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Mozart's "Missa Brevis", in D Major, K. 194: Meaning revealed through historical, biographical and analytic perspectives

Southorn, Elisabeth B., M.A.

San Jose State University, 1994

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MOZART'S MISSA BREVIS, IN D MAJOR, K. 194: MEANING REVEALED THROUGH HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL AND ANALYTIC PERSPECTIVES

A Document

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Music

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by Elisabeth B. Southorn August, 1994

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ABSTRACT

MOZART'S MISSA BREVIS, IN D MAJOR, K. 194: MEANING REVEALED THROUGH HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL AND ANALYTIC PERSPECTIVES

By Elisabeth B. Southorn

This document takes a multifaceted approach to Mozart's Missa Brevis, K. 194 in order to examine and explore its multiple layers of meaning. The focus of the investigation is the year in Mozart's life between August 1773 and August 1774, though material of other years is included to give perspective.

This study also considers the effects of the Enlightenment on Mozart the person and composer. Biographical material is included which reveals the influence of his father, and his own personal and spiritual development. The musical perspective includes three areas: the development of the Viennese Classical Mass, Mozart's compositional activity and stylistic direction, and a hermeneutical analysis of the Mass itself. The research reveals that the Mass is a progressive work which expresses "joy" for the Catholic Church and the "enlightened."

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Introduction

The genesis of this document arose from the need to perform a short multi-movement work for a graduate conducting recital as part of the Master of Arts Degree program in Choral Conducting at San Jose State University. A dusty, old, poorly-edited vocal score of K. 194 was discovered in the music files of a local community college. There was little information readily available about this Missa Brevis. No or I spoke to knew it, and at the time I could find no recordings. In addition to the musical qualities which drew me to it, its obscurity made K. 194 a challenging and appealing research subject. I conducted the work with the Skyline College Choir on March 21, 1994 at St. Peter Catholic Church, Pacifica, California.

The purpose of this document is to explore meaning in Mozart's Missa Brevis, K. 194. That every composition has multiple layers of meaning will be the starting point for this document. As such, a multifaceted approach has been taken in an attempt to better understand the music, by understanding more about the man, his environment, his musical framework and the work itself.

Several important sources have been essential in preparing this document. Emily Anderson's edition of <u>The</u>

Letters of Mozart and His Family, has been a crucial source of information shedding light on the person of Mozart and his relationships. The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period by Bruce Mac Intyre has been invaluable in providing detailed material about Mass composition in this time period. It has provided a much needed perspective when approaching K. 194. Finally, the work of Deryck Cooke in The Language of Music has provided the method used to analyze the Mass.

In each facet of this study an attempt has been made to bring focus to the year from August 1773 to August 1774 when K. 194 was composed. Relevant material from other years is included in order to put this particular year of Mozart's life in perspective.

It is hoped that from this study, the reader will gain a sense of Mozart the person and what he was trying to communicate in K. 194.

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CHAPTER 1

Social and Cultural Climate of Austria during the Enlightenment

General Effects of the Enlightenment

The greatest chronicler of that history [the Viennese <u>Aufklärung</u>] and--to the extent that it encapsulated the whole history of the Enlightenment--of the Enlightenment itself was Mozart, the only member of the Viennese <u>Aufklärung</u> able to see beyond the Enlightenment's limiting polarities to a more profound understanding of the spiritual as well as the social needs of humanity.¹

This statement reveals the importance of understanding the Enlightenment in order to better understand Mozart. In my own attempt to understand the composer within the spirit of the times I will address the following five issues: defining the "Enlightenment"; its effects in Austria under the reign of Maria Theresa; the redefinition of the relationship between the <u>Bürger</u> and the Aristocrat; the concept of genius; and the Masonic phenomenon.

Defining the Enlightenment is difficult because it is "an amorphous term covering a multitude of beliefs and practices, some of which were mutually contradictory."² While it is easy to oversimplify the Enlightenment to some

¹Nicholas Till, <u>Mozart and the Enlightenment</u> (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), 6.

²Andrew Steptoe, "Enlightenment and Revolution," in <u>The</u> <u>Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music</u>, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 65.

of its effects, it is important to understand the underlying philosophy. Rather than discuss individual personalities and their philosophies (which could be the subject of many documents) a general description of Enlightenment thought will be helpful for this discussion.

The Enlightenment may be described, then, as a diverse intellectual movement whose general direction was to use free, critical reason, untrammeled (as far as one is consciously aware) by authority and tradition, in order to understand the universe, man's place in it, human nature and interaction, to improve the economic and political institutions of society and the conduct of individuals, to understand the proper uses of power and by so doing to enhance human happiness and the quality of life.³

The motto of the French Revolution put it simply: "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity."

Primary areas for reform throughout Europe included education and censorship, religion, penal system, feudalism and taxation. This was an era of challenge to the existing social system including the monarchy, which led to both the "enlightened monarchy," and eventually to revolution in France and America. It was also a time of challenge to the aristocratic social strata and to the excesses within the Church.

There is a great deal of diversity in the effects of the Enlightenment on different countries. The German

³Lester G. Crocker, "The Enlightenment: What and Who?" in <u>Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture</u>, vol. 17, eds. John Yolton and Leslie Ellen Brown (East Lansing, Michigan: Colleagues Press, 1987), 341.

Enlightenment, hereafter referred to as <u>Aufklärung</u>, differed from the French and English versions. While the Enlightenment was almost entirely anti-Christian in France, it was not so in every other country. The religious climate of the Enlightenment swung from atheism to liberal Christianity.⁴ It was the intent of the <u>Aufklärung</u> to "save" revealed religion.⁵

The intellectual movement of the <u>Aufklärung</u> was different from that of France and Britain. It took a moderate political stance with a respect for tradition and attachment to "long-constituted bodies." It was reformist, avoiding revolution and becoming conservative in times of stress, such as during the French Revolution. Religious convictions led to the idea of interaction between spirit and nature. According to Peter Reill, "To them, the freedom of the spirit attested to the existence of God. Spirit and genius remained inexplicable qualities that defied logical analysis."⁶ Because of the relative lateness of the German <u>Aufklärung</u>, its adherents were eclectic in nature, drawing ideas from the varied western philosophers.⁷

⁴Crocker, 340.

'Reil, 8.

⁷Reil, 8.

⁵Peter Hanns Reill, <u>The German Enlightenment and the</u> <u>Rise of Historicism</u> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 215.

Such was the Austrian Aufklärung. Under the rule of Maria Theresa, a devoted Catholic, Austria remained conservative in its reforms. The co-regency of Maria Theresa and Joseph II from 1765-1780 was a period of slow reform. Maria Theresa, less enlightened, preferred an opulent existence. Under Maria Theresa, the Jesuits (the Society of Jesus) were dissolved in 1773 and the power of the Catholic church was reduced, though not to the level brought about later by Joseph II. Maria was rather intolerant of the Protestants: she preferred to oust them and was held in check by Joseph who later ended the discrimination altogether. She was also anti-semitic and left intact many anti-semitic restrictions.[®] At her death in 1780, Joseph II became the "enlightened despot" and instituted many reforms autocratically. Joseph, who had been somewhat held in check, moved forward with a ten-year period of progressive reform.

Two rather important issues arose which are pertinent to our study of the effects of the <u>Aufklärung</u> on Mozart. The first was a change in defining status in society from birth to merit--an important Masonic principle. As Reill notes,

...partial redefinition of social values in Germany. No longer was the <u>Bürger</u> the laughingstock of polite society, the bumbling, social-climbing boor so

⁸Volkmar Braunbehrens, <u>Mozart in Vienna</u>, (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1986) trans. Timothy Bell, 66.

humorously portrayed by Molière. Instead, he became the archetype of the practical, free man whose fortune depended upon his own wits and talent, not on the accident of birth; the aristocrat became the brunt of satirical attack.⁹

Mozart was born in the middle of this transition and had a difficult time coming to terms with his own status as a servant. Eventually becoming unhappy with the situation in Salzburg, yet unable to find another appointment, Mozart eventually tried to go it on his own. Was this an important issue for him at eighteen? It was perhaps becoming one, though after his return to Salzburg from the quick trip to Vienna. He apparently delved into his work and composing for several years before expressing his dissatisfaction with his status and his position in Salzburg.

The second issue arising during the <u>Aufklärung</u> was the formulation of eighteenth-century theories of genius which began around the time of Mozart's birth. Beginning with the many writings of Lessing on the subject, the idea of genius became "a contemporary buzz word in Germany and throughout Europe."¹⁰ It was addressed by German thinkers from many fields: theologians, physicians, scientists, writers and philosophers. In 1767 Lessing wrote

Genius is allowed not to know a thousand things that

[°]Reill, 159.

¹⁰Gloria Flaherty, "Mozart and Mythologization of Genius," <u>Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture</u>, vol. 18, John W. Yolton and Leslie Ellen Brown eds. (Colleagues Press: East Lansing, Michigan, 1988), 292.

every schoolboy knows. Not the acquired stores of his memory, but that which he can produce out of himself, out of his own sensibility, constitutes his richness.¹¹

This new preoccupation with "genius" was to have an impact on the reception and conception of Mozart. He is often referred to as the first child genius. This is an erroneous concept, other children were recognized as prodigies in Mozart's lifetime, but none of them "made the same kind of extraordinary impact."¹² Ironically, it caused an unfortunate backlash on him in adulthood.

