharp contrasts between the older motet style of the Kyrie and the more modern concertante style of the Gloria in the Lutheran Masses are reminiscent of BWV 232.³⁰⁹

Another important feature of the Lutheran masses is their extensive use of parody. For these *missae*, Bach mainly used the Leipzig cantata cycles I and III as his sources, with some of

³⁰⁶ Boyd, *Bach*, 184

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Robin A. Leaver, "Parody and Theological Consistency: Notes on Bach's A-Major Mass," *Bach* 21, no. 3 (1990): 31.

³⁰⁹ Jones, *Creative Development*, 303-306.

these models being shared between the four *missae*: for example, movements from the same cantatas (especially BWV 79, 102, and 179) are used in several of the mass settings.³¹⁰ In addition to those three cantatas, Bach also heavily relied upon BWV 187, especially in his G-minor mass, where it was used for four out of six of the movements. All the other masses use no more than two movements from the same cantata source.³¹¹ Chester Alwes further emphasizes that Bach did not use anything from cantata cycle II, perhaps because this cycle included many so-called “chorale” cantatas, that may have been less suitable as models for his new *missae*.³¹² Many also believe that that these *missae* often improve upon the works that they parody,³¹³ despite the challenge of substituting the metric, poetic text with more liturgical prose.³¹⁴ While remaining relevant to a potential Dresden audience, any of these masses might have been appropriate for Leipzig services at this time, especially given the widespread contemporary interest in Latin church music.³¹⁵

Bach’s original core of the 1733 *missa*, together with the Lutheran masses, were therefore easily performable in Dresden. As a Lutheran, offering a Kyrie-Gloria *missa* to a Catholic elector would not only have been theologically appropriate, but also “a prestigious and favoured presentation piece to the court;” a court which itself valued, collected, and used these settings.³¹⁶ Indeed, Jones even notes that although the court itself was Catholic, many of the citizens of Dresden were Lutheran, making a Kyrie-Gloria *missa* attractive to a diverse assembly of citizens.³¹⁷ The research of scholars presented here points to the fact that the abbreviated mass

³¹⁰ Ibid., 301.

³¹¹ Chester L. Alwes, “J. S. Bach’s ‘Lutheran’ Masses: Aspects of Chronology and Structure,” *Choral Journal* 29, no. 7 (1989): 9.

³¹² Ibid., 8.

³¹³ Boyd, *Bach*, 184.

³¹⁴ Wolff, *Bach’s Musical Universe*, 269-79, and Jones, *Creative Development*, 301.

³¹⁵ Wolff, *Bach’s Musical Universe*, 330-331.

³¹⁶ Stockigt, “Bach’s *Missa* BWV 232,” 41.

³¹⁷ Jones, *Creative Development*, 289.

style was not strictly a Lutheran tradition, and furthermore, that Bach was aware of the large Italian Catholic tradition of this type, which was practiced in Dresden.³¹⁸ Most importantly, the affinities to be found between Kyrie and Gloria movements of his masses and those of his contemporaries suggest that further similarities may well have existed in the Credo movement. This topic will be addressed in depth towards the end of this chapter.

Given that Bach pledged to provide Friedrich August II with works “for the church as well as for the orchestra,”³¹⁹ several other works can be connected to this purpose as well. Perhaps as many as six new works were written for the elector from 1733 to 1734, before Bach received his title, to signify his allegiance and productivity. Many of these works were featured in *collegium musicum* performances that Bach presented in Dresden,³²⁰ performances that were often made possible due to the regular, reciprocal invitations between the ensembles of Dresden and Leipzig.³²¹ These compositions were largely presented in honour of the name day of the elector, birthdays of the elector’s wife and son, and for celebratory events such as the elector’s accession to the Polish throne and subsequent coronation.³²² With these works, which notably featured modern rhythmic trends such as short-long rhythms, syncopation, or the Lombard rhythm, Bach sought to show his familiarity with and mastery of the latest musical styles.³²³ Indeed, it should not be forgotten that Bach had many years of experience at other courts, and was therefore fully aware of what was appropriate for a royal audience.³²⁴ To this end, Szymon Paczkowski has demonstrated many “royal” features in Bach’s works to the court around this

³¹⁸ Butt, *Mass in B Minor*, 6.

³¹⁹ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 38.

³²⁰ Boyd, *Bach*, 167.

³²¹ Williams, *J.S. Bach*, 222.

³²² Ibid. These works include BWV Anh. I 12, BWV 213, BWV 214, BWV 205a, BWV 215, and one unknown work – all performed from August 3, 1733 to October 5, 1734.

³²³ Herz, “Yoshitake Kobayashi’s Article,” 162.

³²⁴ Butt, *Mass in B Minor*, 70.

time, especially in connection with the polonaise rhythm, a feature of many Polish dances. The motet “Singet dem Herrn” (BWV 225) was possibly intended for the 1727 birthday celebration of August II upon his return from Poland; it includes stately polonaise rhythms appropriate to the occasion.³²⁵ Three cantatas were written for Governor Jakob von Flemming, a representative to Leipzig from the Dresden court, all of which contain the polonaise rhythm.³²⁶ The cantata “Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde!” (BWV 205a) was first written to celebrate the name day of August Friedrich Müller, a philosophy professor at the University of Leipzig who was popular for his fidelity to absolutism. Bach would then recycle this cantata for the Leipzig celebrations of Friedrich August II’s coronation. In this instance, the usage of the polonaise rhythm would be strengthened by the parody connection that tied the elector with an academic theorist of absolutism.³²⁷ Finally, the secular cantata “Tonet, ihr Pauken! Erschallet Trompeten!” (BWV 214) was written for the birthday celebrations of the elector’s wife in 1733, and it too displays features appropriate for royalty, such as the majestic use of timpani combined with trumpet in the first movement, and a trumpet obbligato in the bass aria “Kron und Preis gekrönter Damen” highlighting her triumph and splendour.³²⁸ In these works for the Dresden court, Paczkowski has shown that they contain specific features and symbolism which connect earthly rulers to the heavenly reign of Christ. Although Bach’s output during the 1730s is miniscule in comparison to his more prolific output of the previous decade, it is striking that the pieces he did write were written mainly in homage to the Dresden court.³²⁹

³²⁵ Paczkowski, *Polish Style*, 116.

³²⁶ Ibid., 219-220. These works include BWV 249b, BWV Anh. 10, and BWV 210a.

³²⁷ Ibid., 241-251.

³²⁸ Ibid., Chapter 11.

³²⁹ Boyd, *Bach*, 177.

One more composition containing plausible ties to Dresden is another Latin-texted work, Bach's Magnificat (BWV 243). Several indications point towards this correlation: the dating of the work, the five-voice scoring, and its transposition by Bach at an auspicious time. As with the *missae*, a Magnificat setting would have been appropriate for a Lutheran service, yet it could have also been used for a Dresden performance. Although Bach's Magnificat was originally composed during his first year in Leipzig (as BWV 243a), and performed in December 1723, Bach undertook a revision of the work around between 1732 and 1735 (based on the watermark), near the same time of his composition of the 1733 *missa*. In 1733 he transposed the Magnificat from E-flat major to D major (the same key that the Gloria of the *missa* was written in), and he scored it similarly as well, retaining the original scoring with trumpets. The fact that he transposed the key to D-major is significant in that it was a standard trumpet key, often employed in the Dresden works. All of the mass subsections I analyzed that are scored with trumpet are written in D major, so it was clearly a necessary compositional feature at this time. Both autograph works were also written on the same type of paper, and in a very "calligraphic" hand.³³⁰ A further observation by Herz and Kobayashi concerns the oboe d'amore part. In his D-major version, Bach notated this instrument in the French violin clef, something that was only done in his later years in the Dresden parts of the *missa*. Kobayashi notes that this was a Dresden custom, and speculates that Bach was trying to adapt to this practice.³³¹ As we have seen previously, several works housed in the *Hofkirche* library, especially ones written by Zelenka, were written for five-voice choirs. On the other hand, Bach's Dresden counterparts did not do so with their Magnificat settings. Of the eight extant Magnificat settings by Heinichen,³³² most are

³³⁰ Jones, *Creative Development*, 287, and Herz, "Yoshitake Kobayashi's Article," 151-152.

³³¹ Herz, "Yoshitake Kobayashi's Article," 151-152.

³³² Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, 86.

four-voice settings, with two even written for three voices. Zelenka wrote only three Magnificats, but the two that have survived are for four-voice choirs.³³³ However, a Magnificat by Francesco Durante (falsely attributed to his student Pergolesi) is in five voices. This autograph manuscript is housed in Naples, although other copies of it are for four voices, including a copy in Dresden.³³⁴ This work, dated from the 1720s, could have come to Dresden through Durante's travels, as it has been speculated that he came to Saxony during this time.³³⁵

Alongside these compositional connections, it is conceivable that Bach's Magnificat was performed around the time of one of his travels to Dresden in 1733. This potential performance could have taken place in 1733, during the same time as his presentation of the *missa*. After the mourning period of the death of Friedrich August I, concerted church music resumed on July 2, and this date was also the Feast of the Visitation, when Mary's song of praise was part of the Gospel reading of the day. Thus, it would have been an appropriate time for the presentation of the Magnificat.³³⁶ Although the circumstances surrounding the D-major Magnificat are uncertain, and thus any attempts at connection are speculative, these similarities and concurrences do suggest that the Magnificat was yet another undertaking of Bach in which he desired to display his talents to a Dresden audience.

3.2. Bach's Personal Library

The emergence of Latin-texted compositions in the later decades of Bach's life is one important indication of his preoccupation with the genre, but the manuscripts and volumes found

³³³ Clemens Harasim, "Jan Dismas Zelenkas *Magnificat*-Vertonungen ZWV 107 und ZWV 108 im Kontext zeitgenössischer Marienkompositionen," *Clavibus unitus* 5 (2016): 1-7.

³³⁴ Jno Leland Hunt, "The Durante/'Pergolesi' *Magnificat*: A New Source," *Music and Letters* 64, no. 3-4 (1983): 225-228.

³³⁵ Hanns Bertold Dietz, "Durante, Francesco," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed May 21, 2022, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

³³⁶ Jones, *Creative Development*, 288, citing Hans-Joachim Schulze, "The B minor Mass: Perpetual Touchstone for Bach Research," in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays*, ed. Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 311-320.

in his personal library provide another valuable perspective. While he did of course have access to the choral library of the St. Thomas School and its rare manuscripts, this library has not survived intact. Furthermore, it appears that Bach did not make much use of it (aside from Palestrina's *Missa sine nomine* found therein), or make major additions to it. Instead, he preferred to cultivate his own library and create his own compositions for regular use.³³⁷ He appears to have been an enthusiast of collecting not only musical compositions by important masters, including those renowned in the mass genre, but also books of theoretical and theological substance. By examining these volumes, as well as works from his library that he owned, copied, and even performed, a further picture into what may have influenced his own compositions can be constructed.

Bach's desire to develop his own library of resources was a priority for him that certainly matched his inquisitive, diligent, and studious nature. His collection showed such diversity of composers and eras that it easily matched the personal library of his contemporaries such as Zelenka,³³⁸ perhaps because he began these procurements even from his early years. In his Mühlhausen resignation letter, he writes that he had "acquired from far and wide, not without cost, a good store of the choicest church compositions," and Wolff notes that this began even before his post at Mühlhausen, possibly with pieces inherited from his father. This collection, known as the Old Bach Archive, included pieces written by his ancestors such as Johann Michael Bach, Johann Christoph Bach, Georg Christoph Bach, and others. The archive was later inherited by Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach.³³⁹ In addition, he acquired many works through his numerous personal connections with colleagues in both Dresden and Leipzig. An extensive array of works

³³⁷ Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 332.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 333.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 114.

by German, Italian, and French composers of older and younger generations made up Bach's personal collection, including some works of previous Leipzig cantors.³⁴⁰ Naturally, many of the works he possessed were keyboard and other instrumental works, but a significant number were choral.

Kirsten Beißwenger's extensive survey of Bach's library merits further mention here. Her catalogue of all the works known to have been owned or copied by Bach reveals a large amount of Latin-texted works, primarily masses or mass sections, and Magnificats.³⁴¹ A table to follow in Appendix B lists all of these relevant works,³⁴² but I will observe here that many of them were copied either in the 1730s to 1740s, or much earlier, around 1714-1717 – before his Leipzig tenure. Sposato notes that the paucity of such compositions in Bach's early Leipzig library mirrors that of his predecessor Kuhnau, whose oeuvre also had very few works of this nature – only two *missae*. That Bach dramatically increased the amount of Latin works in his library later in his tenure suggests that ordinarium settings were desired in Leipzig at that time.³⁴³ According to Sposato, the paucity of *missae* from before 1730 in Bach's library is not indicative that such works are lost (at least not many), but that they were, in fact, a trivial part of his initial collection.³⁴⁴

Another relevant observation of this list is the prevalence of Italian composers, who were prolific composers of Latin-texted sacred music. Among these figures is Pergolesi, whose *Stabat Mater* made its way to Bach's library quite recently after its composition (less than ten years), making Leipzig one of the earliest places for it to be found north of the Alps. Bach then

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 332-333.

³⁴¹ Kirsten Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992).

³⁴² See Appendix B on page 148.

³⁴³ Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 99.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

paraphrased it in one of his own works, “Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden” (BWV 1083), perhaps to show that he was keen to make use of up-to-date styles.³⁴⁵ Furthermore, Peter Wollny has discovered a copy of an anonymous Kyrie-Gloria mass in Bach’s hand, dating to the late 1730s. This Mass in E-minor was most likely of Italian origin, and suggests that Bach’s Leipzig repertoire of Latin church music was possibly more extensive than we think.³⁴⁶

Finally, brief mention should be made of his Dresden colleagues’ personal works. While he did not appear to own many of their compositions, he did possess cantatas by Heinichen³⁴⁷ and a copy of a Kyrie-Gloria mass by Zelenka, the *Missa Sapientiae*.³⁴⁸ The only known work he had by Hasse was an instrumental polonaise.³⁴⁹ Paczkowski writes that he may have shared his own library collection with Zelenka;³⁵⁰ sharing compositions rather than owning them outright may have been a more typical arrangement for all involved. Whether through sharing or owning, Wolff believes that most of Bach’s library was indeed built up through his close friends and colleagues, as well as through his involvement with the Leipzig book trade.³⁵¹

In addition to the musical manuscripts in the library, Bach owned an extensive collection of theoretical books. Although most of these items have since been lost, we know of a wide variety of popular contemporary books that Bach owned. Of course, as the Leipzig representative for Heinichen’s treatise *Der General-Baß in der Composition* (1728), this work was naturally in Bach’s library. So was Walther’s *Musicalisches Lexicon*, both in its first printing of 1729 and a later printing of 1732. These books were published around the same time that Bach commenced his *collegium musicum* activities and began cultivating connections with music publishers in

³⁴⁵ Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 333.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, xxvi.

³⁴⁷ Paczkowski, *Polish Style*, 209.

³⁴⁸ Poppe, “Bachs Kyrie-Gloria-Messe h-Moll,” 109-110.

³⁴⁹ Beißwenger, *Notenbibliothek*, 294.

³⁵⁰ Paczkowski, *Polish Style*, 209.

³⁵¹ Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 333.