An important phenomenon of the Enlightenment throughout Europe was the rise of Freemasonry. European Freemasons, often thought of as aristocratic, actually cut through class lines and based social hierarchy on the ideology of merit instead of birth.¹³ As the political consciousness moved individual responsibility away from passivity toward action, the Masonic phenomenon created the opportunity for practice of the theories of philosophy, such as democracy, within its societies.¹⁴ Though the secrecy of the Freemasons might have given it the appearance of a subversive "state within a state," in principle the Freemasons were actually supposed

¹²Herbert Kupferberg, <u>Amadeus: A Mozart Mosaic</u> (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), 13.

¹³Margaret C. Jacob, <u>Living the Enlightenment:</u> <u>Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 8.

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¹⁴Jacob, 216.

¹¹Flaherty, 291.

to refrain from any interference with affairs of state. (There were more "Enlightened" lodges which became more concerned with political and social issues than with their own purposes.) It would, of course, be difficult for members of lodges who were also political figures to keep the two functions isolated. Of course, perceptions of the Freemasons varied. A report from Georg Forster on Freemasonry in Vienna, 1784 reports that:

...all Masons are working so aggressively in the spirit of enlightenment that Freemasonry might have brought about the suppression of the monasteries and many important reforms during the late empress's lifetime (for these were her objectives as well) had it not been for her untimely death...¹⁵

Opinions about their influence varied greatly! Nonetheless, Mozart had contact with Freemasons early in his childhood through Leopold's contact with Dr. Mesmer. In fact, the summer of 1773 (one year prior to the composition of K. 194) he was involved with composing incidental music for the Masonic playwright, Tobias von Gebler. Gebler was one of the most prominent members of the Viennese <u>Aufklärung</u>: the Privy Councillor and Vice-Chancellor of the Bohemian Chancery.¹⁶ Mozart later joined the lodge, Zur Wohltätigkeit, December 14, 1784.¹⁷ According to the French journalist Jean Lacouture, on Mozart:

¹⁶Till, 15.

¹⁵Braunbehrens, 237.

¹⁷Braunbehrens, 241.

His whole life was a search for the light, more light, the 'mehr Licht' of Goethe on his death-bed. Others saw it as a direction, a stage on the road, a means to an end: for him it was an end in itself, and a tremendous one.¹⁰

Mozart's Salzburg

Salzburg, the birthplace of Mozart, was ruled by the prince-archbishop and was a part of the Holy Roman Empire established by Charlemagne in 800. The Salzburg archbishop was recognized by both the pope and emperor as the highest ranking archbishop in the entire Empire. As a prince, he had governmental and political authority; as archbishop, he had ecclesiastical authority. The position was attained through election within the church.¹⁹ In Catholic Germany, Salzburg gained the reputation of being the most liberal state because of the leadership of four progressive archbishops in the eighteenth century.²⁰ Mozart lived under Prince-Archbishop Siegmund, Count von Schrattenbach (reigned 1753-71) and Prince-Archbishop Hieronymus, Count von Colloredo (reigned 1772-1801).

The picture given of Archbishop Schrattenbach from the Mozart perspective is often more favorable than he perhaps

²⁰Till, 9.

¹⁸Jean Lacouture, "Mozart as a Man of the Enlightenment," <u>Unesco</u>, July 1991, 23.

¹⁹Otto Biba, "Church and State" in <u>The Mozart</u> <u>Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music</u>, H.C. Robbins Landon, ed. (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 58-59.

deserves. Braunbehrens even goes so far as to say that "He was actually a crotchety, capricious bigot who professed great piety and would have been better as a children's priest than as a bishop."²¹ He was not an enlightened ruler, yet he loved music and gave the Mozarts an unusual amount of freedom--thus his enhanced posthumous image!

On the other hand, Archbishop Colloredo ruled Salzburg as a "model enlightened despot."²² Colloredo saw himself more as a political figure than a priest and sought to emulate Joseph II. Colloredo instituted important reforms in education (especially agriculture), resulting in important improvements in farming and land distribution. He improved health care and road conditions and reformed the judicial system.

Colloredo was frugal and consistently denounced extravagance. In a pastoral letter filled with admonitions in 1782, he reveals his belief that it is the duty of the Church to disseminate the reforms of the Enlightenment. He made many church reforms including the reduction of church music to the bare minimum, the abolition of passion plays and processions, and forbidding "extravagance" in religious services (including weddings and funerals). Though less drastic, he followed the imperial example in dealing with

²¹Braunbehrens, 22.
²²Till, 9.

monasteries. He reduced the number of monks in Salzburg by a third during his rule. He was not a popular man. He was tyrannical in his approach and curt in his dealings with people.

The attitude of the Mozarts toward Colloredo is not surprising, yet

Objectively, Colloredo did not treat the Mozarts badly, but he always managed to give them that impression. (In this respect he was the exact opposite of Joseph II, who did little for Mozart but behaved very kindly toward him.)²³

Colloredo was an efficient administrator. Trying to restore order to "the crumbling Salzburg administration," he could not abide inefficiency. In fact, Schrattenbach, in the ten years between 1762 to 1772, allowed the Mozarts to be away a total of six years and nine months! Colloredo simply expected to have the duties performed by those employed by the court: his disdain of preferential treatment was in line with his enlightenment ideals.²⁴ That he was a difficult, brusque personality was likely more his undoing with the Mozarts than were his actual policies--Leopold was himself in agreement with much of the policy of reform of the Enlightenment. We must also remember that Mozart was not an easy employee!

Despite the Mozarts' unhappiness with Colloredo and

²³Braunbehrens, 26-28.

²⁴Braunbehrens, 28.

ensuing derogatory comments toward Salzburg, it was during Mozart's lifetime that Salzburg reached its high point musically. In its dual responsibility to court and church, the archiepiscopal capella was quite important. The Salzburg band had an excellent reputation and was particularly attractive to Italians. The theater of Salzburg was also an important center.

Salzburg had for some time been recognized as being the home of individual important musicians, but by the end of the eighteenth century it was known for an incredible collection of important talents. Among them were the composers Leopold and W.A. Mozart, and Michael Haydn, the instrumentalists Adlgasser (organ/harpsichord), Joseph Otto (violin), Joseph Fiala (oboe), the Kapellmeister Giuseppe Lolli, and many excellent singers (including castrati). The availability of exceptional talent is evident in much of Mozart's music which calls for virtuosic skill. With the rise of the bourgeoisie, private bands and other instrumental and vocal ensembles in varying sizes began to emerge in non-aristocratic homes. This variety is reflected in the diversity of Mozart's output during his years in Salzburg.²⁵ It is important to realize the personal nature of Mozart's well-known derogatory references to the musical

²⁵Clemens Hoslinger, "Musical Life in Europe: Salzburg (1756-83)," in <u>The Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's</u> <u>Life and music</u>, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 87-88.

state of Salzburg. This city could not accommodate the needs of this new free-thinking Enlightenment man! Few cities were really ready for him and even Vienna proved to be an unsatisfactory home. As Einstein aptly put it

But to a certain extent, it is true that Mozart was only a visitor upon this earth. Mozart as a man was nowhere truly at home: neither in Salzburg, where he was born, nor in Vienna, where he died.²⁶

Regardless of what Salzburg would become to Mozart, between October 1773 and August 1774 it provided a fertile environment as Mozart composed at least twenty works in that time period. The city that later became unbearable for him, seemed to be "enough" for the eighteen year old.

So if Mozart was, as Nicholas Till said, "the greatest chronicler" of the Enlightenment, where was he in the process at eighteen? By this time he had been received and adored as a genius. He was well aware of the philosophic change in attitude of status given for merit rather than birth. Yet the new attitude had not yet become a practical reality and Mozart lived in that tension. He was in the middle of the tension between the Church and Enlightenment philosophy seeing the dissolution of the Jesuits, excesses of the church and feeling misunderstood by Archbishop Colloredo. Did this effect his composition of K. 194? How these matters influenced Mozart relative to the meaning of

²⁶ Alfred Einstein, <u>Mozart: His Character and His Work</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 4.

Missa Brevis, K. 194, will be discussed in the last chapter of this document.

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CHAPTER 2

A Portrait of Mozart in 1774

Who was this eighteen year old? Reconstructing a profile of Mozart at eighteen will be by necessity hypothetical, yet a sense of the person can somewhat be derived from the available information. The richest source of insight comes from the letters of Mozart, since these contain his thoughts and words. Letters written during his trip to Vienna in 1773 provide insight into his thinking prior to composing K. 194. Mozart's correspondence during other periods of his life provide a more complete portrait of the influence of his father, his personality, and his spirituality.

Influence of Leopold Mozart

It is without doubt that the most important influence on Mozart was his father, Leopold. Herbert Kupferberg goes so far as to say," Biologically, psychologically, and musically, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart would have been impossible without Leopold Mozart."¹ Mozart himself apparently said to Leopold repeatedly, in humor, "Next to

¹Kupferberg, 1.

God comes Papa."² It is well known that Leopold's awareness of his son's genius compelled him to educate Mozart himself. While such a decision has been regarded by some as obsessive, it is even now a common decision for many contemporary parents who "home-school" their children, not trusting others to competently educate. He never attended a school and Mozart later admitted regret to a lack of training in formal writing.³

Reading through the available letters of the Mozart family, it is obvious that Leopold provided Mozart with a happy childhood. His letters to Nannerl, his older sister, reveal a closeness to her and a love of his mother when apart from them. Many of his early letters frequently include praise to God, a word about his health, and an affectionate close. Though there is often more included in a letter, this one from May 1770, as an addendum to Leopold's letter, included only those elements: "Praise and thanks be to God, I am well and kiss Mamma's hands and kiss you both a thousand times."' Mozart's letters are often tender and touching and private letters to his sister are often scatological and funny.

It has been reported that Mozart created an imaginary

⁴Anderson (L. 93a), 139.

²Emily Anderson, <u>The Letters of Mozart and His Family</u> (Great Britain: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1966: revised New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1985), (L.290), 492.

³Peter J. Davies, <u>Mozart in Person: His Character and</u> <u>Health</u> (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1989), 8.

play world -- the "Kingdom of Back"--in which he was king. He and his sister spent long hours of imaginative play in this fantasy world.⁵ Mozart's life was by no means sober. He "enjoyed all manner of pranks and childish games showing a mischievous sense of humor."⁶

Leopold appears to have accomplished something with Mozart that even our twentieth-century psychologically enlightened parenting techniques often fail to bring about. He was able to inspire Mozart to fulfill his potential and maintain a close, loving relationship with him in childhood. Until he was ten years old, Mozart insisted on a bedtime ritual with his father which reveals his love for him. Leopold would stand his son on a chair and sing with him a silly song (composed by Mozart). Afterward Leopold would kiss him on the nose and the child would go happily to bed.⁷ Later letters between father and son reveal difficulties in the relationship which arose from Mozart's natural desire for independence, but that should not necessarily cast a shadow on his childhood. Alfred Einstein, a Mozart biographer, believes that, "Without the influence of the father, reflected both in the son's submission and resistance to it, Wolfgang would never have

- ⁵Davies, 8.
- ⁶Davies, 8.
- ⁷Davies, 8.

achieved the character and the greatness that he did."*

A publication of 1771 describes Mozart at fifteen-while extolling his genius, it also states

His good-natured modesty, which enhances still more his precocious knowledge, wins him the greatest praise, and this must give his worthy father, who is travelling with him, extraordinary pleasure.⁹

Leopold managed to educate and raise a genius who, though quite aware of his uniqueness, was called modest by the media! Davies believes that "such an insulated upbringing likely restricted his personality development,"¹⁰ yet this is a very generalized statement. It is very difficult to assess what Mozart's personality would have been like with a more traditional education, such as that of a choir boy in the church or in a private boy's school. It is doubtful that he would have experienced the degree of loving attention that he received from his family.

It must also be remembered that Leopold gave Mozart incredible experiences on trips beginning at age six. Here Mozart was by no means insulated and was instead, introduced and exposed to, important musicians and heads of state throughout Europe. These tours proved to be essential in Mozart's musical development, even though the exposure may

¹⁰Davies, 7.

[°]Alfred Einstein, <u>Mozart: His Character, His Work</u>, trans. Arthur Nendel and Nathan Broder (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), 5.

[°]Cliff Eisen, <u>New Mozart Documents: A supplement to</u> <u>O.E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography</u> (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 20.

have been less helpful to him later in life when trying to establish himself as an adult musician. Even Mozart was aware of it, writing to Leopold of his frustration during his time in Paris:

What annoys me most of all here is that these stupid Frenchmen seem to think I am still seven years old, because that was my age when they first saw me."

Finally, and no less importantly, Leopold gave a foundation of faith in God to his son. For the Mozart family,

...religion was a serious matter--more than a mere 'diversion.' And so Leopold Mozart insisted with both his wife and his children upon fairly strict obedience of the requirements of the Church: regular attendance, fasting and prayer.¹²

Mozart's letters throughout his life reveal his faith, which appears to be a source of hope and strength to him, and also reveal his acknowledgment of his gifts as God given. (A discussion of Mozart's religious beliefs will follow.)

Leopold has come under criticism for his parenting skills, and indeed there may have been some selfish motivation, yet what he gave to Mozart was an important foundation: a musical and practical education including foreign languages, hands on experience with important people of other countries in his field, a foundation for spiritual faith, and a loving, supportive environment which encouraged freedom of expression and allowed for a healthy sense of

¹¹Anderson (L. 319), 587.

¹²Einstein, 77.

humor and play. It is unbelievable that statements such as this one are still being made even in new publications on Mozart.

As often has been said, the miracle is that Mozart grew up to be as normal as he was, for what modern authority on child rearing could approve of the way Nannerl and Wolfgang lived, and what modern parent would seriously write as Leopold did: "God...has bestowed such talents on my children that, apart from my duty as a father, they alone would spur me on to sacrifice everything to their successful development. Every moment I lose is lost forever...."¹³

If anything, modern parents are even more guilty of obsessive, exclusive behavior on behalf of their children spending time and money for private schools, for special language schools, for training for Olympic hopefuls, for Hollywood hopefuls. I believe that Mozart's "normality" is to be found in the loving environment in which he flourished--which is often absent in modern households, vividly recounted in books and articles of today's young "geniuses."

Leopold should be given much credit for providing Mozart with an enviable foundation. He made numerous personal sacrifices on his son's behalf. In 1762, when the position of Kapellmeister was open, due to the death of Eberlin, Leopold was on tour with his children. He considered the tour his priority and as a result received the position of Vice-Kapellmeister, while a lesser musician,

¹³Philip G. Downs, <u>Classical Music: The Era of Haydn</u>, <u>Mozart and Beethoven</u> (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), 269.

Lolli, received the post of Kapellmeister. Leopold never received the post that he wanted, even though he groveled for it in 1778 after thirty-eight years of service in Salzburg.¹⁴

From July to September, 1773, a year before the composition of K. 194, Leopold took his son on a trip to Vienna with vain hopes of securing a position for him. Though they were able to meet with the Empress, they returned to Salzburg without an appointment. Letters from Leopold to his wife indicate two important items. One was their contact with the Mesmer family, who were strongly connected to the Masons. The second outstanding feature of Leopold's letters to his wife in that period is his great concern over the disbanding of the Jesuits.¹⁵ To what degree Leopold shared his concern over the Jesuits with Mozart is unknown, yet it is sure to have had some affect on Leopold's own attitude toward the church.

At the time of composition of K. 194, Mozart was still his father's son, working alongside him in the service of the Archbishop. He had not yet begun to exercise independence from his father.

Mozart's Personality

It is interesting, and not at all surprising for a teenager, that many of Mozart's letters on either side of

¹⁴Einstein, 12.

¹⁵Anderson, (L. 183, 184b, 185, 186, 187), 241-246.

August 1774 focus on girls! Mozart shows in his letters to his sister a definite interest and frequently asks her for assistance. In his trip to Milan in 1771 he writes to her about a young lady that he is interested in, "I beg you to remember the other matter, if there is nothing else to be done. You know what I mean."¹⁶

Though Leopold may have thought poorly of Salzburg, the younger Mozart still had interest in the city writing to Nannerl,

Tell Fraulein W. von Molk that I am indeed longing to be back in Salzburg if only in order to receive once more for the minuets such a present as I was given at her concert. She will know what I mean.¹⁷

A year later, again from Milan, Mozart wrote to his sister "I hope that you have been to see the lady--<you know who. If you see her,> please give her <my compliments.>."¹⁸ For her complicity Mozart writes to Nannerl "I thank you, you know for what."¹⁹

From Munich in December of 1774 Mozart writes again to Nannerl:

I beg you not to forget to keep your promise before you leave, I mean, to pay the call we both know of...for I have my reasons. I beg you to convey my greetings there-but in the most definite way-in the most tender fashion-and-oh, I need not be so anxious for of course I

¹⁶Anderson (L. 141a), 195.
¹⁷Anderson (L. 143a), 197.
¹⁸Anderson (L. 160a), 214.
¹⁹Anderson (L. 162a), 217.

know my sister and how extremely tender she is.²⁰ And if one needs to be convinced, Mozart's letter of December 30, 1774 from Munich certainly reveals a teenage mindset:

I present my compliments to Roxelana, and invite her to take tea this evening with the Sultan. Please give all sorts of messages to Jungfrau Mitzerl, and tell her that she must never doubt my love. I see her constantly before me in her ravishing negligee. I have seen many pretty girls here, but have not yet found such a beauty...²¹

In addition to his avid interest in young ladies, Mozart's correspondence shows a sense of humor. Each letter from Vienna is humorous and somewhat trite, with no references to the work he is involved in or concerns about his future. Perhaps he left those worries to his father.

Other relationships seem to reveal a tenderness in Mozart. He apparently took time to learn sign language to communicate with a deaf-mute boy, the son of the owner of the house where the Mozarts lodged. They first met in Milan in 1770 and stayed in the home again in September of 1771.²² Another interesting insight into Mozart comes from his relationship with Thomas Linley, Jr., another child prodigy with whom Mozart formed an immediate friendship in Florence in 1770: "The two parted in tears in what must have

- ²¹Anderson (L. 194a), 256.
- ²²Anderson (L. 1181, 141a), 168, 195.