Nuremberg.³⁵² Another important inclusion in his library is Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*, both in the Latin edition (1725) as well as the German edition (1742) translated and annotated by his student Lorenz Mizler. The Latin edition is the only book of his theoretical library with an ownership mark in his hand that has survived. Some other important volumes in his possession were the manuscript copy of Angelo Berardi's *Documenti armonici* (1687), Friedrich Niedt's *Musicalische Handleitung* (1710), and Andreas Werckmeister's *Orgel-Probe* (1698).³⁵³ While all influential writings, these titles provide only a small glimpse into what was in all likelihood a much larger library of theoretical works.

Given Bach's strong religious interests, theological texts made up an extensive part of Bach's library as well, amounting to at least fifty works and possibly many more. Although the only surviving item in this group is his famous Calov Lutheran Bible of 1681 in three volumes, we know that he also owned many standard Lutheran texts, commentaries, and sermon collections. Scholarly Lutheran classics were easily accessible in Bach's library, including two editions of Martin Luther's complete works (the "Altenburg" edition of 1661-64 and the "Jena" edition of 1555-58). Commentaries by Luther and Johann Olearius, and sermon collections by August Pfeiffer, Heinrich Müller, and Erdmann Neumeister, were present as well.³⁵⁴ Wolff notes that it seems that only "outdated" works were left in his library; perhaps, upon his death, the newer works were quickly picked up for current use. Nevertheless, these older classics were important to him, as evidenced by the fact that they are heavily annotated and underlined.³⁵⁵

The choral works that Bach copied and performed are of special significance, as they show the very practical operations that he was inclined to. As such, they would have provided

³⁵² Marshall, "Bach the Progressive," 402, 432.

³⁵³ Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 333-334.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 334.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

many opportunities for him to learn of the style of the masters whom he respected and sought to emulate. Indeed, Leaver suggests that Bach's experience with these masses may have been the inspiration for him to create his full mass setting.³⁵⁶ Kobayashi's chronology of Bach's works reveals that they range from the ancient to the modern, from Palestrina to Graun. Some of them include Kerll's Sanctus in D major (BWV 241, autograph score, copied ca. 1747 to August 1748), Caldara's Magnificat in C major (autograph copy of score, after 5/31/1740 to c. 1742), and the aforementioned *Stabat Mater* of Pergolesi and *Missa sine nomine* of Palestrina.³⁵⁷ Even in his Weimar years, Bach was studiously copying masses by Catholic composers, including Marco Giuseppe Peranda, Johann Baal, and Johann Christoph Pez (the one Lutheran exception to this was Johann Ludwig Bach). Later in Leipzig, he continued this trajectory by copying masses of Francesco Durante, Johann Hugo von Wilderer, and Antonio Lotti. Jones further notes that with the exception of Baal's Mass in A, all of these were of the Kyrie-Gloria type.³⁵⁸ We also know that he performed Palestrina's *Missa sine nomine* (with the parts partly autographed c. 1742; Bach being one of the two copyists) and *Missa Ecce sacerdos magnus*, Francesco Gasparini's *Missa canonica*, and Antonio Lotti's *Missa sapientiae*. In all these cases, Bach would have also prepared the necessary performing materials, providing him further opportunity to learn the craft of Italian mass composition.³⁵⁹

An especially notable work in this context is Giovanni Battista Bassani's *Acroama Missale*, a collection of six full masses printed in Augsburg in 1709. Bach added to the Credo movement of the fifth mass in F major sometime around 1747 to 1748; the resulting movement is listed as BWV 1081 in his catalogue. Intriguingly, it is possible that he returned to this Credo,

³⁵⁶ Leaver, "Mature Vocal Works," 117.

³⁵⁷ Herz, "Yoshitake Kobayashi's Article," 157-162.

³⁵⁸ Jones, *Creative Development*, 289-90.

³⁵⁹ Wolff, *Bach's Musical Universe*, 287, and Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 438.

which a St. Thomas School copyist had written out twelve years earlier, because of his intentions to complete his B-Minor Mass.³⁶⁰ Typically for the time, Bassani's style was to leave the opening text of "Credo in unum Deum" as an intonation rather than to set it in a concerted manner, which he did for all but the third of these masses.³⁶¹ In setting about to concertize this phrase in masses 1, 2, 4, and 6, then, Bach simply re-organized the text of these masses in order to insert the text "Credo in unum Deum" alongside the existing "Patrem omnipotentem" music. However, this was not possible with the fifth mass, since here the "Patrem omnipotentem" phrase was shorter than the other masses, making it infeasible to add supplementary text.³⁶² Therefore, Bach added a brand-new, sixteen-measure concerted setting of the "Credo in unum Deum" text to this mass,³⁶³ creating his own lengthier, contrapuntal version of the text "Credo in unum Deum" which included a Gregorian melody, a motet-like *stile antico* style, and a bass ostinato pattern.³⁶⁴ This resulting *stile antico* section contrasted conspicuously with Bassani's *stile moderno* "Patrem omnipotentem" text that followed.³⁶⁵ The length of the "Credo in unum Deum" at sixteen measures is striking in comparison to the usual two to four measures typically used by Bassani. Osthoff believes that Bach's adaptation strongly parallels the Credo of Bach's B-Minor Mass, and also that Bach's interaction with Bassani's masses encouraged him to include several Credo "interruptions" typical of the "Credo Mass" throughout his own Credo movement.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁰ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 39.

³⁶¹ Only the third mass had set music for this phrase.

³⁶² Wolfgang Osthoff, "Das 'Credo' der H-Moll-Messe: Italienische Vorbilder und Anregungen," in *Bach und die Italienische Musik/Bach e la Musica Italiana*, eds. Wolfgang Osthoff and Reinhard Weisend (Venezia: Centro tedesco di studi veneziani, 1987): 119.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Osthoff, "Das 'Credo' der H-Moll-Messe," 119.

³⁶⁵ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 39-40.

³⁶⁶ Osthoff, "Das 'Credo' der H-Moll-Messe," 121.

However, it should also be remembered that these “Credo” masses were common fare in Dresden,³⁶⁷ and thus, the Bassani masses may not have been the only place where Bach encountered this technique; recall that Heinichen’s Mass No. 3 and Zelenka’s ZWV 1 and 8 both have the recurring “Credo” text scattered throughout the rest of the subsection. Of further interest, however, is the fact that Osthoff relates Bach’s ostinato pattern combined with Gregorian cantus firmus to the Credo of Hasse’s 1751 mass and Heinichen’s Mass No. 8 in D. It is interesting to note that Hasse uses the same cantus firmus as Bach here, and also that all three masses score the “Credo” instrumentation sparsely, while the “Patrem” contains more instruments.³⁶⁸ With these similarities, it is worth highlighting the fact that Bach’s addition to the Bassani mass took place around the same time as when he was concentrating on completing his own mass, and when he was also copying other works such as Kerll’s Sanctus and Pergolesi’s *Stabat Mater*. Furthermore, Leaver notes the significance of not only copying the Kyrie and Gloria of Bassani’s mass, but also the Credo³⁶⁹ – corresponding with the Credo becoming more commonly concerted by this time, and indeed, more full masses being programmed in Leipzig. Schulze writes that the contrapuntal settings of the Credo relied on “models of south German/Austrian/Italian provenance of the kind [Bach] will have got to know in Dresden.”³⁷⁰ Thus, the similarities surrounding the Bassani mass helps to confirm that Bach was indeed familiar with the Italian Catholic mass tradition in Dresden, and quite likely aimed to follow it in his own composition.

³⁶⁷ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 109.

³⁶⁸ Osthoff, “Das ‘Credo’ der H-Moll-Messe,” 110-11, 116.

³⁶⁹ Leaver, “The Mature Vocal Works,” 117.

³⁷⁰ Schulze, “Perpetual Touchstone for Bach Research,” 319.

3.3 Theories Surrounding Bach's Mass in B-Minor

Having investigated the relevant music and circumstances of Bach's life and the situation in Dresden, we can turn now towards the focal point of this study, his Mass in B-Minor. In addressing this monumental work, it is important to mention the existing theories which have been presented regarding possible Dresden performances of his masses. I will then focus on his great mass alongside the masses written by his Dresden contemporaries in order to elucidate his possible intentions for this final composition.

As has previously been discussed, the 1733 *missa* and the Lutheran Kyrie-Gloria masses are a key part of this picture – and it is important to reiterate the possibility that these *missae* could have been performed in both Leipzig and Dresden, due to the fact that they followed the prevailing “number mass” style, showed knowledge of available performing forces, and contained many soloistic parts which perhaps pointed to the operatic tastes of the elector. Furthermore, the Kyrie-Gloria mass was a common musical form, unlike cantatas which were more suited to particular local liturgies and days.³⁷¹ As we know, concerted masses were becoming increasingly common in Leipzig, and Bach seemed intent on building his own library of such works, not only composing them himself, but also collecting mass settings of other composers.³⁷² Bach also incorporated Lutheran elements into the work (such as borrowing motives from Luther's plainchant German Mass), leading Sposato to suggest that it further gave him the option of performing it in Leipzig.³⁷³ Thus, the work itself was flexible and useful for a variety of situations even though many factors point to a Dresden intention.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 8-9.

³⁷² Sposato, *Leipzig After Bach*, 103.

³⁷³ Ibid., 102.

Bach's later additions to the *missa*, creating a *missa tota* near the end of his life leads to intriguing questions regarding the purpose and practicality of such a mass. Although Kyrie-Gloria masses were not unusual in either Lutheran or Catholic circles, it is seemingly less usual at first glance for a *missa tota* to be practical in Lutheran circles. This, of course, is one of the ultimate questions surrounding the B-Minor Mass. However, as we have already seen, the religious and political history of the region, and the orthodoxy of Leipzig itself, makes the possibility of a full mass in a Lutheran service perhaps not so exceptional. Indeed, in Leipzig, both of Luther's Church Orders – the *Formula missae* and the *Deutsche Messe* – were used. This is because many prominent urban areas combined the two to make up their own church order and liturgical practice. This is especially evident in Leipzig, given that its political history and geographic situation within theologically-divided Saxony made it necessary to mitigate some of the divisions between Catholic and Lutheran-leaning rulers and their followers.³⁷⁴ Of note here is the fact that the *Formula missae* of 1523 retained all five portions of the Ordinary, making Bach's *missa tota* compatible with Luther's view of the liturgy; Butt remarks that “[most of the movements] – at least up to the Sanctus, could have been accommodated within the apparently flexible practices of Bach's age.”³⁷⁵ Recall as well that the Leipzig officials were becoming more and more interested in emphasizing a liturgy that contained more of the Catholic traditions. Thus, it became more acceptable to program full masses for a service even during Bach's tenure, and especially afterwards – as was the case with the programming of a full performance of Fux's *Missa Canonica* under Gottlob Harrer's tenure.

³⁷⁴ Robin A. Leaver, “Music and Lutheranism,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 45.

³⁷⁵ Butt, *Bach: Mass in B Minor*, 3, 6.

Was this flexible climate, then, a stimulus for Bach's completion of his *missa tota*? Did he have a specific performance in mind with its creation? Several of the theories that have been presented by scholars in this regard are important to address. Williams suggests that the plan Zelenka had in the 1740s to create a large-scale, six-mass cycle, called the *Missae Ultimae* (which did come to partial fruition and is included here in my study), may have intrigued Bach.³⁷⁶ Another hypothesis by Gregory Butler is that a special Christmas Day service in Leipzig in 1745 was the impetus for its completion. This service celebrated the Peace of Dresden, during which the Sanctus from the B-Minor Mass was performed. Alongside the Sanctus, another peculiar composition by Bach was programmed – his Latin Cantata (BWV 191), a work which, curiously, also re-used parts of the Gloria of his *missa*. It is the only church cantata composed by Bach in Latin, and although its generic title and liturgical heading ('Festo Nativitatis Christi') implies that it is a customary, annual work, no performance parts for it survive. While we do not know exactly whether BWV 191 was intended for this particular service, or commissioned for another purpose and then reused, Butler posits that it was created especially for the Christmas Day service, and served to inspire Bach to create his *missa tota*.³⁷⁷

Another important theory put forward regarding the stimulus for the B-Minor Mass involves the consecration of the new *Hofkirche* in Dresden in 1751. To this end, Wolfgang Osthoff has speculated that, due to its Italianate character, Bach's mass may have been intended for this auspicious occasion.³⁷⁸ Boyd concurs, saying that this is one of the more convincing arguments.³⁷⁹ In many respects, Bach's *missa tota* does represent a fine choice for a celebratory event of this nature, as high feasts and special celebrations called for richly worked settings, with

³⁷⁶ Williams, *J.S. Bach*, 259.

³⁷⁷ Butt, *Bach: Mass in B Minor*, 13. Butt notes Butler's hypothesis as being unpublished.

³⁷⁸ Osthoff, "Das 'Credo' der H-Moll-Messe," 134.

³⁷⁹ Boyd, *Bach*, 189.

the inclusion of trumpets, horns, and timpani. Furthermore, such special events always included musical settings of the Credo; Stockigt notes a Diarium entry on the feast day of St. John of Nepomuk on May 16, 1729: “Eleven o’clock sung Mass...because of the solemnity of the Mass the Credo was included.”³⁸⁰ One intriguing piece of information surrounding this possibility concerns the acoustics of the new *Hofkirche*. Contemporary reports have mentioned the long-sustained echo within the new building, which provides an interesting perspective and practical reason as to why Bach’s mass may not have been used for this service. The intricate, full textures of his mass likely would not have worked well in such a setting. Furthermore, it was Hasse’s 1751 mass that was used for this consecration – a work that seems deliberately suited to these acoustics, being much less dense in texture. Williams notes that if Bach’s completed *missa tota* was intended for this event, it would have been unsolicited, since the responsibilities for such dedicatory events would have been under the domain of the court *capellmeister*. Since there were frequent absences of musicians from the court due to travels in Warsaw, and because many circumstances surrounding these travels and the building of the court church are uncertain, it is not inconceivable that Bach could have tried to offer his composition for consideration. Indeed, this type of solicitation would have been equivalent to Handel seeking a royal pension in London.³⁸¹ By this point, too, Bach had been granted the title of court composer, and he therefore was not a stranger to the Dresden court, making him a worthy “second choice” if further help was needed due to extenuating circumstances. Although Bach’s mass was quite immense, and perhaps not to the tastes of the Dresdners (indeed, Williams suggests that perhaps his original

³⁸⁰ Stockigt, *Zelenka*, 67.

³⁸¹ Williams, *J. S. Bach*, 260.

missa was already too overwhelming),³⁸² this does not exclude the possibility that Bach might have put in a bid for his composition's use.

A brief analysis of the significant contrasts in this regard can be brought forward. Hasse's mass is very short and very homophonic, containing only 141 measures. Only some easily recognizable words, such as "descendit," "homo," "passus," and "Amen" are slightly more melismatic. Bach's mass, however, is very long and has many dense contrapuntal textures within its total of 834 measures. In addition, Hasse's *Te Deum* was also performed at this service, a work that emphasized sequences of triads rather than subtle harmonic changes. Wolfgang Hochstein remarks on contemporary Dresden accounts that highlighted the acoustics of the new church; it was said that this motivated Hasse to write in this uncomplicated style. However, Hochstein believes that if there is truth to this narrative, it is more appropriate for the *Te Deum*, which contains more of the simple, triadic textures than does the 1751 Mass in D-Minor.³⁸³ In any case, these practicalities and what was actually performed for the dedication service do provide a perspective that could help answer the question of Bach's intentions for his mass.