²⁰Anderson (L. 193a), 254.

been a most moving farewell."²³ Mozart's letter of September 10, 1770 to Linley ends: "Keep me in your friendship and believe that my affection for you will endure for ever (<u>sic</u>) and that I am your most devoted servant and loving friend."²⁴ According to Michael Kelly (1762-1826), Mozart was terribly upset when hearing of Linley's accidental drowning in August of 1778.²⁵

It was, however Nannerl, Mozart's sister, who seemed to be closest to Mozart. She is the recipient of a great number of Mozart's letters and they reveal an incredible closeness and love. This is hardly surprising as they spent their childhood years together as prodigies, learning from their father, traveling and performing. Not only was she his confidant and complicitor in matters with ladies, but he wrote to her about everything from the most serious to the Their closeness is revealed in many ways. From a inane. letter in January 1771, Mozart writes to Nannerl closing with: "Meanwhile, farewell, my dear Mademoiselle sister. I have the honour (sic) to be and to remain from now to all eternity...your faithful brother."²⁶ From Vienna in August of 1773 Mozart writes to Nannerl in a humorous yet intimate manner:

²³Davies, 44.
²⁴Anderson (L. 112), 161.
²⁵Davies, 44.
²⁶Anderson (L. 130a), 180.

I hope, my queen, that you are enjoying the highest degree of health and that now and then or rather, sometimes, or better still, occasionally, or, even better still, qualche volta, as the Italians say, you will sacrifice for my benefit some of your important and intimate thoughts, which ever proceed from that very fine and clear reasoning power, which in addition to your beauty, and although from a woman, and particularly from one of such tender years, almost nothing of the kind is ever expected, you possess, O queen, so abundantly as to put men and even graybeards to shame. There now, you have a well-turned sentence. Farewell.²⁷

In the close of a letter of November 7, 1772 to his mother, he shows how he misses Nannerl "and prefer to embrace my sister in person rather than in imagination"²⁸

His letters to her from Vienna are particularly notable for their nonsense passages and if nothing else, reveal Mozart's strange and perhaps almost bored, mindset at the The first letter of August 12, 1773 was written in time. Latin, French, German, and Italian--all in one sentence! It is simply to convey greetings from a young man they saw that day, while obviously showing off his facility with languages. The second letter appears to be Mozart trying to sound eloquent, searching for something to talk about while complimenting his sister (quoted in the previous paragraph.) In his third letter he begins with a word play, greets his dog and then asks her to deliver greetings to friends. His last letter to Nannerl while in Vienna is also a bit strange. His reference to the death of Dr. Niderl, sounds

²⁷Anderson (L. 179a), 238.

²⁸Anderson (L. 160), 214.

flippant, regardless of his relationship to him. "Dr. Niderl's death made us very sad and indeed we wept, howled, groaned and moaned."²⁹ More will be discussed about this letter in the next section.

If there was any concern in Mozart about finding a position, he certainly didn't share it with his sister, or for that matter with anyone else while writing from Vienna. Mozart's letters to Nannerl in 1770 and 1771 from Milan contain more references to his work and the details of their trips, while the letters from Vienna in 1773 seem less "mature" and almost trivial. At the least, perhaps the letters are veiled--not really revealing what he is feeling.

An interesting study which may contribute something to our understanding of the eighteen year old Mozart is the idea that Mozart suffered from cyclothymic disorder--a bipolar affective disorder marked by recurrence of pathological mood swings beyond the control of the subject.³⁰ The examples given by Peter Davies to substantiate this idea begin in 1777 when Mozart is twentyone. From the almost apposite nature of Mozart's Vienna letters of 1773 to those of earlier years, one might wonder about the possibility of a predisposition to the disorder. In a completely unrelated book, discussing Mozart's music of the mid 1770s, Robbins Landon makes the statement that

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²⁹Anderson (L. 186a), 245.

³⁰Davies, 145.

"'Storm and Stress' was, however, an element inherent in Mozart's temperament, rather than absorbed from without."³¹ Mozart's temperament and mood swings are well-documented.

It is pertinent to also consider his attitude toward the Archbishop and his situation in Salzburg. Mozart's attitude toward Salzburg is generally categorized as one of "disgust" because of a statement in a letter to Leopold:

To tell you my real feelings, the only thing that disgusts me about Salzburg is the impossibility of mixing freely with the people and the low estimation in which the musicians are held there--and--that the Archbishop has no confidence in the experience of intelligent people who have seen the world.³²

However, this statement was not written until September 11, 1778, four years after K. 194 was composed. In fact the earliest written allusion to Mozart's unhappiness in Salzburg comes January 14, 1775. "I fear that we cannot return to Salzburg very soon and Mamma must not wish it, for she knows how much good it is doing me to be able to breathe freely."³³ Perhaps Mozart was not terribly contented in his situation in Salzburg, but in August 1774 his attitude was likely less than vehement.

Mozart's Spirituality

Mozart was raised a devout Catholic and his letters indicate a trust in God: "his reliance on divine providence

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³¹H. C. Robbins Landon, <u>Mozart and Vienna</u> (New York: Schirmer Books, 1991), 50.

³²Anderson (L.331), 612.

³³Anderson (L. 197), 259.

was so unqualified that his words sometimes sound fatalistic."³⁴ With his father, Mozart made visits to several shrines on their trip in 1770. He was devoted to the Virgin Mary and in fact K. 192, the Missa Brevis written just prior to K. 194, was written for the church, Maria Plain.³⁵

For our purposes, it is interesting to note that Mozart begins many letters in 1770 and 1771 with "Praise and Thanks be to God...I am well," (Feb. 10, April 14, May 2, May 22, 1770 and August 3, September 21, October 5,26, 1771). This greeting is a few times varied to "Thank God I am well" (March 25, 1771) or "God be praised, I too am still alive and well" (February 20, 1771). Whether this becomes a formula for Mozart, or is in each case a sincere expression of faith, it is notable because beginning in 1773, Mozart no longer begins his correspondence in this format.

In a good number of the letters of Mozart and his family, it is interesting to note that there is a consistent connection between health and God. There are repeated inquiries about, and references to, health. Those references are almost always connected with a praise to God or a reference to God as the one who has control over health. This may be for good reason. In this era, the words "health" and "life" could almost be used

³⁴Davies, 70.
 ³⁵Davies, 73.

interchangeably.

Mozart wrote an interesting series of letters referring to a sick friend, Martha. In Mozart's first letter of concern for her of August 4, 1770 he says that he will pray for her recovery.³⁶ His next reference to her is in a letter to his mother in which Mozart reveals a little of his fatalistic theology.

I am sincerely sorry to hear of the long illness which poor Jungfrau Martha has to bear with patience, and I hope that with God's help she will recover. But, if she does not, we must not be unduly distressed, for God's will is always best and He certainly knows best whether it is better for us to be in this world or in the next. She should console herself, however, with the thought that after the rain she may enjoy the sunshine...³⁷

And after Martha's death Mozart writes to his mother "We have lost our good little Martha, but with God's help we shall meet her in a better place."³⁸ This is the first of many indications of Mozart's belief in life after death.

No letters in 1773 have any reference whatsoever to God, except the one with the reference to the death of Dr. Niderl as mentioned earlier. This letter also flips back to his earlier format.

Praise and thanks be to God, we are quite well. Although we are busy, we are snatching some of our time to write to you. We hope that you are well too. Dr. Niderl's death made us very sad indeed we wept, howled, groaned and moaned. Our regards to all good souls who praise the Lord God, and to all our good friends. We

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³⁶Anderson (L. 106a), 153.
³⁷Anderson (L. 115a), 163.
³⁸Anderson (L. 117a), 166.

remain, yours graciously, Wolfgang.39

Dr. Niderl, a physician from Salzburg, was also in Vienna in the summer of 1773. The Mozarts had visited with him; he died while undergoing surgery several days after their visit.⁴⁰ This experience in some way brought him back to an earlier concept of a connection between God and health. While all other letters in this period are of a sillier nature, this letter which has to do with life and death has a more serious ring. His comment about Dr. Niderl comes across as almost humorous and could well be his way of avoiding real feelings about the issue.

Letters from much later in his life are consistent with and develop the ideas of God that he seems to show in earlier years. In a letter from 1777 to his father, reassuring him of his faith, Mozart says:

Papa must not worry, for God is ever before my eyes. I realize His omnipotence and I fear His anger; but I also recognize His love, His compassion and His tenderness towards His creatures. He will never forsake His own. If it is according to his will, so let it be according to mine. Thus all will be well and I must needs be happy and contented.⁴¹

This letter reveals a great deal about Mozart's belief in God. God is in control and capable of human emotions-anger and love. God is also not just a distant entity who has determined everything and lets it play out, but is

³⁹Anderson (L. 186a), 245.
⁴⁰Davies, 34.
⁴¹Anderson (L. 229), 341.

concerned and cares about his "creatures." Knowing this, Mozart submits himself willingly to God's will. He sees this as the way to a happy life.

A letter several months later shows Mozart's belief that his gifts are God-given (as he was taught repeatedly by Leopold). As such, Mozart has a sense of call and a responsibility to fulfill his destiny--thus his hesitancy to become too involved in teaching.

I am a composer and was born to be a Kapellmeister. I neither can nor ought to bury the talent for composition with which God in his goodness has so richly endowed me (I may say so without conceit, for I feel it now more than ever); and this I should be doing were I to take many pupils, for it is a most unsettling metier. I would rather, I may speak plainly, neglect the clavier than composition, for in my case the clavier with me is only a side-line, though, thank God, a very good one.⁴²

Some have seen this letter as merely a way to justify himself to his father, dismissing the spiritual dimension. Yet it is interesting to note that the call he says he senses, is to become a Kapellmeister, which, except for his untimely death, he would have become at St. Stephen's in Vienna. This is notable. Becoming a Kapellmeister was Leopold's aspiration and here Mozart reveals that he believes it to be his calling as well. With all that we know about Mozart's unhappiness in the Salzburg archdiocese, he still saw the Church as the place were he belonged--as opposed to another situation, such as a court musician.

Several of Mozart's letters show his bargaining with

⁴²Anderson (L. 238a), 468.

God. In Mozart's letter of July 3, 1978 to his father, he reveals that while preparing for the Concert Spiritual, the rehearsal went so badly that the next day:

I prayed God that it might go well, for it is all to His greater honour...I was so happy that as soon as the symphony was over, I went off to the Palais Royal, where I had a large ice, said the Rosary as I had vowed to do--and went home...⁴³

Another bargain was struck with God when Mozart's wife Constanze fell ill. The Mass in C minor, K. 427 was composed as Mozart's part of the bargain--though left incomplete. This is another illustration of Mozart's concept of a God who could intervene and had control over health.

The circumstances of the death of Mozart's mother yielded letters which hold valuable clues to Mozart's faith. Anna Marie had accompanied Mozart to Paris and after several weeks of illness died July 3, 1778. Mozart wrote that same day to his father saying only that she was very ill. This may have been because of the suddenness of her death, not wanting to shock his father with the news. It may also have been a bit of a defense, fearing that his father might not think he'd taken good care of his mother. In that letter he reveals his belief in a God who is in complete control.

For a long time I have been hovering day and night between hope and fear--but I have resigned myself wholly to the will of God--and trust that you and my dear sister will do the same. How else can we manage to be calm or, I should say, calmer, for we cannot be perfectly calm! Come what may, I am resigned--for I

⁴³Anderson (L. 311), 558.

know that God, Who orders all things for our good, however strange they may seem to us, wills it thus. Moreover I believe (and no one will persuade me to the contrary) that no doctor, no man living, no misfortune and no chance can give a man his life or take it away. None can do so but God alone.⁴⁴

That same night he wrote to Abbé Bullinger in Salzburg with the news of his mother's death, hoping that the Abbé would help break the news to Leopold. Again Mozart speaks of

God's will,

I have to tell you that my mother, my dear mother, is no more! God has called her to Himself. It was His will to take her, that I saw clearly--so I resigned myself to His will. He gave her to me, so He was able to take her away from me...It is quite impossible for me to describe today the whole course of her illness, but I am firmly convinced that she was bound to die and that God had so ordained it....When her illness became dangerous, I prayed to God for two things only--a happy death for her, and strength and courage for myself; and God in His goodness heard my prayer and gave me those two blessings in the richest measure.⁴⁵

Not only did Mozart see his mother's death as ordained, but he felt he could approach God amidst the coming death and his two petitions were granted. Einstein says this about Mozart and his faith:

With Mozart everything connected with the church is a matter of unshakable faith and--in art--of utter security. In this respect he still belongs to those ages in which the individual did not think of trying to come to a personal understanding of the divine. God was the Father, Mary the Virgin Mother, to whom one could turn with an intimate intensity. The very uttering of the prayer insured that it was heard.⁴⁶

It seems little time was spent wrestling with the apparent

⁴⁵Anderson (L. 312), 559-560.

⁴⁶Einstein, 80.

[&]quot;Anderson (L. 311), 557.

inconsistencies of his God. Mozart simply found comfort with "God's will" as the answer to anything he could not control or understand. Yet, he still felt that he could communicate with God in bargains and petitions and that God "cared."

Mozart's encounters and experiences with the Freemasons in Vienna had to have impacted his faith in some way. In 1773 at the home of Dr. Mesmer, a well-known Mason, Mozart met Tobias von Gebler, the author of Thamos, King of Egypt. Gebler was a Freemason and a supporter of the movement for reform of Viennese theater which encouraged the development of German plays. While in Vienna, Mozart composed two choruses and four entr'acts for the play, which was steeped in Masonic symbolism and expressed principles of the Enlightenment. As Katherine Thomson notes, "One of the central themes of Thamos is the idea that a ruler is responsible for the welfare of his people, and that he should govern solely in the interests of truth and justice."47 This may well have contributed to the antagonistic feelings Mozart had toward Archbishop Colloredo, whom he felt to be tyrannical.

Mozart's famous letter to Padre Martini complaining about the length of Mass composition includes another statement which shows Enlightenment tendencies. Mozart has asked Padre Martini to "frankly and honestly" evaluate an

⁴⁷Katharine Thomson, <u>The Masonic Thread in Mozart</u> (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1977), 24-27.

enclosed motet that he has composed saying "We live in this world in order to learn industriously and, by interchanging our ideas, to enlighten one another and thus endeavor to promote the sciences and the fine arts."⁴⁸ This is a very interesting choice of words considering Mozart was addressing a Franciscan monk! But it shows how Enlightenment ideas have begun to work their way into Mozart's belief system.

After becoming a member of a Masonic lodge in 1784, Mozart was faced with his father becoming seriously ill and his letter to Leopold revealed Mozart again dealing with life and death:

... I have now made a habit of being prepared in all affairs of life for the worst. As death, when we come to consider it closely, is the true goal of our existence, I have formed during the last few years such close relations with this best and truest friend of mankind, that his image is not only no longer terrifying to me, but is indeed very soothing and consoling! And I thank my God for graciously granting me the opportunity (you know what I mean) of learning that death is the key which unlocks the door to our true happiness. I never lie down at night without reflecting that--young as I am--I may not live to see another day. Yet no one of all my acquaintances could say that in company I am morose or disgruntled. For this blessing I daily thank my Creator and wish with all my heart that each one of my fellow-creatures could enjoy it."

In this letter Mozart says that death is to be anticipated with joy--as the fulfillment of life. Rather than sending Mozart into a state of repentance, contemplating death sent him into a new found freedom to

⁴⁸Anderson (L. 205), 266.

⁴⁹Anderson (L. 546), 907.

enjoy life! As Einstein says "the spirit of this letter would hardly have given pleasure to a priest."50

How does Mozart contend with Catholicism and Freemasonry? In the first place, the Freemasons were not opposed to any religion and in fact accepted members of all faiths, professing a belief in God, "whom they chose to characterize as the 'supreme Architect' of the world."⁵¹ Since Catholicism was not an issue for the Masons, there was likely no issue for Mozart. It is known that six months before his death he marched in a Trinity Sunday church procession in Vienna.⁵² It is unfortunate that at his death it was difficult to find a priest who would come to his bedside. For the Catholics there was a definite conflict between their theology and Freemasonry!⁵³

For Mozart, Catholicism and Masonry were two concentric spheres; but Masonry--the striving for moral purification, the labor for the good of mankind, the intimacy with death--was the higher, broader, more comprehensive of the two.⁵⁴

Perhaps the greatest testimony of Mozart's comfort with both Freemasonry and his Catholic faith, are two of the works composed prior to his death. While in the midst of

⁵⁰Einstein, 81.

⁵¹Kupferberg, 158.

⁵²Kupferberg, 161.

⁵³Kupferberg, 162.

⁵⁴Einstein, 84.

composing <u>The Magic Flute</u>, the opera frought with Masonic symbolism, he accepted the commission to compose a Requiem, which became his final, though unfinished, work. Einstein states:

...with the very first measures of the Introit--Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine--we know definitely Mozart's intention, his attitude toward death. It is no longer entirely ecclesiastical; it is mixed with elements of Masonry....Death is not a terrible vision but a friend.⁵⁵

For Einstein there is also no conflict with Mozart's involvement in Freemasonry for knowing it he still says, "If ever a great musician was a Catholic composer it was Mozart."⁵⁶

Karl Barth, a prominent twentieth-century theologian, published a small tribute to Mozart in 1956 for the 200th anniversary of Mozart's birth. Simply titled <u>Wolfgang</u> <u>Amadeus Mozart</u>, this small volume is Barth's testimonial to Mozart, whose music he thought more highly of than Bach's and all others for declaring God's glory. Who was Mozart from the standpoint of this Protestant theologian? Barth says of Mozart and God: "In the case of Mozart, we must certainly assume that the dear Lord had a special, direct contact with <u>him</u>."⁵⁷ Barth believed that Mozart was never truly happy and yet, "Mozart laughed often, but surely not

⁵⁵Einstein, 353-354.

⁵⁶Einstein, 81.

⁵⁷Karl Barth, <u>Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart</u>, trans. Clarence K. Pott (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986), 26.

because he had much to laugh about. Rather--and this is something quite different--because he could and did laugh despite all these things."⁵⁸ Barth sensed that, "What he translated into music was real life in all its discord."⁵⁹ And yet Mozart, "manages never to <u>burden</u> his listeners."⁶⁰ Comparing Mozart to Bach and Beethoven Barth says;

Mozart's music is not, in contrast to that of Bach, a message, and not, in contrast to that of Beethoven, a personal confession....Nor does he <u>will</u> to proclaim to praise of God. He just does it...⁶¹

Barth saw Mozart, since his childhood, as dedicated only to "Frau Musica." Barth says, "It is this <u>sovereign</u> <u>submission</u> at all stages of his artistic career which may be taken as a distinct feature of what was unique and special in the man."⁶²

Following a discussion of eighteenth-century reactions to Mozart as a "miracle," Barth throws in another image for thought.

I leave open the question, quietly suggested to me not long ago by a well-known contemporary, whether Mozart could possibly have been an angel. No, I mention all this only to remind ourselves that when we are dealing with the life and work of the man we are commemorating today, we are dealing with something exceedingly special. What was, and is, this particular marvel?⁶³

⁵⁸Barth, 32.
⁵⁹Barth, 33.
⁶⁰Barth, 29.
⁶¹Barth, 37-38.
⁶²Barth, 51.
⁶³Barth, 45.