Schulze, too, argues that the Mass in B-Minor was intended to be performed in Dresden. He analyzes the Dresden parts in particular,³⁸⁴ noting that the watermark was not the same as parts typically used in Leipzig, and further investigates the particulars of the parts themselves, such as articulation and tempo and dynamic markings, but especially the rich figuring of the continuo part and the greater specificity of the instrumental parts – for example, the participation of flutes, bassoons, and oboe d'amore. Although the question of whether the score could have

³⁸² Ibid., 222.

³⁸³ Wolfgang Hochstein, "Foreword," in *Johann Adolf Hasse: Messe in d*, ed. Wolfgang Hochstein, trans. John Coombs (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 1988), vi.

³⁸⁴ Missa h-Moll BWV 232 I: Saxon State and University Library Dresden (SLUB): Mus. 2405-D-21. <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id278110185>.

been used in both Leipzig and Dresden is relevant, Schulze believes that these facets make interchangeable use highly unlikely.³⁸⁵ Another indication of a Dresden intention is the unusual hand of the copyists, believed to be his two sons Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emmanuel, his wife Anna Magdalena, and an unknown copyist referred to as “Anonymous 20.” This suggests to Schulze that the work was copied in a manner different from the usual St. Thomas School customs, perhaps in Bach’s own personal time. Furthermore, Anonymous 20 stopped working on the oboe parts halfway through, and we see the hand of Bach take over personally.³⁸⁶ According to Schulze, Bach’s own handwriting in certain parts itself indicates that he had not simply a dedication in mind, but an actual performance. For example, Bach wrote out the continuo parts himself, since they formed the basis of the rest of the instrumentation, and with unusual precision he wrote the majority of the primary parts for violin I and II, viola, alto, tenor, bass, and the flute and bassoon.³⁸⁷ In addition, the existence of copied violin I parts further leads Schulze to believe that a performance was intended; a dedicatory manuscript would have only required one part.³⁸⁸ The cover of the manuscript submission and its specific wording also provides some clues. Here, Schulze notes that Bach uses the same standard phrasing that he would have used for other Leipzig performances that unquestionably took place, such as cantatas for festivals in 1727 and 1737; the use of the past tense here refers to the undoubted performance of the work: “To his royal majesty and electoral highness of Saxony, was shown with the enclosed *Missa*...the humble devotion of the author J. S. Bach. (Gegen S.^r Königlichen Hoheit und ChurFürstlichen Durchlaucht zu Sachßen bezeigte mit inliegender *Missa*...seine

³⁸⁵ Schulze, “Die Dresdner Widmungsstimmen,” 470-71.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 471-73.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 473.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 474.

unterhänigste *Devotion* der Autor J. S. Bach.)”³⁸⁹ Schulze believes that the statement was written “on the spot” in Dresden.³⁹⁰

Taken all together, these clues provide evidence that Bach had intentions for a Dresden performance, even if the work could also have been used in Leipzig. One further avenue of investigation involves the Agricola manuscript of the Credo that has been found at Gotha. This manuscript was compiled by Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720-1774), a student of Bach’s. Its discovery has the potential to provide further clues regarding Bach’s intentions for completing his B-Minor Mass.

The Agricola manuscript is an early version of the Credo movement which has only survived as a copy, believed to have been made by Agricola. A striking feature of it is its key, which differs from Bach’s score – G major Mixolydian rather than A major Mixolydian.³⁹¹ Furthermore, Joshua Rifkin observes that the Agricola copy appears unusually flawless and particularly free from commonplace copying errors, suggesting that it was copied from a previous manuscript.³⁹² An important perspective on this has been provided by Peter Wollny, who addresses some of the surrounding problems and assumptions with this early version.³⁹³ He highlights the fact that Wolff dates the Credo between 1742 and 1745, which is strikingly early in comparison to the completed date of the entire Mass, and believes that this would have allowed ample time for revisions before its intended use. Wolff himself dates it thus because the *stile antico* treatment that Bach used here in the Credo is different from the other types of *stile*

³⁸⁹ Butt, *Mass in B Minor*, 12, referencing Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds., *Bach-Dokumente* vol.1 (Leipzig 1963), 233-34. The ellipsis is present simply to show that the latter part of the phrase was written at the bottom of the manuscript title page.

³⁹⁰ Schulze, “Die Dresdner Widmungsstimmen,” 475.

³⁹¹ Leaver, “The Mature Vocal Works,” 117; Wolff, *Bach’s Musical Universe*, 320.

³⁹² Rifkin, review of facsimile editions, 787.

³⁹³ Peter Wollny, “Ein Quellenfund zur Entstehungsgeschichte der h-Moll-Messe,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 80 (1994): 163-69.

antico he used, such as in the Kyrie. In analyzing other compositions containing *stile antico* by Bach from his later period of the 1740s, such as the *ricercare* for six voices of the Musical Offering (published in 1747) and the counterpoint seen in the Art of the Fugue (before 1742, rev. c. 1745 and 1748-49), Wolff notes that this type of *stile antico* forms a “high point” in Bach’s approach to the *stile antico* – an approach that is termed by Wolff as more “vocal-polyphonic.” It can be considered a development from the type of *stile antico* he practiced earlier, termed by Wolff as “vocal alla breve,” and which can be seen in the Kyrie of 1733 and also in his Clavier-Übung III (1735-36, published in 1739). Furthermore, because the Credo and Confiteor are similar in style (not to mention some *stile antico* clauses in other works), Wolff dates them together too.³⁹⁴ Despite this approach to dating Bach’s *stile antico* works, not all scholars agree on the conclusions regarding an earlier copy of the Credo. Rifkin and Wolff believe that there was an earlier copy from 1742-45, since “nothing less than a fully worked out score – in G major – could really have served as the basis for the autograph,”³⁹⁵ but Alfred Dürr believes that Bach had draft sketches which are no longer extant (though Dürr accedes that the sketches may have been early). Some of the indications pointing towards an earlier version with a revision involve corrections and notational aspects. As the Agricola manuscript has a near-flawless appearance, suggesting that it was copied, the few corrections that it does contain are telling. According to Rifkin, they mainly correct transpositional errors common when transposing from a source previously written in the key of A.³⁹⁶ In addition, Rifkin’s handwriting analysis of the “Cum Sancto Spiritu” setting suggests that the instrumental lines were written before the vocal lines were layered on top, from which Rifkin infers that Bach must have copied them from another

³⁹⁴ Christoph Wolff, *Der stile antico in der Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs: Studien zu Bachs Spätwerk* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1968): 149-154.

³⁹⁵ Rifkin, review of facsimile editions, 789.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

source.³⁹⁷ Although it is nearly impossible to draw firm conclusions with such limited information, it does point to a possibly lengthier gestation period of the Credo in the 1740s, during which Bach may have been able to immerse himself in the Dresden style by which he was intrigued. Wollny eventually concludes in favour of Bach initially writing the Credo in the key of G, and that this earlier manuscript may have been part of a collection towards a “Project B-Minor Mass,” since a large-scale project like this would have had to be undertaken in stages, and then could be polished up when the time came for coherently uniting the parts.³⁹⁸

3.4. The Credo of Bach’s Mass in B-Minor in Comparison to the Dresden Settings

Having provided a context for Bach’s B-Minor Mass and an analysis of the Credo movements of the masses of his contemporaries, intriguing discoveries have been found that in my view, show many correlations to Bach’s final composition. Consequently, I will turn now to the Credo movement of his B-Minor Mass and provide a detailed exploration of where his setting closely aligns with or departs from the Dresden settings. I will approach the subsections chronologically where possible, as well as consider broader themes. In particular, I found that the “Et incarnatus,” “Crucifixus,” and “Et resurrexit” settings adhere closely to those from Dresden, while showing some notable contrasts. In addition, Bach’s affinity with the “number mass” style is evident especially in the latter half of the Credo movement, as he varied these subsections by using chorus, solo, and duet sections as the Dresden composers did. Conversely, the “Credo,” “Confiteor,” and “Et vitam” settings show significant differences in approach. Finally, typical characteristics of Bach’s writing, especially regarding the length and overall orchestration, will be addressed.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 788.

³⁹⁸ Wollny, “Ein Quellenfund,” 168-69.

Before specifically turning to a comparison of Bach's "Et incarnatus" setting with the Dresden settings, it is useful to first note a similar, connected work, namely, Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* of 1736. Wolff sees this work as a prototype of the "Et incarnatus," given its unusual musical setting. He argues that the proximate model for the "Et incarnatus" is Pergolesi's movement entitled "Quis et homo," as both movements strikingly share a repeated five-note appoggiatura motif.³⁹⁹ Although the shapes of these motives differ, the overall effect is comparable. Also shared is the pulsing continuo line, a trait to be found in other sections of the *Stabat Mater* as well. Here, Pergolesi uses a steady eighth-note line in 4/4 time, while Bach uses a quarter-note pulse in the continuo line alongside a continuous eighth-note pattern in the strings, in 3/4 time. Wolff further suggests that by adding an "exceedingly refined polyphonization of the chordal texture" to these traits, Bach was eclipsing what Pergolesi had begun, and indeed, creating a "startling, avant-garde, forward-looking" composition that bore little resemblance to any other portions of his Mass or his oeuvre more generally. Furthermore, it was a work known to Bach and the object of a motet arrangement entitled "Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden" (BWV 1083) in 1746-47, showing that he was aware of its compositional traits.⁴⁰⁰

Despite this transcendence of the prototype, there are several facets of the work that show similarities to the Dresden settings of the "Et incarnatus." In the first place, although about half of the Dresden settings directly combine the "Et incarnatus" with the following "Crucifixus" subsection, or with the preceding subsections (especially in the case of Heinichen), Bach kept the "Et incarnatus" separate like the other half did, a distinction that then automatically separated the "Crucifixus." Although this may not appear to be significant, it can be noted that this delineation

³⁹⁹ Christoph Wolff, "'Et Incarnatus' and 'Crucifixus': The Earliest and Latest Settings of Bach's B-minor Mass," in *Bach*, ed. Yo Tomita (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011): 302, and Butt, *Mass in B Minor*, 53-54.

⁴⁰⁰ Wolff, "'Et Incarnatus' and 'Crucifixus,'" 302-3.

is more consistent than many of the other subsection divisions throughout the Dresden mass repertory. In addition, aside from direct divisions, there are often other forms of delineation found in the Dresden settings (i.e. a fermata, a change in instrumentation, a new meter) that automatically separate the “Et incarnatus” even if it is not necessarily given its own subsection. This occurs in four further masses, primarily by Heinichen. Notably, Wolff observes that in the original version of Bach’s Credo, the “Et incarnatus” was simply subsumed into the other text, from the “Et in unum Dominum” to the end of the “Et incarnatus,” with no special treatment. But the fact that he later removed the “Et incarnatus” passage from the previous solo and choral movements and gave it its own place, gave a great emphasis to the text that addresses the incarnation of God’s son, since this gave a symmetrical shape to the entire movement, with the “Et incarnatus” at the very center.⁴⁰¹ This highlighting of the incarnation may have been a convention also typical of Bach’s contemporaries, since many of their masses contained special treatment of the “Et incarnatus.” Indeed, the musical emphasis on this doctrine of the creed was a tradition that stretched as far back as the Renaissance.⁴⁰² Furthermore, it would seem that this separation also correlates with the dating of the Dresden masses. More of the earlier settings (up to 1725) tended to separate the movements, while the later masses tend to combine them, as was noted earlier. Bach seemed to be following, then, a slightly earlier tradition characteristic of Dresden.

Secondly, the instrumentation of the “Et incarnatus” also shows congruences with the Dresden settings. While Bach’s five-voice arrangement is atypical for the Dresden repertoire, his thin scoring for two violins and continuo resembles the majority of the Dresden settings. Zelenka often uses only continuo; when he does include additional instruments, they frequently double

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 300-01.

⁴⁰² Josquin des Prez’s *Missa Pange lingua* is but one example that highlights the “Et incarnatus” in this way.

the voices (which are often in a *sol*i setting), so as not to add a denser texture. Only a few of his settings treat the strings as a separate motif in between the vocal parts. These are usually *con sordino*, with parallel thirds and sixths, illustrating what Reinhold Kubik calls a “Christmastime pastoral topos.”⁴⁰³ For Hasse, the section is scored for *sol*i voices as well, the strings beginning by matching, then gradually deviating. Heinichen and Ristori both display the greatest similarities to how Bach uses the instruments in this section; although they, like Zelenka and Hasse, use relatively spare instrumentation (sometimes with oboe doubling), the instruments are set more prominently and independently.

Lastly, the manner in which the voices are set in Bach’s “Et incarnatus” is wholly contrapuntal. In the settings of Zelenka, Hasse, and Heinichen, polyphony is dominant here too, although many of the settings begin in homophony and then soon turn polyphonic. In this respect, Bach’s setting seems to be quite reminiscent of the *stile antico*. Butz, as might be expected, used complete polyphony in his arrangement. He, too, used a pulsing quarter note line in the instrumental section (not simply with the continuo), and set this topos against mostly half note rhythms in the vocal lines. Bach’s pulsing quarter note line here is reminiscent of this style.

A few observations can be made on some of the overall features of both Zelenka and Heinichen’s “Et incarnatus” settings, since their masses represent the majority of this study. In general, Heinichen’s “Et incarnatus” movements are diverse in terms of their style and setting, but they most closely relate to Bach’s in terms of their polyphonic quality, pulsing basso continuo line, and the more concerted and prominent instrumentation (especially seen in the earlier masses). The majority of them are in triple time (especially 3/2), as is Bach’s (3/4). Only ZWV 1 is set in cut time, and ZWV 21 is in 4/4 time, but this is because his final mass was

⁴⁰³ Reinhold Kubik, “Preface,” in *Zelenka: Missa Dei Patris*, ed. Reinhold Kubik (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985), iii.

through-composed and he did not vary the meter. Like Bach's, Zelenka's settings of "Et incarnatus" also have spare instrumentation, normally only with continuo and sometimes with the addition of strings. With the exception of ZWV 18, featuring a solo for alto, all settings are loosely polyphonic in nature. These features, including polyphonic texture, spare yet concerted instrumentation, and meter, are several of the congruences that I have found between Bach's setting of the "Et incarnatus" and those of his contemporaries. This movement, however, did show some distinct differences, and these will be addressed in the next section.

The next subsection to show close resemblances between Bach's setting and the Dresden exemplars is the "Crucifixus." A comparison with the Dresden masses examined here shows that a majority, 13 of 22, present the "Crucifixus" as a separate section, and in cases when it was not separated, it segued directly after the "Et incarnatus," without beginning a new section. However, in some cases where the "Crucifixus" is integrated into a larger section, there can be found some other form of delineation, such as a change in instrumentation, a fermata, or a tempo change. Another important similarity with this subsection is that Bach's fugal form can also be found in the works of Zelenka, Heinichen, and Butz. Several of Zelenka's masses – particularly from 1729 onwards – are set as fugues, as well as some of Heinichen's. Butz's fugue is clearly in the *stile antico* tradition, and includes only continuo.

Another striking feature of the “Crucifixus” is Bach’s silencing of the instruments in the final bars; this, too, has some parallels in the Dresden repertoire. Some of Zelenka’s settings retain only the continuo remaining at the end (in one case just the violoncello), or the instruments double the voices to thin out the texture. His ZWV 19 even contains a tremolo indication for the strings, signalling a hushed and chilling atmosphere.