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Barth continues with two points which reveal something of the unique character of Mozart. First, that Mozart was an eighteenth-century musician who was receptive to, and incorporated, everything he heard: "What was originally foreign to him, until he made it his own, became in his ears, in his head and spirit, and under his hands something which it had not been before; it became--Mozart"64 Secondly, Barth felt that Mozart's music is always "unburdened" and that it "unburdens, releases and liberates us." He quotes an unnamed source who expressed it well: "His gravity soars and his lightness is infinitely grave."⁶⁵ Barth's image of Mozart is almost otherworldly. Mozart absorbs the world and through him it is released and freed through his transcendent music. There is almost a "savior" current underlying this thought. And for Barth, perhaps Mozart was a "savior" of sorts. He addresses Mozart directly saying:

What I thank you for is simply this: Whenever I listen to you, I am transported to the threshold of a world which is sunlight and storm, by day and by night, is a good and ordered world. Then as a human being of the twentieth century, I always find myself blessed with courage (not arrogance), with tempo (not exaggerated tempo), with purity (not a wearisome purity), with peace (not a slothful peace). With an ear open to your musical dialectic, one can be young and become old, can work and rest, be content and sad: in short, one can live.⁶⁶

⁶⁴Barth, 46.
⁶⁵Barth, 47-48.
⁶⁶Barth, 22.

So who was the eighteen year old Mozart? Do his letters from Vienna reveal his spiritual state? Probably not. At seventeen, in Vienna, Mozart is away from home and friends and is unable to get the job to please his father. He is likely aware of his father's preoccupation with the plight of the Jesuits and also has the fresh ideas of the "enlightened" in his blood. He may have been bored or lonely for his friends. Seventeen-year olds are not known to be quick to bare their souls, even to their sisters.

It may be easier to understand his spiritual state from the music he wrote, rather than interpret the music by how little we know about his mind and heart at eighteen. This is what Barth has done. The glimpses we have into Mozart the human being are still important, and can enlarge our understanding of his music, if we really consider them glimpses rather than whole truths.

CHAPTER 3

Development of the Viennese Classical Mass Transition from the Seventeenth-Century Mass

In the seventeenth century, there were many distinct forces in Mass composition which would continue in the eighteenth-century. The <u>concertato</u> style had its origins in the late Renaissance with the <u>cori spezzati</u> or polychoral works from the Venetian school.¹ It became an important force in the Baroque. As it developed, <u>concertato</u> involved the separation of singers and/or instrumentalists into alternating groups of disparate sizes and forces. One of the leading polychoral composers of this period was Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni (1657-1743) who was a teacher in the Neapolitan school.²

The stile antico, or old polyphonic style of Mass composition had developed into a form in the Renaissance. It was still an important feature of the seventeenth-century Mass and in fact, many Baroque composers, such as Monteverdi, composed Masses solely in this style. It would continue to be used in the eighteenth-century. For strict

¹Donald Jay Grout, <u>A History of Western Music</u> (New York: W. W. Norton Company, Inc., 1973), 316.

²Wienandt, 201.

stile antico composers, <u>basso continuo</u> was the only progressive element that would be incorporated in their composition of the Mass. The use of <u>basso continuo</u> was important because it led away from the modal system of early stile antico and led toward the major/minor tonal concept which would provide a wider harmonic vocabulary. It began to stabilize in the later seventeenth-century.³

The operatic style of solo singing also began to pervade Mass composition. It was developed in Naples and became a dominant force in the composition of the Mass in the eighteenth-century. It was "more concerned with elegance and external effectiveness than with dramatic strength and truth; but the dramatic weaknesses were often redeemed by the beauty of the music."⁴ Alessandro Scarlatti has generally been considered the founder of the Neapolitan school. His ideal incorporated "the broad conception of the arias and the importance of the orchestra."⁵

Other influences of the Neapolitans included "plaintive chromaticism" and the tendency to sectionalize the Mass. In the Masses of Caldara, there are self-contained arias and a sectionalized nature which made the Mass seem more like an

'Grout, 345.

⁵Grout, 347.

³Elizabeth Roche, "Mass," in <u>The New Oxford Companion</u> <u>to Music</u>, vol 2: K-Z, ed. Denis Arnold (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 1138.

opera.⁶ Another Neapolitan contribution was the establishment of the tradition of ending the Gloria and Credo with an extended Amen fugue.⁷

Vienna became the place where German and Italian characteristics were integrated. In Vienna, composers moved away from the highly sectionalized nature of the Mass to a more integrated approach.⁶ In Germany, the concertato principle was developed, including a conscious use of the solo voices against the ripieno.⁹ In addition, full orchestral accompaniment as well as ritornellos and preludes supported the voices. A common device which helped stabilize the harmonic system was the use of sequential repetitions. The "brilliant sonorities and exploitation of choral dialogue made it the most exciting festive music of the 17th century."¹⁰ Composers of note were Schmelzer, Biber and Kerll.

Mozart was primarily influenced in his church compositions by Salzburg composers Johann Ernst Eberlin (1702-62), Johann Michael Haydn (1737-1806) and his own

⁶Maurus Pfaff, "Mass: 18th Century (i) Neapolitan" in <u>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u>, vol. 11, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980), 794.

⁹Denis Arnold, "Mass: 17th Century Outside Italy," <u>The</u> <u>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u>, vol. 11, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Press Limited, 1980), 792.

¹⁰Arnold, 792.

^{&#}x27;Grout, 361.

⁷Roche, 1139.

father, Leopold. The influence of Eberlin is thought to be minimal, though Mozart is known to have copied out some of his works. Michael Haydn was the most important influence on Mozart's early development.¹¹

Michael, like his brother Joseph, had been trained in Vienna at St. Stephen's under Georg Reutter (1708-1772).¹² Michael's church music compositions range from "simple folklike motets to grand symphonic Latin Masses."¹³ Michael composed Masses in every period of his life; his first (1754) and last (1805) compositions were Masses. The <u>Missa</u> <u>in Honorem Sanctae Ursulae</u>, written in August 1773, exemplified his style of composing sacred music. First, Michael tended to treat his vocal compositions along symphonic lines. In this Mass he sets us a "two-part tonal framework that asserts the fundamental key of C major in its first half...and then develops and reaffirms that key in its second half."¹⁴ He treats the texts in large unbroken movements. His formal structure is close to that of a sonata-allegro and he uses motivic repetition and

¹¹David Humphries, "The Origins of Mozart's Style: Sacred," in <u>The Mozart Compendium</u>, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 86.

¹²Wienandt, 209.

¹³Charles H. Sherman, preface to <u>Missa in Honorem</u> <u>Sanctae Ursulae</u> by Johann Michael Haydn (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1980), vii.

¹⁴Sherman, viii.

transformation to unify the Mass.¹⁵ There are many apparent similarities to Mozart's K. 194, as will be seen in the section below.

In addition to this example, Michael's Mass composed on the death of Archbishop von Schrattenbach in 1771, is often cited as a model for Mozart's Requiem. It is probably wise to consider what David Humphries is quick to point out, that "it should be added that much of what Mozart is alleged to have borrowed from Haydn can be described as common stock."¹⁶

Development of the Viennese Concerted Mass As has been discussed, the Catholic composers of Germany and Austria were heavily influenced by the Neapolitan school. Because of the rise of opera and orchestral forms, what constituted a "church style" was an important consideration. In the treatise of Marco Scacchi of 1649 there were three distinct styles: church, chamber, and theater. Style and function were closely related.¹⁷ But by the end of the eighteenth century the connection of the style and function eroded, as all elements of all styles found their way into church composition. This is the crux of the development of the eighteenth century Mass--how

¹⁷Bruce C. Mac Intyre, <u>The Viennese Concerted Mass and</u> <u>the Early Classic Period</u> (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, Michigan, 1986), 47.

¹⁵Sherman, viii.

¹⁶Humphries, "The Origins," 87.

diverse musical styles are integrated into the Mass in such a way that it still maintains integrity for its original purpose. Composers of the period gave their opinions of what constituted a church style. For Fux the text must be set in a simple melody which conveys the text.¹⁰ Schiebe (1737) offered composers a long list of recommendations in composing a Mass which included suggestions of interaction between chorus, orchestra and soloists. Some of the items in the list are: 1) the treatment of solo movements--no jokes, games, rufflings or coloraturas-- "seriousness and splendor must always dominate"; 2) each movement should be varied; 3) text must be reflected in the music; 4) choruses are best set polyphonically (<u>stile antico</u>).¹⁹

Despite the diverse opinions on church style, general characteristics of the Viennese concerted Mass emerged. Due to the work of Bruce Mac Intyre, the period of Mass composition from 1740-83 in Vienna has been well-documented and discussed in great detail. Mozart's K. 194 falls within this time period. Though Mac Intyre's work is not specific to the <u>missa brevis</u>, the principles are the same. A brief summary of the general characteristics of the form and style of Mass composition at that time follows.

From our twentieth-century perspective, we tend to see the Mass as a cycle or a unified work. Yet this is an

¹⁸Mac Intyre, 54.

¹⁹Mac Intyre, 55.

imposed perception and not necessarily a goal of all composers, though some did compose with a cycle concept in mind. In the eighteenth century (as in earlier centuries), composers were aware of the practice of substituting portions of one Mass into another according to the needs of the service. This may account for the composition of isolated movements such as Mozart's Kyries K.33 and K.341. As a result most settings of the Mass at this time are integrated only by key and scoring.