The image shows a page of a musical score for Zelenka's *Missa Dei Patris*, ZWV 19 (1739). The page is numbered 60 at the top left. The tempo is marked 'Adagio'. The score is for a large ensemble, including voices and instruments. The music features a piano (pp) dynamic in the final bars, with a 'tasto solo' instruction for the strings. The lyrics are 'et se - pul - tus est, se - pul - tus est.'.

Ex. 3.1, Zelenka, *Missa Dei Patris*, ZWV 19 (1739)

Bach’s provision of a *piano* dynamic in the final bars also has its analogues in most of Zelenka’s settings, as well as in many of Heinichen’s. Although neither went so far as to fully remove all instruments as Bach did, these are several indications that a general decrease in volume and texture was favoured, surely in order to convey the character of the text.

Another prominent aspect of Bach's "Crucifixus" section is its pulsing quarter-note bass line, a feature already seen in the "Et incarnatus." This element occurs especially in Zelenka's earlier masses, and sometimes in Heinichen's masses, although it does not occur in those by Hasse or Ristori.

17 **Largo**

est. Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis sub Pon - ti - o Pi - la -

(+Cb.)

Ex. 3.2, Zelenka, *Missa Circumcisionis*, ZWV 11 (1728, possibly 1723)

meine Seel” contain the technique. Some brief usage of it can also be seen in the aria “Zerfliesse, mein Herze.” In many of these settings, the pulsing quarter or eighth-note line conveys a sorrowful, almost suspenseful quality; a feature typified in Bach’s Credo as well in both the “Et incarnatus” and “Crucifixus” movements. To further illuminate the text, many of the Dresden settings, like Bach, deploy text painting at “sepultus est” and “passus,” particularly with a descending line. Both of these procedures help to facilitate a distinct aura for these important sections of the Creed. These traits, including a clear delineation of the subsection, predominant use of the fugal form, an abrupt silencing of instruments and hushed atmosphere at the end of the subsection, a pulsing bass note rhythm, and text painting of important words, all serve to connect the Dresden “Crucifixus” subsections with Bach’s.

Finally, several parallels between Bach and his contemporaries can be found in the “Et resurrexit” subsection. Without exception, every mass examined here begins this as a separate section, unsurprising given its complete change in mood from sorrow to jubilation. A couple of points are worth mentioning here regarding instrumental introductions and the use of homophony versus polyphony in the “Et resurrexit.” Bach’s is one of the few masses that begins the section without an instrumental introduction. Only three of Heinichen’s masses (Nos. 4, 9, and 11) follow this pattern; two of them begin with a bass solo, but all three begin with triadic openings as Bach does. To further link Heinichen and Bach here, Paczkowski remarks that the majority of Heinichen’s masses (Nos. 1-5, 11, and 12) have the “Et resurrexit” to the “cuius regni non erit finis” set in the same manner as Bach’s.⁴⁰⁴ This can be seen in their textual subdivisions, their similarity in length, and in opportunities for solos or duets. In addition, both composers deploy recurring ritornello-style motives, as well as the above-mentioned triadic opening motives. Other

⁴⁰⁴ Paczkowski, *Polish Style*, 210.

Dresden settings begin with instrumental introductions ranging from as little as one or two measures long up to twenty-three measures long. Despite this difference, Bach shares with the Dresden composers a homophonic opening followed subsequently by more polyphonic writing. Bach's vocal texture is interspersed with instrumental interludes that draw from the opening motive, a practice seen as well in the works of Heinichen, Zelenka, Ristori, and Butz. Some differences are to be found as well, which will be noted below.

As for the remainder of the Credo (the "Et in spiritum" to the "Et vitam"), the typical "number mass" style can readily be seen in the diversity of ways that the text is set regarding the distribution of choruses, duets, and solos, alongside the instrumental interludes. Some of the different ways that the composers approached this area can be seen in the following examples. Bach provides a bass solo at "Et iterum," while Zelenka on the other hand assigns solo parts at "Et unam sanctam" in ZWV 1, 18, and 21. While Bach and Zelenka both write solos at "Et in spiritum," Bach's setting is a *da capo* aria and incorporates a greater amount of text. Both Heinichen and Butz tend to vary the settings at this latter half of the Credo as well. Hasse, however, does not, as he simply uses homophony throughout the entire "Credo" movement. Ristori, too, sets the text continuously and simply gives each voice a prominent part of the text, briefly bringing them together on important words such as "et expecto" or "simul adoratur." Despite the great variety for this section overall, the Dresden composers do tend to set the final section, the "Et vitam," in a traditional manner, as we will observe in the following section.

This predominance of the "number mass" style, seen in the more fluid, diverse approach taken in the latter half of the movement, as well as in the similar settings of chorus and solo parts in the beginning of the Credo movement, allowed Bach to make great use of what Marshall

terms “a compendium of styles” in his *missa tota*.⁴⁰⁵ However, we have seen that this was not something unique to Bach, but rather was shared by the Dresden composers as well. Kubik notes that Zelenka’s masses were not unique to him either, as they contained a large amount of formal and stylistic factors that his colleagues used in their works, such as two-part arias with concertizing instruments, expansive closing fugues, and effective unisons. Furthermore, these propensities can all be found in the music of Fux, Lotti, and Hasse. This contemporary “musical rhetoric” was, in all likelihood, apparent to Bach, who made use of it in his own mass,⁴⁰⁶ especially in the parallels that I have shown amongst the “Et incarnatus,” “Crucifixus,” and “Et resurrexit” subsections, and the overall flow of the remainder of the masses.

The significant differences between Bach’s Credo and the Dresden exemplars need to be acknowledged as well, and are especially evident in the “Credo,” “Confiteor,” and “Et vitam” subsections, not to mention the overall length of Bach’s mass and its scoring. First, Bach’s “Credo” subsection gives an individual stamp to the movement, as it is set in the *stile antico* style, containing a walking bass line and fugal entries of the voices throughout, and is firmly based on a chant melody. These significant traits of Bach put a definitive individual stamp on this movement. Indeed, this style is not found at all in the Dresden masses I examined; in fact, the vast majority of these settings open with an instrumental introduction (either short or lengthy), after which the voices enter homophonically to proclaim the opening statement of the Creed. Some of these settings make use of ritornello approaches and overall, are quite concerted in style.

Zelenka’s masses all have instrumental introductions, shorter ones in the earlier masses and lengthier ones in the later masses. In addition, his masses feature homophonic, block-like

⁴⁰⁵ Marshall, “Bach the Progressive,” 424.

⁴⁰⁶ Kubik, “Preface to *Zelenka: Missa Dei Patris*,” iii.

opening statements by the voices. To enhance the unified nature of this opening section, Zelenka often begins with the instruments in unison and uses ritornello style to punctuate vocal phrases with fragments of the opening motive. Unlike Bach, Zelenka does not gravitate towards a Gregorian-style setting; only one of his Credo openings is set in a pseudo-Gregorian style (the *Missa Votiva*, ZWV 18). Here, the voices take turns on a long-note chant melody stating “Credo in unum Deum,” wandering through the setting eight times in a somewhat “Credo Mass” style. Although not in itself a chant tune proper, it was a chant-like melody that alluded to the church music of the past.⁴⁰⁷ This pseudo-Gregorian intonation formula was often found in Zelenka’s works, and also in works of his contemporaries and role models, such as Durante, whom Zelenka greatly admired.⁴⁰⁸ Lastly, although Bach separated the “Credo” subsection up to the “Et incarnatus” subsection into three separate subsections, Zelenka usually combined them.

The other Dresden composers approach this opening section somewhat differently from Bach as well. Heinichen, for example, does not include lengthy instrumental parts at all in the “Credo” subsection, and he seems to be concerned with simply declaiming the text in an efficient manner. He tends towards homophonic openings that quickly morph into a loose polyphonic texture. Occasionally, he provides brief *sol*i parts which break up the choral nature of the section. Unlike Bach, he does not appear to use *stile antico* elements in this section, nor use ritornello form. He combined the “Credo” subsection into one large section, from “Credo” up to “Et incarnatus,” as did Hasse, Ristori, and Butz. Hasse also has a very short instrumental opening and ending in the “Credo” subsection of his mass, and, as has been mentioned before, it is almost exclusively homophonic. This approach is followed by Ristori as well. The only mass of my

⁴⁰⁷ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 101.

⁴⁰⁸ Reinhold Kubik and Thomas Kohlhase, “Preface,” in *Zelenka: Missa Votiva*, ed. Reinhold Kubik (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1997), vii.

study that is similar to Bach's approach is Butz's mass. His "Credo" subsection is vastly different from the other Dresden composers in that it is set in full *stile antico* form. It is not concerted, but written in a double-fugue style, with instruments continually doubling the voices (including the continuo, which is marked *tasto solo*). This is perhaps unsurprising, given that it has been dated between 1700 and 1732, making it a very early Dresden example.

Thus, with the exception of Butz's mass, the Dresden settings of the "Credo" subsection do not appear to contain *stile antico* elements and are quite unlike Bach's own setting. Rather, they typically include instrumental openings and endings of varying lengths, and starting around 1724, they show beginning signs of ritornello usage. They largely set the chorus in homophony, unlike Bach's use of the fugal form for the voices. In addition, they all combine the text from "Credo" up to "Et incarnatus" rather than separate it into three subsection, as Bach did. Thus, in setting his "Credo" subsection as he did, Bach deviated from contemporary approaches.

Returning to the "Et incarnatus," it is important to mention that although there are many similarities between Bach's setting and those of his Dresden contemporaries, there are notable differences as well. In the first place, the five-part voicing of Bach's setting contrasts with the typical three-part setting of Zelenka, which is usually set for *sol*i voices as well. Heinichen uses a tenor solo and a three-voice *sol*i setting in this subsection of his last two masses, respectively, and Hasse's mass and Ristori's Missa in C Major are set for three *sol*i voices as well. Given the spare instrumental effects that were noted earlier, the thin texture of the voices makes sense here as well. Secondly, although only a few of the Dresden masses include obbligato instruments (such as Zelenka's ZWV 18 and 19, which included two violins, *con sordino*, punctuating the text with a repeated motive), Bach's inclusion of the violin part with a continuous, repetitive motive is indeed rare in the Dresden repertoire. Finally, in addition to the vast majority of the

Dresden settings using instrumental doubling of the voices, nearly all of them also begin with the voices in homophony, before gradually settling into a loose polyphonic texture. Bach, on the other hand used an imitative texture for the voices alongside a repetitive instrumental motive. Thus, the unique scoring, use of obbligato instruments, and imitative vocal texture of Bach's "Et incarnatus" contrast strikingly with the Dresden settings.

Some differences are also apparent in the "Et resurrexit" subsection. Unlike Bach, many of the Dresden masses contain an instrumental introduction as a jubilant preface to the text to come. Heinichen tended to use the shortest instrumental openings – some at only a few measures – and in three cases he had the voices (or a soloist) enter immediately, making him again the most similar to Bach in this respect. Ristori also composed short introductions, and it is also interesting to note that Hasse's 1751 mass had a very brief one-measure instrumental opening.

For the "Confiteor," it is striking that only Bach gave this phrase its own subsection, while the majority of the Dresden composers combined it with the surrounding sections, sometimes only passing over it quite quickly. Several of Heinichen's earlier masses start the "Confiteor" anew, as Bach did, but then they differ because they are combined with the "Et expecto." Heinichen, however, does highlight this section by frequently setting the "Confiteor" for a solo voice. The only exception I found is his Mass No. 6, set for *tutti*, and the duet settings of Masses Nos. 8 and No. 9. The only other composer to provide special treatment to this text was Zelenka, who sometimes set it as a duet (ZWV 13). All of the remaining Dresden composers tended to combine this text with the surrounding words. Bach's own setting of the "Confiteor," of course, is highly individualized in its use of the *stile antico*.

The final "Et vitam" subsection of the Credo movement is intriguing to consider. About half of the Dresden masses set the "Et vitam" as a lengthy fugue (12 of 22), often giving it its

own distinct subsection (9 of 12). Given Bach's proclivity for the *stile antico* and his dexterity with fugal forms, one would expect that he, too, would take the opportunity to set his own "Et vitam" in a similar manner. However, it is very short and simply continues the text of the "Confiteor." It is contrapuntal, but not as extensively so as in many of the Dresden settings, nor is it a double fugue like several of theirs, most of Zelenka's in particular. Heinichen's first five masses from 1721 to 1723 have the "Et vitam" written as fugues, but interestingly, the remaining masses Nos. 6-11 (1724-1728) do not – in some cases this section is homophonic, or slightly polyphonic. His final mass, No. 12 (1729) returns to being somewhat fugal. Butz, in his typical *stile antico* treatment, writes a fugue, while Hasse and Ristori, unsurprisingly, prefer homophony here. It appears, therefore, that setting the "Et vitam" fugally was commonplace in the earlier settings, and furthermore, it was not typical of the Italian tradition.

Furthermore, the five-voice setting was unusual amongst the Dresden contemporaries, and even for Bach himself. In the Dresden masses I analyzed, there were no settings for five voices. In Bach's mass, the four-voice settings are only used for the parodied movements, suggesting that the five-voice settings are likely new compositions. The four-voice settings include the "Patrem Omnipotentem" which is a parody of "Gott, wie dein Name" (BWV 171) and the "Crucifixus" which is a parody of "Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen" (BWV 12). Interestingly, the "Et exspecto," though a five-voice setting, is a parody of "Jauchzet, ihr erfreuten Stimmen" (BWV 120). Butt argues that the fifth voice was added by Bach specifically for this mass.⁴⁰⁹ If the B-Minor Mass was indeed intended for Dresden, this addition of the fifth voice may not have been a problem, for, as we have seen, the trained Italian singers working in Dresden may have been available to facilitate a five-voice texture.

⁴⁰⁹ Butt, *Bach: Mass in B Minor*, 56-57.

Lastly, it is important to note the well-known, extreme length of Bach's B-Minor Mass. This entire composition is significantly longer than all of its Dresden counterparts examined here. Bach's Credo movement alone contains 834 measures, while the second largest Credo setting I found was in Zelenka's *Missa Votiva* (ZWV 18) of 1739, containing 590 measures. The majority of the other masses were between 150 and 500 measures, showing that Bach's mass was, indeed, out of the ordinary in this respect.

In sum, significant differences can be found between the Credo movement of Bach's B-Minor Mass and those of his Dresden colleagues, particularly in the "Credo," "Et incarnatus," "Et resurrexit," "Confiteor," and "Et vitam" subsections. Along with the enormous length of Bach's mass and its unique five-voice setting, these anomalies provide evidence that may help to explain Bach's purpose and intention related to this final composition. In the next chapter, I will address the significance of these findings, both regarding the similarities as well as the differences, to provide an answer to the question of how Bach's Credo movement fits into the Dresden tradition of mass composition.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Exploring the Dresden context alongside Bach's own personal circumstances relating to the B-Minor Mass, and the Credo movement in particular, has brought to light important indications of a possible Dresden intent with this composition. The circumstances of the Dresden *Hofkirchenmusik* and Bach's connections to it, as well as the history of the mass genre more generally, provide a lens with which to view Bach's own mass. Most significantly, the contextual details surrounding the sacred music of the court city align with my findings in the Dresden Credo movements examined in this study. Through this musical analysis, it can be readily seen that Bach was aware of the musical currents taking place in Dresden and the wider musical landscape.

Therefore, it is fitting to comment here on the significance of the Credo of Bach's B-Minor Mass alongside the Dresden mass traditions. Despite the differences present amongst Bach's mass and the Dresden masses, there are enough similarities to show that Bach may have indeed had a practical purpose in mind for this mass – we know that there may have been performance opportunities present at this time – and that he was interested in more than simply relegating his music to the confines of mere theory and personal exploration. Thus, I posit that he may have had both practical and personal purposes in mind with the completion of his mass; the two do not have to be exclusive. Bach's personal compositional tendencies and desires, as well as his theological motivations, all played a role within an awareness of the musical styles of the time. In addition, many of the techniques and forms to be found in the Credo movements of this study made their way into mass compositions of the latter half of the eighteenth century, and persisted into the Classical period, showing that they had enduring qualities.

The detailed analysis of the Dresden Credo movements presented in this study shows significant parallel compositional and formal conventions shared by the Dresden composers and Bach. These comparisons highlight techniques used not only in Dresden, but also in a broader geographical and temporal frame: of particular importance is the Italianate influence of the Neapolitan school. Moreover, the inclination of the time appears to have been to present a “compendium of styles” in mass writing, as Zelenka, Heinichen, and Bach all used a great variety of techniques and scoring in their masses, in congruence with the Neapolitan “number mass” style. Strikingly, the later completion of Bach’s Credo after the original 1733 *missa* shows greater extremes of stylistic diversity – even more so than the variety contained in his original *missa* core.⁴¹⁰ Marshall notes that the Mass in B-Minor was neither a galant nor a *stile antico* piece, but rather showed a great variety of approaches, including the *stile antico*, *stile moderno*, style galant, fugue, concerto, passacaglia, pastorale, and bravura arias – surely by intentional design.⁴¹¹ The Credo movement in particular encapsulates this expansive application of styles; Stauffer suggests that this movement in particular flows from both older Italianate masses and the Dresden masses, and that their fusion of styles “was not lost on Bach.”⁴¹²

One specific Dresden mass feature that corresponds to the B-Minor Mass is the juxtaposition of Renaissance vocal style with a more galant, concerted style.⁴¹³ This was evident in my analyses of the movements, and is supported by the prevalence of the “number mass” style, with its sectional nature. Furthermore, although Bach typically gravitated towards solo writing in his other sacred works, especially using arias in his cantatas, he used a greater amount of chorus in the B-Minor Mass – a procedure that reflects his growing familiarity with

⁴¹⁰ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 140.

⁴¹¹ Marshall, “Bach the Progressive,” 427.

⁴¹² Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 20.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

the Dresden repertoire.⁴¹⁴ The emphasis on the chorus was a strong tenet of mass writing which the Dresden composers adhered too, and which can also be seen in Bach's Kyrie-Gloria *missa* and his Lutheran masses.⁴¹⁵ My own observations align with these findings by Marshall, Stauffer, and others regarding the great variety of techniques used in the "number mass" approach. It is also worth reiterating here the additional similarities which I found in the Credo movement. The "Et incarnatus" notably contained its own separate subsection, spare instrumentation, and a gentle polyphony amongst the works of Bach and many of his contemporaries. The "Crucifixus" too, showed similarities by often existing in its own subsection and containing text painting and gradual decay of instruments towards the end. Often, but not always, there was a pulsing quarter note bass line as well as a fugal setting. Finally, the similarities of the "Et resurrexit" included a *forte* and jubilant homophony interspersed with instrumental interludes, triadic openings, and ritornello-style motives. Many of these similarities appear to exist in light of certain textual subject matter – the three mentioned here can all be considered core doctrinal texts. Therefore, in order to convey the important affect of the text, composers intentionally used specific forms and conventions.

Bach's deviations from the Dresden works are interesting to ponder. One of the notable discrepancies I found was amongst both the "Credo" and "Et vitam" subsections. Whereas the Dresden composers largely set the "Credo" subsection in a concerted style, with often lengthy instrumental introductions, Bach chose to make this subsection very contrapuntal; indeed, so much so that it bears a conspicuous *stile antico* signature. Conversely, the Dresden composers largely set the "Et vitam" as a lengthy fugue, whereas Bach did not, instead choosing to write a

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ See pages 35 and 40 of this thesis regarding Scheibe's tenet of using the chorus in mass writing and its long-standing tradition followed in many Dresden works.

brief, imitative mingling of the “Et vitam” and “Amen” texts, with the voices often culminating in decisive homophony. Perhaps, in all these instances, Bach sought to attach theological significance and a connection with the church of the past to his work, for the “Credo” text itself is a foundational doctrine of belief reaching back for centuries, and he therefore chose to set the text with a musically time-honored form. Recall as well that he opened the Credo movement with the quotation of an old plainchant. In a similar fashion, he set the doctrinally important “Crucifixus” text in an ancient, contrapuntal manner, and chose a strict fugue for the “Confiteor,” deviating markedly from his Dresden contemporaries who (with the possible exception of Heinichen)⁴¹⁶ rarely emphasized this latter section in any particular way. The “Confiteor,” however, may have had a profound theological significance for Bach, for its text on the theme of confession is another important theological tenet. In other words, Bach’s attraction to the *stile antico* was perhaps not arbitrary, but was intentionally used to link theological values with the past. We know from many of his works that Bach was highly motivated to connect music and theology into a cohesive whole, and it is no different here.⁴¹⁷

Thus, in light of the inclinations shared by Bach and the Dresden composers, I believe it is important to recognize that Bach may not have been as isolated as is often thought, but instead his mass composition demonstrates many features of the Neapolitan school which he must have been aware of through these important contacts and his travels. He appears to have had the most similarities with Heinichen,⁴¹⁸ perhaps in relation to the fact that he was acquainted to Heinichen already in the 1720s and became the Leipzig representative for

⁴¹⁶ Heinichen unusually included fugal movements for the “Et unam sanctam” in two of his masses I analyzed.

⁴¹⁷ For example, the St. Matthew Passion is full of elements that musically symbolize the Passion story. Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 301. Moreover, Bach’s education, firmly rooted in theology, music, and inquiry, furthered his belief that music and the spiritual were not separate. *Ibid.*, 338-39.

⁴¹⁸ Some of the similarities covered include: absent or shorter instrumental introductions, greater textual subdivisions, and relatively similar “Et incarnatus” settings.

Heinichen's theoretical treatise. As Dadelsen points out, many of the features found in Bach's mass, such as its structure, major/minor tonality, distribution of aria and choruses, and fugal and concerto-like sections, were anomalies in comparison to Bach's other works, making them hard to explain unless viewed alongside the Dresden works from 1730-1750.⁴¹⁹

The dating of the masses considered in this study also seems to have a bearing on the presence of certain stylistic conventions. In particular, a larger number of textual subdivisions characterize the earlier Credo movements of the masses – for the duration of the 1720s and 30s in my chart. After this period, composers were more likely to set the movement in only three sections, rather than up to eight. Interestingly, Bach seems to have taken a cue from the earlier period – although his Credo movement was composed in the latter part of the 1740s, he divided the text into nine subsections, the largest number of all the masses considered in this study.

Another earlier cue taken by Bach is the *stile antico* tendency, particularly in the presence of fugues. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the *stile antico* was quite common in the works composed in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, after which it faded away. However, the style experienced a resurgence towards the end of the 1730s and into the 1740s, prior to the time during which Bach completed his *missa tota*. This revival is especially true in the works of Heinichen, which show usage of the *stile antico* by the mid-1720s. Zelenka avoided the style in his earlier masses, but began to incorporate more fugues starting around the mid-1730s. The *stile antico* is therefore remarkably common in the Dresden repertory, particularly in the “Et vitam” and “Crucifixus” sections. Some of these works also make use of chant tunes, long note values, and motet-style writing, used alongside the galant in true “number mass” fashion. Thus, it can be said that Bach's relationship with the *stile antico* was not extraordinary in relation to

⁴¹⁹ Georg von Dadelsen, “Friedrich Smend's Edition of the B-minor Mass,” in *Bach*, ed. Yo Tomita (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 320.

his Dresden contemporaries, although he certainly placed a greater emphasis on it or had a personal fascination to explore its limits. While Bach might have continued to cultivate his interest with the *stile antico* regardless of the currents of the time, the resurgence of this style in Dresden may have furthered his desire to explore its limits in his own works.

Bach, too, seemed to be attracted to juxtaposing the ancient and the modern in his compositions, particularly in the latter days of his life. This propensity, found in the Mass in B-Minor and in other works, such as the *Clavierübung III*, has been noted by many scholars. The 1733 *missa* itself, of course, has a very galant duet in the “Christe eleison” flanked by Kyrie movements in the *stile antico*; and in the Gloria, a very modern aria for the “Laudamus te” is followed by a motet-style fugue in the “Gratias agimus tibi.”⁴²⁰ Indeed, Bach’s fugues took on extended forms as time went on too: Stauffer tackles the “Credo” subsection of his mass by observing that although its parody, “Gott, wie dein Name,” is a straightforward fugue, its more recent rendering in the “Patrem omnipotentem” is a novel combination of the ancient and the modern. Here, in using counterpoint in combination with dense chordal material, Bach remarkably creates a fugue that resembles an imitative ritornello: “In this way, Bach disguises the fact that he has strung together two fugues for the ‘Credo’ and ‘Patrem,’ one *antico* and one *moderno*.”⁴²¹ Although the *stile antico* practice was not exclusive to Bach, he seemed to work towards transcending its limits, especially in such components as the “Et incarnatus,” his last original vocal setting, which as we have seen is an “innovative and daring collection of creative ingenuity, contrapuntal command, and technical control in uncharted musical territory.”⁴²²

⁴²⁰ Jones, *Creative Development*, 323.

⁴²¹ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 108-9

⁴²² Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 447.

Interestingly, another clear instance of Bach surpassing the usual *stile antico* form can be found in another of his late works, the “Contrapunctus 4” of the *Art of Fugue*.⁴²³

Despite these important similarities, a definitive conclusion concerning Bach’s intentions with the completion of the Mass in B-Minor is difficult to reach. However, his interest in becoming a part of musical life at the court, his connections with the composers there, and his frequent travels to the city validate the possibility that he was fully engaged with this contemporary musical context. Seen in this light, several performance possibilities for the Mass in B-Minor in Dresden can be reiterated. Convincing evidence such as the Dresden performing parts implying a performance of the Kyrie-Gloria *missa* in 1733,⁴²⁴ the potential availability of the Sophienkirche due to Wilhelm Friedemann’s post there, and the fact that after 1737, the Sophienkirche served as both a court and a parish church,⁴²⁵ appear even more relevant with the exploration of this information. Possibly significant as well is the festive consecration of the new Hofkirche in 1751.⁴²⁶ Although Hasse’s mass was chosen for this event, its similarities with Bach’s mass indicate that Bach might have intended to put in a bid for the performance of his work here. The consecration would have been a monumental occasion, and should Bach’s work have been chosen, it would have provided him with an excellent opportunity to showcase his talents in Dresden. In the end, the unfavourable acoustics of the new *Hofkirche* for dense textures may well have been a deciding factor in Hasse’s work being performed instead.

As conclusions regarding an actual performance can only be speculative, and are not the main focus of this study, they nevertheless provide some clues as to Bach’s possible intentions for his mass. In that light, and alongside the musical analysis of the Dresden Credo movements, I

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 368; Schulze, “Die Dresdner Widmungsstimmen,” 470-75. See also page 108 of this thesis.

⁴²⁵ Poppe, “Bachs Kyrie-Gloria-Messe h-Moll,” 103. See also page 83 of this thesis.

⁴²⁶ Wolfgang Osthoff, “Das ‘Credo’ der H-Moll-Messe.” See also page 107 of this thesis.

propose that Bach was writing both with practical and personal intentions. Arguments for a theoretical purpose for the work are indeed compelling,⁴²⁷ but its notable similarities to many contemporaneous Dresden works shows Bach's awareness of concrete performance circumstances in the electoral capital. Additionally, it is important to acknowledge Stauffer's perspective that Bach's composition only for abstraction and posterity tends to impose a Romantic ideology onto the issue. He believes that there is much to be found in the manuscript that point towards performance rather than theory, even though it is hard to conclude precisely where it was intended to be performed.⁴²⁸ Furthermore, Wolff highlights the fact that Bach had "no patience for theory isolated from practice," and that his preoccupation with transcending and exploring forms was for practical, didactic usage; he was disinterested in creating a theoretical, literary name for himself as others such as Heinichen or Fux did.⁴²⁹

To take a forward-looking perspective, many of the musical aspects that have been discussed in this study were built on past techniques and then remained relevant to mass writing extending into the Classical era. Bach's own usage of these principles, as well as the fact that his successor Harrer gravitated towards these tenets in his writing, provides an indication of the mass genre's subsequent trajectory. Although outside of the scope of this study, Hasse's continued mass compositions after 1749 showed the endurance of many of these principles; their expansion, furthermore, can be seen in the works of Joseph Haydn. His *Missa Cellensis* rivals Bach's Mass in B-Minor in length and made use of the variety of Baroque principles written against modern styles, as the Viennese usage of Neapolitan forms remained a priority.

⁴²⁷ Scholars such as Dadelsen and Herz have argued for the work's abstract qualities and intentions as "pure art." See Georg von Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Trossingen: Hohner-Verlag, 1958), 156, and Herz, "Yoshitake Kobayashi's Article," 164. Stockigt, too, writes that the duration of the work was unusual against the Dresden models, even though it seems to have accurately assessed the capabilities of the Dresden musicians. Stockigt, "Bach's *Missa* BWV 232," 53.

⁴²⁸ Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor*, 257-60.

⁴²⁹ Wolff, *The Learned Musician*, 307.

Incidentally, like Bach's mass, it too was first composed as a Kyrie-Gloria mass, to which Haydn later added the remaining movements over the span of seven years.⁴³⁰ Strikingly, the *stile antico* persisted despite the fact that modern techniques, which gave Haydn's latest masses a more symphonic character, gradually gained prominence. Mozart's masses, too, show this same general trajectory, displaying Baroque remnants such as symbolism and fugal writing.⁴³¹ The addition of melodic symmetry, tonality arrival points, clarity, and contrast, gradually replaced the Baroque aesthetic of a unified affect – a principle served well by techniques such as polyphonic imitation, or passing through several keys during a single underlying pulse. Marshall terms this gradual change the “pre-Classical style,” and the composers of this study appear to have been participating in its increasing transition.⁴³² Nevertheless, it took time for these Baroque influences to fade away. I believe this persistence of form and style is further indication that Bach was not working in isolation, but was influenced by and was contributing to the development of this style in this wide context.

In conclusion, I propose that Bach, following on his desire to make a reputation for himself within the court of Dresden, was well aware of the typical conventions of mass writing used in this time. In particular, he was influenced by the aggregation of styles that was so evident in the Credo movement itself, especially in the “number mass” approach, the juxtaposition of the old and the new, and the emphasis on the chorus. As an individual, it also highlights Bach's intense attraction to the *stile antico*, and his desire to transcend the form in such a way that it connected contemporary theological contexts with the church of the past. Individual variations from the Dresden exemplars, indeed, even amongst those works themselves, can be expected due

⁴³⁰ Dack, “Sacred Music,” 138, 142, 144. See also page 39 of this thesis.

⁴³¹ Arnold and Harper, “Mass: III. 1600-2000: (3) 18th Century.

⁴³² Marshall, “Bach the Progressive,” 417.

to every composer working with their own unique tendencies and preferences. I suggest that Bach's inclinations were still exercised within a Dresden context and, indeed, a more universal Neapolitan context that reached throughout Italy, Austria, and Germany. If Bach was fully engaged with this immediate practice, his mass remains, nonetheless, deeply connected to his personal convictions and an influential and monumental work for posterity.