Before 1750, choices of meter tended to be C, ¢, and 3/4. After 1750 others were included. Tempo indications only began to be included after 1750. In this period, key was one unifying factor and, as such, each movement of the Mass tended to begin and end in the same tonality. The key most frequently used was C (required in a <u>missa solemnis</u> which used trumpets and timpani). Major keys were preferred, up to three sharps or flats, and minor keys are infrequent, usually ending in the parallel major.²⁰ The selection of key seemed to be related to the central tonality (submediant for Christe and subdominant for Benedictus); relationship to keys in adjacent movements; suitability for instruments and voices (especially range of soloists).²¹

There are a few other common harmonic practices worth

²⁰Mac Intyre, 117.

²¹Mac Intyre, 119-120.

noting: modulation is allied with text (from section to section within a movement); chromaticism and harmonic instability frequently occur at "qui tollis peccata," "et incarnatus" and "Agnus Dei"; imperfect cadences are used in the inner movements to avoid closure until the end of the Mass. Another important trait which arose was the abandonment of maintaining one "affect" per movement.²²

Scoring was another important unifying feature of the Mass. The placement of obbligato instruments and use of soloists (individually, duets, trios, quartets) are unifying factors.

Unity through melodic repetition does not often play a particularly important role, though Mac Intyre shows that there are several places which frequently relate thematically. The most obvious are the second Kyrie, which repeats the material of the first, and the "Osanna" before and after the Benedictus. Occasionally the fugues which end the Gloria and Credo reuse the same music, and there is frequently a reuse of melodic material from the Kyrie in the "Dona Nobis." Unifying an entire mass through returning accompanimental pattern can be found, but is rare.²³

According to Mac Intyre, the form of the Mass arose out of two possibilities: a multi-sectional line by line setting of the text, or the use of an existing form imposed on the

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²²Mac Intyre, 120.²³Mac Intyre, 121.

text (binary or ternary arias). The da capo aria is almost non-existent. Traces of sonata form begin to surface around 1760. The fugue is still essential and is used to close many movements. Orchestral interludes are basically ritornellos for solos and choruses. Intelligibility of the text in the <u>missa brevis</u> is sometimes compromised by telescoping or the addition or deletion of text.²⁴

Relative Position of Missa Brevis K. 194 The Missa Brevis, K. 194, composed in 1774, is a classic example of the Viennese concerted Mass. It shows some of the same characteristics of the later Masses studied by Mac Intyre. Mozart includes tempo indications. The missa is written in D major--which will be discussed in more detail in chapter five--and he uses common harmonic practices. Mozart also unifies his missa by key relationships, scoring, and through thematic relationships in ways noted by Mac Intyre as well as others. Mozart's approach to composition shows a definite use of sonata principle, which as Mac Intyre notes, began around 1760. Beyond the general characteristics of the Mass, there are specific characteristics of each movement of the Mass which will be noted in their relationship to K. 194.

KYRIE

"The Kyrie was predominantly a joyful section whose

²⁴Mac Intyre, 134-135.

fast tempo, major tonality, and full instrumentation rarely suggested the petitions of the text."²⁵ Mac Intyre's general description of the Kyrie is certainly an apt description of the Kyrie of K. 194. In general, the Kyrie is set in the ABA (the second Kyrie is usually varied) pattern of the text with a soloist often singing the Christe section (not in K. 194). According to Mac Intyre, by the 1770s the sonata form began to replace the former concerto grosso form for the Kyrie. This is evident in Mozart's Kyrie, as the Christe moves to the dominant--it is monothematic, however, and as a <u>brevis</u> develops the theme very briefly by expanding the second Kyrie. Mozart also reflects the trend toward homophonic composition with a slower harmonic rhythm replacing the former strict contrapuntal treatment.²⁶

GLORIA

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The Gloria could be set in one to ten sections but in only one movement in a <u>missa brevis</u>. The text of the Gloria was often telescoped in the <u>missa brevis</u>, but this is not the case in K. 194. Tonality is used to created unity in the Gloria by: harmonic continuity between movements, third relationships between sections, instability at "Qui tollis" and tonal reprise at "Quoniam." In multi-sectional Glorias, melodic and rhythmic recurrences are unusual. The following

²⁵Mac Intyre, 205.

²⁶Mac Intyre, 205

techniques were common. The structure was determined by text. Movements are divided into three parts, fast/slow/fast and major/minor/major ("Gloria," "Qui tollis," and "Quoniam"), and until the 1750s included changes in tempo, meter, key or performer. Sentences are often grouped into threes. Particular words were usually sung by soloists in order to create an intimacy and connection to humanity including--"laudamus," "gratias," "Domine Deus," and "Quoniam." Instrumental obbligatos accompanied certain solos. Text painting was common.²⁷

Mozart's Gloria, which shows a sonata-type form, is unified tonally and by melodic and rhythmic recurrences. Mozart adopts the tradition of grouping sentences as thematic groups. The opening sentences form the primary group in the tonic, which becomes chromatic at the end and lands in the dominant for the second group "Domine Deus," which is set as per tradition for soloists. The second group, which begins on the dominant, modulates into the commonly used relative minor for the "Qui tollis." This is what Mac Intyre refers to as the "emotional heart" of the Gloria. Here Mozart uses the common rhetorical language to express the text. However, rather than returning to the tonic at the "Quoniam," (which is sung by a soloist and is modulatory in nature), Mozart delays the return to the "Cum sancto" where he recapitulates, using the same thematic

²⁷Mac Intyre, 317.

material from the beginning of the movement.

Mozart's Gloria, while sharing many characteristics of the early Viennese Masses, shows an expansion in the use of sonata principle. It also relies on the archaic practice of the celebrant intoning the "Gloria in excelsis deo." In most of Mac Intyre's examples the "Gloria in excelsis deo" is set for choir as well.

CREDO

In the early Viennese Mass the basic structure of the Credo is three part based on text divisions--"Credo/Patrem," "Et incarnatus," and "Et resurrexit." There are usually changes in tempo, meter, key and scoring between those sections. According to Mac Intyre, the Credo is usually set in a "businesslike" manner using declamatory choral writing. In the missa brevis, telescoping of text was used in both the Credo and Gloria (frequently by Haydn), though not by Mozart in K. 194.28 Mozart uses much of the common musical rhetoric to set certain words. The "Et incarnatus" is, obviously, the most interesting portion of the Credo and comparisons of different settings of the period have revealed enough similarities that Mac Intyre categorizes them into three types. Mozart's setting falls somewhat into Mac Intyre's type B. A more detailed analysis of Mozart's Credo will be found in the fifth chapter of this document. This is perhaps his greatest achievement in the Credo:

²⁸Roche, 1140.

integrating the many traditional characteristics into a sonata form. Once again, as is common practice, the opening statement in K. 194 is intoned.

SANCTUS

Due to liturgical demands, most settings of the Sanctus are brief. The structure is usually through-composed. It is handled as a three-part movement--Sanctus, Benedictus, and Osanna II--in an adagio-allegro, andante and allegro configuration. The Sanctus is divided into two parts, Sanctus and Osanna. The Sanctus and Osanna are usually sung by the chorus and the Benedictus by soloists. Appearing around 1770, there is generally a metrical change from 4/4to 3/4, with 2/4 in the Sanctus. The Benedictus is usually set as a two or three-part aria in the subdominant and around the 1760s began to show the influence of sonata form. Minor keys became more rare in the Benedictus in the 1750-The Osanna was generally repeated verbatim following 60s. the Benedictus in this period.29

Mozart's setting follows the practices mentioned in the Sanctus, as well as common musical language--long chords in the Sanctus, a short fugal setting of the Osanna, arpeggiation and pastoral qualities in the Benedictus.

AGNUS DEI

The Agnus Dei is generally set in one movement with

²⁹Mac Intyre, 475.

two, fairly short, connected sections: Agnus Dei and Dona nobis pacem. This comes from a seventeenth-century tradition found in both <u>concerted</u> and <u>a cappella</u> Mass settings. There are fewer settings in two separate movements. The Agnus Dei sets the three-part text carefully and the Dona nobis is usually quite bright and festive, "not unlike that of an operatic finale."³⁰ The Agnus Dei is generally sung by soloists, followed by the chorus in the Dona. However, there are settings which include chorus in the Agnus Dei and soloists in the Dona section. In K. 194 both sections are in a <u>concertato</u> setting, alternating soloists with chorus.

The tempo moves from slow in the Agnus to fast for the Dona. Many settings include a metrical change between the two sections, though a surprising number do not. The two sections are melodically independent--the Dona sometimes linked back thematically to the Kyrie (as is found in K. 194). The key for the Agnus is either the tonic major or minor, or less often, as found in K. 194, the relative minor. The Dona is always in the tonic.