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Appendix A

A. Length of Relevant Gloria Movements

Composer	Title	# of Subsections	# of Measures	Date
Bach	Mass in B Minor	9	770	1733, 1748/49
Zelenka	ZWV 1	8	448	1711/rev. 12-28/29
Zelenka	ZWV 11	5	194	1728, poss. 1723
Zelenka	ZWV 13	6	304	1730
Zelenka	ZWV 17	4	611	1736
Zelenka	ZWV 18	7	599	1739
Zelenka	ZWV 19	6	589	1740
Zelenka	ZWV 21	6	610	1741
Hasse	Mass in D Minor	5	352	1751
Heinichen	Mass No. 1	8	506	1721
Heinichen	Mass No. 2	8	657	1721
Heinichen	Mass No. 3	8	560	1722
Heinichen	Mass No. 4	8	405	1722
Heinichen	Mass No. 5	7	355	1723
Heinichen	Mass No. 6	5	246	1724
Heinichen	Mass No. 7	4	168	1724
Heinichen	Mass No. 8	4	248	1725
Heinichen	Mass No. 9	4	191	1726
Heinichen	Mass No. 11	5? (Gloria appears to be missing, or intoned)	+/- 144	1728
Heinichen	Mass No. 12	4	184	1729
Ristori	<i>Messe per il Santissimo Natale</i>	7	491	1744
Ristori	Mass in C Major	1	83	c. 1730 – c. 1750
Butz	Messe G-dur	8	488	1700 – before 1732

Appendix B

B. Verified Works from Bach's Library (Latin-Texted)

Composer	Title	Movements	Voicing	Copy Date
Baal, Johann	<i>Missa</i> A-Dur	KGCSABO	SATB	1714/1717
Bach, Johann Ludwig	<i>Missa</i> e-Moll über <i>Allein Gott in der Höh sei Her</i> (BWV Anh. 166)	KG	SATB	1727
Bassani, Giovanni Battista	<i>Acroama Missale</i> , 6 Messen für Chor und Instrumente	KGCS	SATB	c. 1735, redone in 1747/48
Caldara, Antonio	<i>Magnificat</i> C-Dur	-	SATB	31/5/1740 to 1742
Conti, Francesco	<i>Languet anima mea</i>	-	S solo	1716 (orig), 1717/23- 1723/24 B.C. transp.
Durante, Francesco	<i>Missa</i> c-Moll (BWV Anh. 26)	KG	SATB	1727/32
Kerll, Johann Caspar	<i>Missa Superba</i> D-Dur (Harrer copied the KG)	S	SATB + SATB	1747
Lotti, Antonio	<i>Missa</i> à 4, 5, et 6 voci g-Moll	KG	SSAATTBB in various combinations	1732/35
Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da	<i>Missa sine nomine</i>	KGCSABO	SSATTB	c. 1742
Peranda, Marco Giuseppe	<i>Kyrie</i> C-Dur	K	SSATB	c. 1709
Pez, Johann Christoph	<i>Missa S. Lamberti</i> a-Moll	KG	SATB	K: 1715/17 G: 1724
von Wilderer, Johann Hugo	<i>Missa</i> g-Moll	KG	SATB	Before 1731
Unknown	<i>Missa</i> C-Dur (BWV Anh. 25)	KG	SATB	1740/42
Unknown	<i>Missa</i> c-Moll (only have parts for Vc.)	KG		1714/17
Unknown	<i>Missa</i> G-Dur	KG	SATB + SSAATTBB	1732-35, 1738/39
Unknown	<i>Kyrie?</i> (Unidentified; only have Bass part)	K?	-	?
Unknown	<i>Sanctus</i> d-Moll	S	SATB	1738/41
Unknown	<i>Sanctus</i> G-Dur	S	SATB	c. 1742

Composer	Title	Movements	Voicing	Copy Date
Unknown	<i>Magnificat</i>	-	SATB + SATB	1742
Works Whose Inclusion is Neither Assumed nor Ruled Out by Sources				
Bernhard, Christoph	<i>Missa Durch Adams Fall is ganz verderbt</i>	KG	SATTB	?
Bernhard, Christoph	<i>Missa Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam</i>	KG	SSATB	?
Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da	Unknown work	-	-	-
Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista	<i>Stabat Mater</i>	-	SA	1746/47?
Schmidt, Johann Christoph	<i>Missa D-Dur (only have Kyrie I)</i>	K	SSATB	?
Unknown	<i>Sanctus B-Dur</i>	S	SATB	c. 1734
Works Once Included but now Excluded				
Krebs, Johann Ludwig	<i>Sanctus F-Dur</i>	S	-	-
Scheibe, Johann Adolph	<i>Magnificat G-Dur</i>	-	-	-
Zelenka, Jan Dismas	<i>Magnificat D-Dur (ZWV 108)</i>	-	-	-
Unknown	Seven various <i>Magnificats</i>	-	-	-

Appendix C

C. Credo Chart

	Credo in unum Deum,	Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium.	Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo...	Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis.	Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est.	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est,	et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in caelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris.	Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, iudicare vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis.	Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.	Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas.	Et unam, sanctam, Catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam.	Confiteor unum baptismam in remissionem peccatorum.	Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum,	et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.
Bach – Mass in B Minor (1748/49) <i>BWV 232</i> 834mm	-Vln I&II, BC, SSATB -45mm -AMaj -In 2 -TBAS -Rapid bass line -Vlns become more indep.	-3 Tpt, Timp, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -84mm -AMaj -In 2 - “Credo Mass” -Only Tpts indep. of voices	-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SA + Ob + Vln <i>Soli</i> -80mm; G maj; in 4 -Obbligato violin/oboe duet with SA -Repeated ritornello-style theme used with voices/instruments in between voice parts, but beginning theme is not used at the end -No inst. imitation	-Vln I&II, BC, SSATB -49mm; B min; in 3 -BC slow pedalpoint with driving quarter notes -Repetitive violin motive -Imitative entrances, then polyphonic	-Transv. Fl I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, S2ATB -53mm; E min; in 3 -Ctpt – spare at first -Instruments don’t imitate -Steady bass ostinato; inst. ostinato-like -No inst. on “sepultus est”	-Same inst. as Et expecto -131mm; D maj in 3 - <i>Tutti</i> , homophonic -No inst. opening -Homophony, polyphony, and ctpt -B solo at “Et iterum;” <i>tutti</i> at “cuius” same as opening -Ritornello style, open. theme returns often; long ending -Inst. are indep.	-Oboe d’amore I&II, BC, B solo -144mm; A maj; in 6/8 -Concerted aria; two obbligato oboes -Ritornello-style; same ending as opening -Da capo aria; main theme returns with “Et unam” -Melismas		-BC, SSATB -143mm; F# min; in 2 -5 voice dbl. ctpt. - two motives that merge -Pulsing quarter notes begin in BC at “peccatorum”- “mortuorum”	-3 Tpt, Timp, Transv. Fl I&II, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SSATB -105mm; D maj – begins on 5 th suspended from last movement; in 2 -5 voice imitative entrances at “Et expecto” and throughout to the “Amen” -“Et vitam” and “Amen” text intermingled -More instrument matching				
Zelenka – Missa Sanctae Caeciliae (1711/rev. 12-28/29) <i>ZWV 1</i> 329mm	-Vln I & II, Vla, BC, SATB -113mm; A min; in 3 -13mm opening: instruments in unison -Homophonic “Credo, Credo” then very polyphonic motet-style -Merge into imitative <i>solis</i> at “Et in unum” – alternates with <i>tutti</i> “Credo” (“Credo Mass”) -Instruments quite independent throughout -Revision: transposed “Et unam” and changed solo from soprano to alto			-Vln I & II, Vla, BC, B Solo -52mm; E min; in 3 -Long descending melisma on “descendit” -Concerted aria	-BC, SAT -9mm; E min; in 2 -SAT enter immediately in homophony; soon become polyphonic	-Vln I & II, Vla, BC, SATB -24mm; shifting keys -Contrapuntal opening; only BC – driving 8 th note line -Rhythm change on “passus” – inst. matching, homo., desc. -Only BC on final phrase	-Vln, Vla, BC, SATB -49mm; A min, in 2 -Fast strings alone for first 7mm with a variety of themes. - <i>Tutti</i> , homophonic, brief declamations followed by instrumental sections that use parts of opening, then mostly polyphonic. - <i>Tutti</i> at “Et in Spiritum” – somewhat contrapuntal. -Homophonic on “simul adoratur” – text painting -Voices/inst. quite independent -Throughout, instruments are interspersed between voices using parts of opening motive – very close to ritornello-style			-Vln, BC, A Solo -26mm; E min, in 3 -8mm violin obbligato/BC opening -Aria-like; instrumental ending uses parts of opening theme, but not the first part		-Vln I/S, Vln II/A, Vla/T Bass, BC -56mm; A min -Double fugue -Texts intermingled -Voices match instruments -Was transposed in revisions		

	Credo in unum Deum,	Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium.	Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo...	Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis.	Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est.	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est,	et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in caelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris.	Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, iudicare vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis.	Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.	Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas.	Et unam, sanctam, Catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam.	Confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum.	Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum,	et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.
Zelenka – Missa Circumcisionis (1728, poss. 1723) ZWV 11 167mm	-3 Trmb, Timp, Cor I &II, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -57mm; D maj; in 4 -5mm opening: instruments in unison -Homo. “Credo,” then somewhat poly. Ritornello-style ending before ST <i>solī</i> (nearly <i>a capella</i>) begins at “Deum de Deo.” BA <i>solī</i> join in at “Genitum;” <i>tutti</i> at “Per quem” -Instruments quite independent, but matching on ”Per quem” and “descendit” -North German motivic variety (ed. Raimond Rügge) -5mm of ritornello-style instrumental ending				-Vln I&II, Vla, BC – vc. solo, SATB -27mm; B min; in 3 -SAT <i>solī</i> opening, homo. then poly. with only vc. solo in BC -At “Crucifixus” <i>tutti</i> , somewhat poly. with spare inst. and a driving 8 th note bass line -Strings start to participate in driving line as well at the end -Slowly descending line -Instruments matching voices		-3 Trmb, Timp, Cor I&II, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -83mm; D maj; in 4 -10mm instrumental opening. Style of Albinoni with strings in unison (ed. Raimond Rügge) - <i>Tutti</i> homophonic, some polyphony. Instruments independent. Before “Et in Spiritum” there is a ritornello ending -SA poly. duet with BC/strings on “Et in Spiritum.” SB <i>solī</i> on “Qui cum.” <i>Tutti</i> homophonic on “simul adoratur” Back to polyphonic on “Confiteor” – voices in pairs SA and TB. Long pause before “mortuorum” which is melismatic, slow, only voices -Before “Et vitam” the opening theme returns, ritornello-style. SATB <i>tutti</i> homophonic, then polyphonic. “Amen” is polyphonic, then homophonic end. No instrumental ending of movement -Instrumental themes often sounding over the voices							
Zelenka – Missa Gratias Agimus Tibi (1730) ZWV 13 150mm	-4 Trmb, Timp, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -48mm; D maj; in 3 -4mm opening: instruments in unison -Homophonic “Credo” <i>tutti</i> to “Deum,” where voices become imitative -Voices paired SA/TB at “Qui propter” -Instruments quite independent but matching on “descendit” which begins 4mm ending ritornello -Instrumental ostinato of ritornello theme throughout movement				-BC, SAT <i>solī</i> -18mm; B min; in 3 - <i>Solī</i> voices immediately homophonic, then more polyphonic	-Vln I&II, BC, A solo -32 mm; D maj; in 3 - <i>Con sordino</i> strings -BC is vc./organ -Strings/ voice alt.; aria-like -Desc. melisma on “passus” -Spare BC at final phrase	-4 Trmb, Timp, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -52mm, D maj; in 4 -2mm instrumental entrance. <i>Tutti</i> homo. becoming poly. Instruments mostly independent -“Vivos et mortuos” slows, faster at “cuius regni” -SAB <i>solī</i> at “Et in Spiritum” but quickly switches to <i>tutti</i> at “simul adoratur” -TB <i>solī</i> duet at “Confiteor” – only BC to accompany - <i>Tutti</i> at “Et expecto”; slows to adagio at “mortuorum” but allegro and <i>tutti</i> homophonic at “et vitam” -“Amen” is quick, polyphonic, with melisma at end -Voices and instruments generally independent -Main theme returns often while voices are sounding; briefly returns at end too with final “Amen” joining in							
Zelenka – Missa Sanctissimae Trinitatis (1736) ZWV 17 390mm	-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -126mm; C maj; in 4 -29mm opening with multiple instrumental themes (North German motivic variety); instruments in unison -Mainly homophonic “Credo” <i>tutti</i> while instruments reprise opening themes -13mm ritornello; then brief S concertized solo on “Genitum” with brief <i>tutti</i> as punctuation -B concertized solo at “Qui propter” with long melisma on “descendit” – repeat of “Qui propter” <i>tutti</i>				-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -45mm; shifting keys; in 3 -Instruments double voices throughout -Voices enter immediately, <i>tutti</i> , homo. becoming more polyphonic. -Straight into “Crucifixus”		-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -86mm; A maj; in 4 -Inst. begin immediately on final word “est” – last for 13mm. - <i>Tutti</i> , homophonic, then more polyphonic -Voice/inst. generally independent -Ritornello-style interludes that use parts of the opening motives, overlapping with voices -Slow down briefly at “mortuos” and back to speed at “cuius” and quite homophonic again			-Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SAT <i>solī</i> -41mm; E min/G maj; in 3 -Voices in immediately, homophonic becoming polyphonic -Strings <i>con sordini</i> -At “Et expecto” SAT <i>solī</i> contrapuntal -First “mortuorum” becomes major; second one is minor, drawn out, soft -Very similar to the “Et incarnatus” movement in terms of pulse, scoring, <i>stile antico</i> style		-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -92m; C maj, in 4 - <i>Tutti</i> , dbl fugue for whole mvmt until last “Amen” poly.		

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	-Voices participate in ritornellos				-Long, slow, drawn-out “passus” and “sepultus.” Marking for <i>p</i> before final phrase. “Est” is sung as part of next movement		-T solo at “Et in Spiritum” – quite melismatic. <i>Tutti</i> entrance at “simul adoratur” – this alternates. No instrumental ending				-Instruments match voices throughout -Unusual setting in comparison to others		-Instruments generally match	
Zelenka – Missa Votiva (1739) ZWV 18 590mm	-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -127mm; A maj; in 4 -18mm opening; instruments mainly in unison -Pseudo-Gregorian setting with voices taking turns with long-note chant theme on “Credo in unum Deum” (“Credo Mass”) while other voices continue the text in loose polyphony. Then “Credo” reiterated <i>tutti</i> homophonic -Some instrument/voice matching, esp. with chant -Instrumental ritornello between voices (sections from opening theme – motivic variety)				-Vln I&II, Vla, BC, A Solo -117mm; E min; in 3 -Inst. indep. of voice; ornamentation, <i>con sordino</i> -Aria	-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -63mm; E min; in 4 - <i>Tutti</i> in ctpt. -Chiasmus -Inst. match -Some text painting at “passus”	-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -283mm; A maj; in 3 -Lengthy instrumental opening for 36 mm. Voices enter <i>tutti</i> SATB homophonic, becoming polyphonic -S solo at “Et iterum” then all voices <i>tutti</i> homophonic. At “Et mortuos” very slow, soft, polyphonic -“Cuius” fast, homophonic then polyphonic. 12 mm. instrumental interlude -T solo at “Et in Spiritum.” On “Simul adoratur” all voices <i>tutti</i> , mostly homophonic -“Et unam sanctam” – melismatic bass solo. Slow, descending on “mortuos” – final word has strings in tremolo, fading -“Et vitam” is SATB <i>tutti</i> , contrapuntal. “Amen” melismatic, but becomes more homophonic towards end. Texts intermingled -More instrumental doubling of voices can be seen here -Lots of instrumental interludes that use brief passages of opening motives							
Zelenka – Missa Dei Patris (1740) ZWV 19 464mm	-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -147mm; E min; in 4 -24mm opening; instruments mainly in unison -Homophonic <i>tutti</i> at “Credo;” gradually becomes more polyphonic throughout -Ritornellos using parts of opening themes -Text painting at “factorem” and “descendit” -SA <i>sol</i> i concertized duet at “Deum de Deo” - <i>Tutti</i> at “Per quem” – mainly polyphonic to end -Instruments quite independent -Ritornello-style ending with part of opening theme				-Vln I&II, BC, SAB -42mm; shifting keys, in 3 - <i>Con sordino</i> interludes between voices -Slight polyphony -Fermata after “et homo” -Instrumental ending	-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -63mm; A min; in 4 -SA/TB pairs; double ctpt., instruments match -“Sub pontio” very chromatic -“Sepultus est” spare inst., <i>pp</i> tremolo on A -Three fermatas throughout	-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -116mm; C maj; in 4 -23mm inst. opening in unison; <i>tutti</i> vocals, homophonic and then some counterpoint -Instruments independent of voices; main theme often returns while voices sounding -Tremolo in strings on “mortuos” -SA solo duet at “Et in Spiritum” then BT solo duet added - <i>Tutti</i> voices homophonic at “Et unam” – strings double voices -“Et expecto” <i>tutti</i> homophonic; fermata on switch to “mortuorum” – meter in 3, melismatic, no oboes						-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -96mm; E min; in 4 -Dbl fugue, with texts overlapping -Opening theme from “Et resurrexit” comes often -Homo. SATB on “Et vitam” but ctpt. on “Amen” -Inst. mostly matching	

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Zelenka – Missa Omnium Sanctorum (1741) <i>ZWV 21</i> 263mm	-Whole movement through-composed -All Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -17mm inst. open. – mainly in unison -A min; in 4 -Voices <i>tutti</i> in unison -Inst. independent	-TB, then SA <i>sol</i> i concertized duets -“Per quem” <i>tutti</i> , polyphonic -Ritornello interludes	-Bass concertized solo -Text painting at “descendit” -5mm inst. at end	-SAT <i>sol</i> i, some poly. -Only BC -11mm. inst. before next entrance – unusual and brings back theme from opening Credo	- <i>Tutti</i> , double ctpt. with SA and TB in pairs -Inst. matching -“Sub pontio” is very chromatic -Only BC with final “sepultus est” – fermata before	- <i>Tutti</i> , mostly homo. -“Sedet” has SA and TB pairs -5mm inst	-TB <i>sol</i> i duet, polyphonic -Two separate vocal lines at same time (“Et iterum” and “Et in spiritum”), polyphonic -Vocal <i>sol</i> i – A and B -Then 2mm instrumentals – again in homophony	- <i>Tutti</i> , SA and TB, then mostly homophonic -Emphatic TB “Simul adoratur” -3mm. inst.	-S solo -Instruments largely independent in entire section -Opening themes brought back during and between voices	- <i>Tutti</i> , SA and TB pairs mostly homo. -Inst. imitate -Tremolo at “mortuos”	- <i>Tutti</i> , dbl. fugue -Immediate entrance after last “mortuos” -Polyphonic “Amen” -Inst. mostly match voices -Complete opening theme overlaps voices - ritornello (ed. W. Horn)			
Hasse – Mass in D minor (1751) 141 mm	-Trmb I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -50mm; D maj; in 4 -2mm instrumental opening; 4mm closing; no ritornello -Same opening motive as Bach -Almost exclusively homophonic, <i>tutti</i> -Instruments usually different from voices				-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, ATB <i>sol</i> i -29mm; shifting keys; in 3 -Some instrument doubling, some polyphony -Then straight to Crucifixus <i>tutti</i> SATB -Desc., somewhat pulsing bass		-Trmb I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, BC, SATB -62mm; G maj; in 4 -Immediate orchestral prelude before voices tutti; homophonic all the way to “Amen,” which enters in polyphony/imitation -Instruments match most often -No special treatment for any of the texts; simply homophony throughout – except the final “Amen” -No recurring motives or ritornello							
Heinichen – Mass No. 1 in D Major (1721) 505mm Autograph SeiH1 SLUB: Mus. 2398 – D-5a	https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/123964/1/ -Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -106mm; D maj; in 4 -3mm. opening before voices enter – homophonic at “Credo”, then polyphonic at “factorem.” Alternates <i>sol</i> i and <i>tutti</i> throughout, with B solo at “Genitum” - <i>Soli</i> /solo sections are with fast-moving BC line only; <i>tutti</i> sections further punctuated by homophony with instruments -Descending line at “descendit” -At most 2mm. between phrases; no ritornellos					-Vln I&II, Vla, CATB, BC (with violini and cellos) -62mm; Gmin.; in 4 -2 mm. inst. before voices enter homo.; some poly.	-Vln I&II, Vla, ATB, BC -101mm; G maj; in 4 -12mm before voices enter polyphonically; very fast strings -Mostly poly. -Inst. punctuate voices with	-Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -127mm; D maj; in 4 -“Et in Spiritum” is imitative, inst. double. -Homophonic on “Simul adoratur” -6mm. inst. lead-up to a fugue at “Et unam sanctam” -5mm. inst. ending. -Some instrumental phrases between vocal parts; not ritornello style. -Fugues have instrument matching		-Vln, BC, B solo -44mm; A maj; in 4 -Lots of scratched-out parts, faded notes. “Andante.”		-Full inst. -65mm; D maj; in 4 -Fugue, inst. double -7mm inst. interlude, then repeat the text again using the “Et vitam” motive and		

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	-Et incarnatus: very short; a few measures with instruments, somewhat independent. Sopranos have slower moving line. Rapid 8 th note BC. Before <i>a capella</i> “et homo” there is a pause. 5mm. inst. ending					-Inst. have constant 8th note-rest pattern while voices have longer held notes -“Sepultus est” – desc.	recurring opening motive - ritornello -6mm instruments before “et iterum” -10mm inst. ending – ritornello -Motive during voices too							the “Amen” together -No inst. ending
Heinichen – Mass No. 2 in F major (1721) 455mm Autograph SeiH11, BeH15 SLUB: Mus. 2398 – D13	https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/144416/1/ -Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -72mm; F maj; in 4 -2mm opening before homophonic “Credo.” -T solo on “Et in unum.” A solo on “Genitum.” Both accompanied by violins and BC -Text painting at “factorem” and “descendit” -When voices are <i>tutti</i> , they are homophonic with all instruments joining and horns especially matching -At most 2mm. between phrases; no ritornellos -4mm instrumental ending					-Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -17mm; F min; in 4 -Imitative opening, with phrases ending homophonically -Strings quite present -BC has continual eighth notes -Some inst. matching	-Vln I & Ob I&II, Vln II, Vla–double SAT voices. BC doubles B. -“Alla breve” marking at beg. of Tenor -98m; Gmin; in 2 -Fugue; different fugue on “sepultus”, then fugue 1 returns w/ “Crucifixus;” same with fugue 2 at “Et sepultus.” -Inst. match -Long, drawn-out ending with all whole/half notes	-Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -76mm; F maj; in 3 -9mm fast inst. opening before SA voices enter imitatively -Lots of voice and BC only -TB doesn’t enter until near the end on “Cum gloria” with full inst. -Some parts of motive return	-Vln I&II, Vla, BC, T solo -57mm; B-flat maj; in 4 -Aria-like -Ritornello-style; opening motive returns between vocal lines		-Vln I&II, Vla – without oboe doubling, SATB, BC -27mm; F maj; in 3 -“Largo” -Voices imitative (phrases end homophonically) while inst. have long held notes throughout	-Vln I&II, Vla, BC, A solo -54mm; F maj; in 4 -“Cantabile ma un poco allegro” -Melismatic parts of the solo; aria-like -Soloist always accompanied by instruments -Instrumental beginning and end – ending is more like vocal beginning	-Horn I&II, Vln I (oboe II doubles)&II, Vla, SATB, BC -54mm; F maj; in 6/4 -Fugue; instrumental doubling of vocal line; dense -Quickly goes into melismatic “Amen”	

	Credo in unum Deum,	Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium.	Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo...	Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis.	Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est.	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est,	et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in caelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris.	Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, iudicare vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis.	Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.	Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas.	Et unam, sanctam, Catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam.	Confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum.	Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum,	et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.
Heinichen – Mass No. 3 in F major (1722) 473mm Autograph SeiH12 SLUB: Mus. 2398 – D12	https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/129221/1/ -Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC, Ob I&II -161mm; F maj; in 3 -8mm opening before very homophonic “Credo” -“Credo, Credo” is repeated after “invisibilium” -“saecula” “vero” “facta” “coelis” (“ Credo Mass ”) -SA duet at “Et in unum” and TB duet at “Genitum” – only with violins and BC -Text painting at “factorem” -Instruments generally independent; some matching especially at “Credo” reiterations -At most 2mm. between phrases; no ritornellos				-Vln I (oboe(s) double) &II, Vla, SATB, BC -15mm; G min; in 4 -“Largo” -Mostly homophonic -Inst. match -2mm inst. ending	-Bsn I&II, B1, B2, BC -71mm; C min; in 3 -13mm inst. duet opening, followed by vocal duet. These two groups mostly alternate; imitative -Desc. Lines -Only BC at “sepultus est” -6mm inst. ending	-Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -82mm; F maj; in 3 -4mm inst. open. -Triadic, imitative vocal opening -Melismatic in parts -“Hautbois e viol” added on p. 38 - <i>piano</i> on very brief “et mortuous” -8mm inst. ending – same as start - ritornello	-Vln I&II (<i>con sordini</i>), S solo, BC (organ and cello) -43mm; B-flat maj; in 4 -Aria-like; lots of melismas -Instrumental beginning and ending – ritornello style	-Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -15mm; B-flat maj; in 4 -“Largo” -Solos while rest of chorus sing together homophonically – first B, then A. -Becomes more polyphonic at end -Eighth note patterns in BC and instruments	-Vln I&II, Vla, T solo, BC -55mm; D min, in 4 -“Cantabile ma andante” -Aria-like -Lots of melismas -Ritornello-style inst. beginning and ending	-Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -31mm; F maj; in 6/4 -Fugue; “Amen” is part of this right away too. -Instruments double voices -On repeat of fugue near end, fugal entrances are quicker			
Heinichen – Mass No. 4 in D major (1722) 589mm Autograph SeiH2 S.B. zu Berlin: Mus. ms. autogr. Heinichen, JD 2 N	https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN73237880X -Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -105mm; D maj; in 3 -11 mm. opening before homophonic voices at “Credo” with full instruments. A solo at “Et in unum” – 3 strings “col basso” here – they appear to copy the BC. Tenors take over at “Deum de Deo” -Voices nearly always homophonic - <i>Tutti</i> with instruments at “Qui propter” -Text painting at “factorem” -Text painting at “descendit” – polyphonic with spare instruments; pulsing 8 th note bass line begins here -Some instrument matching - <i>Tutti</i> at “Et incarnatus” – homophonic, full inst. Pulsing bass notes continue; pause before “et homo.” Longer held notes and less inst. here				-Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -26mm; A min; in 4 -Adagio, 8th note moving patterns in inst. throughout -Very homophonic SATB throughout -Inst. don’t really match -2mm inst. ending	-Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -88mm; D maj; in 3 -Triadic opening; B solo begins, then <i>tutti</i> . S solo at “Et ascendit” with only BC, then <i>tutti</i> -A solo at “Et iterum” with Vln I and BC in unis. Then <i>tutti</i> and inst. -Choral parts very homophonic. -Part of opening motive ends mvmt -Inst. often match	-Vln I&II, Vla, A solo, BC -67mm; G maj; in 3 -Strings “con sordini”; Andante -10mm inst. opening -Aria-like; melismas -Pulsing quarter note in BC and instruments -Ending has part of opening motive	-Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -107mm; D maj; in 2 -“Alla breve” marking – whole notes -Fugue; strings double voices. -“N.B.: Corni da Caccia sempre colle Trombe” on second page	-Vln I&II, B Solo, BC -Vla part written out on bottom pages of manuscript -99mm; G min; in 3 -10mm inst. opening. -Aria-like; melismatic. -10mm. inst. ending – ritornello – uses same opening motive	-Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -97mm; D maj; in 2 -Vla part at top of 1 st page – from prev. mvmt? -Fugue; inst. double voices -Presto -Horns “sempre colle trombe”				

	Credo in unum Deum,	Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium.	Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo...	Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis.	Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est.	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est,	et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in caelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris.	Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, iudicare vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis.	Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.	Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas.	Et unam, sanctam, Catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam.	Confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum.	Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum,	et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.
Heinichen – Mass No. 5 in F major (1723) 266mm Autograph SeiH14 SLUB: Mus. 2398 – D14	https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/124086/1/ -Horn I&II, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -“Violoni e violette suonano sempre il basso” – this line removed on next page -63mm; F maj; in 4 -5mm. opening before slightly polyphonic voices -T solo at “Et in unum” and S solo at “Genitum” – both only with BC -A bit more polyphonic than the earlier masses; more involvement with instruments throughout -Some rhythmic matching of instruments -Text painting at “factorem” and “descendit”			-Vln I&II, Vla, Ob I&II, SATB, BC -Ob doubles Vln -7mm; F maj; in 4 -Voices homophonic, strings throughout – steady 8 th notes -Inst. match BC more than voices	-Ob I&II Soli, AT, BC -29mm; C min; in 4 -5mm Ob and BC opening -Voices often in unison -Brief 2-3mm inst. interludes -Melismatic “passus” -5mm inst. ending – uses some earlier themes	-Horn I&II, Vln I&II (Ob dbls), Vla, SATB, BC -83mm; F maj; in 6/8 -8mm. inst. opening; voices enter homophonically -At “mortuos” switch to 4/4 and slow to adagio, with oboes out. Only for 1 measure, then back to 6/8 and <i>tutti</i> . Still mostly homophonic. -S solo at “Et in Spiritum” – just strings/oboe – no BC. Melismatic - <i>Tutti</i> at “conglorificatur” – a bit more polyphonic -7mm inst. ending -Sixteenth-note motive from beginning returns often, and at end					-Vln I&II (Ob doubling), Vla, SATB, BC -12mm; D min; in 4 -Adagio; homophonic until “Apostolicam” -No instrumental beginning or end -Inst. match voices	-Vln I&II, Transv. Flute I&II, Vla, T Solo, BC -39mm; B-flat maj; in 4 -Andante, “sempre piano” -8mm inst. before solo -Melismatic, aria-like -4mm. inst. ending - ritornello	-Vln I (doubled with Ob I&II) &II, Vla, SATB, BC -33mm; F maj; in 4 -SATB fugue; inst. double voices	
Heinichen – Mass No. 6 in D major (1724) 170mm Copied 1814 SeiH3 SLUB: Mus. 2398-D2	https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/113890/1/ -Horn I&II, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -64mm; G maj; in 4 -6mm opening before imitative/polyphonic voices enter. Longer note “Credo” with faster notes for the rest of the words -Imitative SAT <i>sol</i> i on “Et in unum” and back to <i>tutti</i> at “Deum de Deo”. Imitative entrance again at “Genitum.” Very polyphonic throughout -“ Credo Mass ” -Text painting at “descendit” -Ritornello style – opening theme repeated three time including at the 7mm instrumental ending			-Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -20mm; A min; in 3 -Largo; homo. becoming a bit more poly. -Inst. also match voices rhythmically -4mm inst. ending -Descending line	-Vln I&II, Vla, ATB, BC -24mm; E min; in 4 -BTA <i>sol</i> i entrance; imit. -Steady pulsing 8 th note continuo -Short 8 th note patterns in strings as well -Imitative “sub pontio”	-Horn I&II, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -62mm; G maj; in 4 -3mm inst. opening; voices enter homophonically. “Et ascendit” has rising line. Some polyphony, ending in homophony -SA <i>sol</i> i duet at “Et in Spiritum.” Alto imitates soprano. Violins imitate voices here. Duet continues until “Et in unam” which becomes homophonic, <i>tutti</i> – only bass line slightly different, with more movement. - <i>Soli</i> at “Et expecto” - <i>Tutti</i> , homophonic at “Et vitam” – quickly moving into the “Amen” which becomes polyphonic. Very short – one final “Amen” with no instrumental ending -Opening motive returns slightly, during voices								

	Credo in unum Deum,	Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium.	Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo...	Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis.	Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est.	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est,	et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in caelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris.	Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, iudicare vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis.	Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.	Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas.	Et unam, sanctam, Catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam.	Confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum.	Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum,	et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.
Heinichen – Mass No. 7 in D major (1724) 153mm Autograph SeiH8 SLUB: Mus. 2398 – D8	http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426600673 -Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -57mm; D maj; in 2 -Voices enter immediately, homophonic at “Credo” – then some polyphony -“Et in unum” is AT duet with BC and violin - <i>Tutti</i> at “Deum de Deo” - some polyphony -SA duet at “Genitum” with BC. <i>Tutti</i> at “Qui propter.” -Almost exclusively homophonic -No instrumental opening or ending				-No official double bar line here, but there is a change to 3/2, slower rhythm -14 out of 57mm -Mostly homo. -Half note pulse	-Vln I&II, Vla, B solo, BC -15mm; B min; in 4 -Driving 8 th /16 th note rhythms throughout -1mm opening and 2mm end	-Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -81mm; D maj; in 4 -2mm inst. opening before voices enter homophonically, soon becoming a bit polyphonic -S solo at “Et ascendit” – no BC, only Vln I&II. Melismatic - <i>Tutti</i> at “iudicare” – Tenor line declamatory, other voices homophonic, but different rhythm -A solo at “Et in Spiritum” – no BC, only Vln I&II. One long melisma - <i>Tutti</i> at “Et unam Sanctam” – Tenor line declamatory, other voices mostly homophonic, but different rhythm -T solo with strings at “Confiteor” – some melismas - <i>Tutti</i> at “Et vitam” – Soprano line declamatory, no fugue. Polyphonic “Amen” -Main opening string motive returns occasionally; vocal motive does not return. Does not appear to be ritornello style -Little instrument matching; usually only with one string part							
Heinichen – Mass No. 8 in D major (1725) 186mm Autograph SeiH4 SLUB: Mus. 2398-D9	http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426600339 -Horn I&II, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -74mm; D maj; in 2 -6mm opening; declamatory SA voices on “Credo”, then <i>tutti</i> with B taking on the declamatory function. Polyphonic - <i>Soli</i> pairings include AT and TB -Somewhat polyphonic voicing at times -Instrumental interludes resemble ritornello style; no instrumental ending				-No official double bar line here, but there is a change to ¾ -Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -12 of 74mm -Strings only to begin then BC and voices only -Homophonic	-Vln I&II, Vla, B solo, BC -45mm; B min; in 3 -Inst. opening and ending -Aria-like -“Et sepultus est” has only BC	-Horn I&II, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -67mm; D maj; in 4 -2mm inst. opening, voices enter homophonically. Some polyphony -S solo at “Et in Spiritum” – string accomp. but no BC. <i>Tutti</i> at “Et conglorificatur” -B solo at “Et unam” -à2 (AT) at “Confiteor” (BC only). Bass line sings “Et expecto” once, then onto “Et vitam” Long held note plus fermata on the “o” of “mortuorum” – then finishes the word and straight into “Et vitam” -Instruments don’t match voices -Brief horn motive returns only once. No ritornello.							-15 of 67mm -Begins in homophony, but then some polyphony -No fugue -All inst. -Melismatic “Amen”
Heinichen – Mass No. 9 in D major (1726) 217mm Autograph SeiH5 SLUB: Mus. 2398-D6	http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426601181 -Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Ob I&II, SATB, BC (doubled by Vln and Vla) -47mm; D maj; in 4 -1mm instrumental opening -Imitative opening at “Credo” but homophonic at “Patrem.” Contrapuntal at “Et in unum” – this continues to end of section - <i>Tutti</i> voices throughout; no instrumental interludes				-No official double bar line here, but there is a fermata, an instrumentation change, and the marking “adagio” - 6 of 47mm -Vln and Ob doubled, Vla, SATB, BC -Mostly homo. -Inst. matching	-Bsn I&II and Vln unis., B solo, BC -38mm; G min, in 12/8 -Has short violin solo in middle – first theme returns -Instrumental opening and ending – same theme as B -Da capo Aria-like	-Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -132mm; D maj; in 3 -Voices in immed. – stately rhythm proclaims “Et resurrexit” with triadic motive -first homophonically, then polyphonically. “Ascendit” has rising line. Big change at “et mortuos” (also changes to 4 just for this) - back to jubilant style at “cujus” and back in 3 -T solo at “Et Spiritum” – punctuated with brief <i>tutti</i> phrases - <i>Tutti</i> basses only at “Et in unam” -Flutes I&II enter after “Ecclesiam” -A+T <i>soli</i> at “Confiteor” – “mortuorum” sung by basses only (again back in 4) - <i>Tutti</i> at “Et vitam” and in 3, homophonic. Polyphonic “Amen” -Some instrument matching -No return of motives; no ritornello							

	Credo in unum Deum,	Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium.	Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo...	Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis.	Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est.	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est,	et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in caelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris.	Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, iudicare vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis.	Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.	Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas.	Et unam, sanctam, Catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam.	Confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum.	Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum,	et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.
Heinichen – Mass No. 11 in D major (1728) 232mm Autograph SeiH6 SLUB: Mus. 2398-D10	http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426600738 -Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Vln I&II (Ob dbls), Vla, SATB, BC -87mm; D maj; in 3/8 -16mm opening; voices enter imitatively with solos, but <i>tutti</i> at “Patrem.” Homophonic at “Deum de Deo.” Polyphonic at “Genitum” -Similar vocal entrance as the beginning “Credo” at “Qui propter” – imitative solos SAT, then <i>tutti</i> with B at “descendit” -No instrumental interlude or ending				-Vln I&II, Vla, T solo, BC -20mm; D maj to B min; in 4 -T solo; <i>tutti</i> at “Crucifixus” -Somewhat polyphonic -Homophonic at “passus” -Instrument matching -“Sepultus est” has descending triadic pattern with instruments matching		-Tpt I&II, Timp, Vln + Vla unis, B solo, BC -39mm; D maj; in 3 - B solo begins immediately; with triadic majestic opening, dotted rhythms -Little instrument matching -Rising line at “ascendit” -Melismatic -Ending instrumental line matches opening		-Fl I&II, Vln I&II, Vla (doubles organo), T(?) solo, BC -52mm; G maj; in 4 -Strings <i>con sordini</i> -5mm instrumental opening; this theme returns halfway as well -Melismatic solo with constant inst. accompaniment – usually not matching -5mm inst. ending with opening theme. Ritornello style -Aria-like				-Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Vln I&II (Ob. Dbls), Vla, SATB, BC -34mm; D maj; in 4 -Homo. <i>tutti</i> voices briefly sing “Et vitam” slowly – immed. poly. into the “Amen” then allegro with some inst. matching	
Heinichen – Mass No. 12 in D major (1729) 234mm Autograph SeiH7 SLUB: Mus. 2398-11	http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id426604741 -Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Vln I&II (Ob dbls), Vla, SATB, BC -47mm; D maj; in 2 -6mm opening, then <i>tutti</i> voices homophonic at “Credo” -Imitative entrances at “Et in unum,” “Deum,” “Genitum,” and “Qui propter.” Generally polyphonic -Melismatic, text painting at “Descendit” -Instrumental interlude and brief ending resemble ritornello style by continuing the opening theme				-Vln I&II (senza hautbois), Vla, SATB, BC -17mm; D maj to B min; in 4 -“Et incarnatus” polyphonic SAT <i>sol</i> -“Crucifixus” mostly homophonic, SATB. With oboes -Steady, pulsing 8 th note BC line throughout; inst. match this rhythm		-Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Ob I&II, Bsn I, B Duet, BC -54mm; D maj; in 3 -9mm inst. opening -Duet punctuated by inst. – otherwise mostly just with BC -Melismatic -4mm inst. ending; uses part of opening motive		-Fl I&II, Vln I&II (<i>con sordini</i>), Vla, S Solo, BC -78mm; D min; in 2 -Pulsing rest-quarter-quarter-quarter BC pattern throughout -13mm inst. opening before solo -Some melismatic parts -7mm inst. ending; aria-like -Opening instrumental motive returns at end				-Tpt I&II, Timp, Horn I&II, Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -38mm; D maj; in 4 -2mm <i>adagio</i> “Et vitam” then <i>vivace</i> repeat; Fugue -Melismatic “Amen” then repeat of “Et vitam”; sort of fugal -Some inst. matching	

	Credo in unum Deum,	Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium.	Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo...	Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis.	Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est.	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est,	et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in caelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris.	Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, iudicare vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis.	Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.	Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas.	Et unam, sanctam, Catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam.	Confiteor unum baptismam in remissionem peccatorum.	Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum,	et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.
Ristori – Messe per il Santissimo Natale (1744) 124mm Published Score	-Link to score here -Ob I&II, Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -38mm; D maj; in 4 -2mm instrumental opening -Bass line has whole note Credo chant (Credo Mass - this is all they sing until the very last line where they join SAT in “descendit” – which has a descending line), while SAT sing homophonically the rest of the words, becoming polyphonic later on -Bass line has chaconne - series of 4 th intervals exactly like Pachelbel’s canon -Main motive does return briefly for 1-2 mm. in between voices, but not at end				-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -32mm; F# min; in 3 -SA duet on “Et incarnatus” with continuous strings and BC. Strings have motive in 3rds. -TB duet on “Crucifixus” with continuous strings and BC -SATB at “passus” with oboes as well – shift to A major at end here. Becomes melismatic. Short measure of pulsing quarter notes in final measure		-Ob I&II, Horn I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -54mm; D maj; in 4 -Same opening 2mm inst. melody/pattern as Credo subsection -Soprano has 6-note whole note Credo chant – descending scale pattern from Tonic to Mediant while other voices sing “Et resurrexit” homophonically -Then Alto sings the 6-note Credo chant while other voices sing “Et iterum” -Tenors take 6-note Credo chant with other voices singing “Et in Spiritum” -Basses take 6-note Credo chant with other voices singing “Qui cum Patre” -At “Et in unam” SA sings Credo chant in duet with TB singing “Et in unam” -All voices sing “Et expecto” -TB duet sings Credo chant with SA singing “Et vitam”. Short 4mm “Amen” with all voices -Instruments quite independent of voices throughout. Horns enter towards end very jubilantly -Mix of polyphony and homophony. Some voice pairings. No solos							
Ristori – Missa in C major (c. 1730-c.1750) M. 146. 7 118mm Autograph SLUB: Mus. 2455-D-500	- https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/112788/1/0/ -Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, Bsn I&II, BC, SATB -36mm; C maj; in 4 -5mm opening; voices homophonic at “Credo” -BC mostly steady 8 th notes; Ob and Vln fast 16 th notes -Continuous solos (no instruments between): A at “Et in unum,” B at “Et ex Patre,” T at “Deum de Deo,” S at “Genitum” - <i>Tutti</i> at “Qui propter” homophonic becoming a bit polyphonic – voices/inst. bring back the main theme -Instruments generally independent				-Vln I&II, Vla, Violoncello (BC), SAT <i>sol</i> i (presumably with S – part missing) -28mm; A min; in 3 -Continuous strings with independent line– including interlude between “Et incarnatus” and “Crucifixus” -“Crucifixus” does not have separate treatment -Polyphonic		-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, Bsn I&II, Violone/Violoncello (BC), SATB -54mm; C maj; in 4 -1mm. instrumental opening; voices polyphonic but quickly homophonic -SA <i>sol</i> i duet at “Et iterum”; <i>tutti</i> at “Judicare” -TB <i>sol</i> i duet at “Et in Spiritum” -SA <i>sol</i> i duet at “Qui cum patre” - <i>Tutti</i> at “Simul adoratur” – a bit polyphonic, but then homophonic -“Et expecto” polyphonic -Very short iterations of each phrase – including “Et vitam” (homophonic) and “Amen” (polyphonic) -Instruments generally independent; brief sections in between voices (not ritornello style, but somewhat adapting short previous motives) (missing most of S. solo part – up to end of Osanna)							
Butz – Messe G-dur Messe Delicta Iuventutis meae ne memeneris (1700-before 1732)	- https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/124820/11/0/ -Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -54mm; A min; in 2 -“Credo in unum Deo” is not written – likely intoned by soloist. Voices in immediately at “Patrem” -Written in cut time, longer note values, instruments match voices -Double fugue: TB has slower moving line than SA at “Patrem” -No instrumental opening, interludes, or ending				-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -15 of 33 mm. -A min; in 4 -Polyphonic -Strings have pulsing quarter note line throughout – against the	-SATB, BC -18 of 33 mm. -Not an official double bar line here, but there is a separation, and the marking “Grave”	-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -142mm; F maj; in 3 -15mm. inst. opening before voices enter homophonically -More polyphonic around “tertia die” and following -Fermata at “vivos” and then “adagio” marking at “mortuos” – back to allegro at “cuius” -4/4 marking and “adagio” at “Simul adoratur” – back to 3/4 and “allegro” afterwards -Instruments quite independent			-Ob I&II, T solo, BC -69mm; F maj; in 4 -Fast-moving obbligato oboe lines with somewhat sporadic tenor line at first -Some melismatic parts -“Adagio” at “mortuorum” and tenor voice has descending line – again with steady pulsing eighth note line in instruments -“Peccatorum” goes straight into “mortuorum” – different from normal text order.			-Ob I&II, Vln I&II, Vla, SATB, BC -73mm; A min to D min; in 4 -Fugue -Instruments match; towards end	

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371mm Autograph SLUB: Mus. 2834-D-1	-Slight text painting at “descendit”				mostly half note rhythms of voices and BC -Very spare ending at “est”	-Fugue – only voices and BC	-Ritornello style – first motive returns after “adoratur” -Imitative entrances at “Et conglorificatur” – polyphonic to end -15mm. instrumental ending – same motive as opening – ritornello style				-Fast 16 th note lines at “Et expecto” ends the movement			they stray a bit -Melismatic “Amen” then briefly back to the “Et vitam” theme to close