The three-part scheme of the Agnus Dei is handled melodically, harmonically, and textually in three basic patterns: strophic variation (AA^1A^2) , through-composed (ABC), and bar forms (AA^1B) . Harmonically, each Agnus moves to a new key, with the final one ending in a half cadence

³⁰Mac Intyre, 479

leading to the Dona. In K. 194, the Agnus Dei is set in the first pattern; strophic variation, moving to new keys with each change. There is usually a change of soloist or entry of chorus to mark the beginning of the new Agnus invocation.³¹

About half of the samples in Mac Intyre's study close the Mass with a Dona fugue (connection to God/eternity³²), another third use a concertato treatment alternating choir and soloists. More progressive settings, which begin to dominate after 1770, use sonata or rondo-like forms. Mozart incorporates many of the elements into this Dona: a sonata-like form, concertato treatment, and a fugue-like texture. Composers frequently employ text painting on the word "pacem." Some composers treat the Dona section as an operatic finale employing: agitated accompaniments, alternation of soloists and choir, "a sudden, tension-filled fermata upon a dominant seventh chord near the end," and triumphal conclusions with brass and timpani. There are allusions to war, of some kind, in many settings.³³ It is

³²According to Mac Intyre, "...fugue was often considered the highest style; for the eighteenth-century composers its learned counterpoint best reflected the power, perfection, and perpetuity of the God and church being renewed by the Mass." Mac Intyre, 130. Charles Rosen says, "...using the contrapuntal style was like continuing to address God as 'Thou,' and brought by itself a satisfaction that a more modern style could never have provided." Charles Rosen, <u>The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven</u> (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), 367.

³³Mac Intyre, 550.

³¹Mac Intyre, 481-485.

interesting to read Runestad's justification for the cheery ending of many of Haydn's Masses, which applies to many of those from the eighteenth century:

The function of the music which concludes the Mass is precisely the same as that which closes the symphony. In both, the emotional level is lightened to provide relief from tension and dramatic impact of earlier movements, particularly in development sections of sonata forms and in the heavy, penitential parts of the Gloria and Credo.³⁴

The cheerful conclusion was a norm, and could be found in earlier Masses of Fux and Caldara as well. K. 194 has a perfect example of this kind of ending.

In his study, Mac Intyre concludes that stylistic change is elusive and slow. Church music tends to be conservative and many of the established traditions of the Baroque church style continued through the eighteenth century. New, more innovative elements came from genres such as sonata, symphony, opera, and chamber music.³⁵

Traits which seemed to be constants from 1741-83 include the use of an organ figured bass, the Viennese <u>Kirchentrio</u> (two violins and continuo) as core for the orchestra (reducing the texture to it when soloists are singing), concertato principle between soloists and chorus, challenging instrumental obbligatos during ritornellos, and

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³⁵Mac Intyre, 566.

³⁴Cornell Jess Runestad, "The Masses of Joseph Haydn" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1970), 287 quoted in Bruce Mac Intyre, <u>The Viennese</u> <u>Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period</u> (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 550.

fugue to conclude movements.³⁶ The new developments in the period paving the way for the later Classical and Romantic Mass include fewer yet longer movements, greater tonal unity, more variety in meter, vocal solos within choral movements rather than as separate arias, more idiomatic writing for oboe, viola, cello parts and decrease in trombone, and use of sonata and concerto forms.

Mozart's Missa Brevis K. 194 is a perfect example of a transitional mass. In it Mozart combines traditional and progressive elements, making some remarkable progress in his use of sonata principle within the short format of the <u>brevis</u>. This subject will be explored further in the last chapter.

CHAPTER 4

Mozart's Compositional Activity and Stylistic Direction (October 1773--August 1774)

Influence of Trip to Vienna (July 14--September 2, 1773)

In July of 1773, Leopold took his son to Vienna with hopes of finding him a post in the imperial court. He was unsuccessful. While in Vienna they had contact with several people and some important works which would impact Mozart's style. As has been discussed, during their stay they were frequent guests of Dr. Mesmer and came into contact with some of his Masonic associates such as Tobias von Gebler. This resulted in the composition of incidental music for Gebler's play <u>Thamos, König in Äqypten</u>, K. 345.¹ The influence of this contact was discussed earlier in this document.

The Mozarts also had an audience with Empress Maria Theresa which was disappointing. They were invited for dinner at a nearby monastery where Mozart played a violin concerto. His Mass, K. 66, conducted by Leopold, was

¹H. C. Robbins Landon, <u>Mozart and Vienna</u> (New York: Schirmer Books, 1991), 44.

performed at the Jesuit church.²

What was clearly important about the trip to Vienna was Mozart's acquaintance with new instrumental music composed by other Austrian composers, including Gassmann, Vanhal and d'Ordoñez and, most importantly, Joseph Haydn. These works were reflective of the <u>Sturm und Drang</u> school, which employed a dramatic musical language.³ According to Stanley Sadie, this contact "seems to have stimulated an intensification of Mozart's style."⁴ Of particular interest were Joseph Haydn's String Quartets opp. 9,17,20. During his stay in Vienna, Mozart composed a new set of six quartets. The style shows Viennese influence in its imitative writing which is integral to thematic material, and in the use of sonata movements with fugal endings (Austrian in approach rather than Bachian).⁵

Mozart's Missa Brevis, K. 194, was written a year after his return from his last trip to Vienna. The influence of his trip to Vienna will be seen further as the works composed within the period of October 1773 through August 1774 are reviewed. Reviewing the output as a whole will give valuable insight into the style of K. 194, rather than seeing it as an isolated composition.

²H.C. Robbins Landon, <u>Mozart and Vienna</u>, 43.
 ³H. C. Robbins Landon, <u>Mozart and Vienna</u>, 45.
 ⁴Stanley Sadie, <u>The New Grove Mozart</u> (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1980), 38.

⁵Sadie, 38.

Overview of Output October 1773--August 1774

In the year under review, twenty works by Mozart are listed. This includes four symphonies, three concertos, two masses, a string quintet, a serenade and march, and several smaller works. It appears that returning to Salzburg from Vienna may have given Mozart a substantial impetus for composing.

The first genre that Mozart immersed himself in was the symphony. Stanley Sadie says that two of the symphonies, K. 183 and K. 201, "mark his emergence from a preternaturally gifted youth into a great composer."⁶ The first symphony composed in October was K. 182, which is reminiscent of his Italianate symphonies composed in the spring of 1773 (before his trip to Vienna). The second, K. 183, is Mozart's first <u>Sturm und Drang</u> symphony and has become well-known as the "Little G minor." The symphonies of Vanhal from 1770-73, all in minor keys, contain the qualities which characterize <u>Sturm und Drang</u> style: repeated sixteenth notes, pounding eighth notes in the bass line, wide skips in themes, sudden pauses, silences, exaggerated dynamics (crescendo, off-beat <u>forzati</u>, accents). All of these features can be found in K. 183.⁷

Robbins Landon feels that "There can be no doubt that

'Sadie, 40.

⁷H. C. Robbins Landon, <u>Mozart and Vienna</u>, 48.

Mozart's later style was profoundly influenced by the music he heard and studied in the course of the long and otherwise fruitless summer of 1773."⁸ Sadie suggests that the work may signify something of Mozart's spiritual development.⁹ Though Mozart did not compose a long series of works in the <u>Sturm und Drang</u> style, as did Vanhal, he did recall it in future works, and as with any other style, Mozart kept it as part of his eclectic musical language.

The Symphony in A, K. 201, composed in April, 1774 is considered by Sadie to be a "landmark" composition as well. This symphony combines the intimate, chamber music style with a fiery, impulsive manner. The next symphony, K. 202, composed in May, in D major, Sadie calls "serenade-like" and is light in character.¹⁰

A fortepiano concerto dating from December 1773 is his first original work in this genre. Prior to its composition, Mozart had composed <u>pasticcio</u> concertos by creating orchestral accompaniments to the keyboard sonatas of other composers. Through his work in these <u>pasticcio</u> and in the composition of arias for <u>opera serie</u>, Mozart devised a "hierarchy of thematic structure and a consistency of proportions" which would become the model for all of his future concerti. And, according to Levin, "The character

^bH. C. Robbins Landon, <u>Mozart and Vienna</u>, 49.
^bSadie, 41.
¹⁰Sadie, 41.

and texture of Mozart's thematic motives, and the order of their presentation, reflect specific rhetorical purpose (e.g., expository, dynamic, cadential)."¹¹ This principle is true from Mozart's first concerto to his last. Levin points out that, while Beethoven copied Mozart in many ways he never duplicated his concerto prototype, most likely because of "its great motivic complexity."¹² This pervasive, underlying musical organization, which became integral to Mozart's composition of concerti, could have had effects on all of his composition is some manner, including his Masses.

The other concertos from the period include a "leisurely and amiable" Concertone for two violins, K.190, in C, composed in May, which also includes solo passages for oboe and cello.¹³ This work, in addition to Mozart's Bassoon Concerto, K. 191, composed in June, reflects the influence of J. C. Bach, in its use of sinfonia concertante style with dialogue and sequence, and its minuet-rondo finale. The Bassoon Concerto also shows Mozart's ability to compose idiomatically for the bassoon through register contrasts, staccato and a lyricism revealing its "latent eloquence."¹⁴

¹²Levin, 264.
¹³Levin, 268.
¹⁴Sadie, 42.

¹¹Robert Levin, "Concertos," <u>The Mozart Compendium</u>, H. C. Robbins Landon (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 264.

The String Quintet from the period, K.174, was composed in December 1773. This, his first quintet, reveals Mozart in an experimental stage. His melodies are inventive, with less imagination in treatment of the cello and second viola. It is thought to be inspired by some quintets of Michael Haydn titled "Notturno." ¹⁵

The Serenade, K. 203, was composed in August as <u>Finalmusic</u> for the festival which celebrated the end of the university year. This serenade is in D major, which is the key of most of his serenades and cassations. By omitting the cellos and using the bassoon in the serenade, the key of D major is made to sound brighter. This fact of orchestration has implications for the work under study, in that Mozart's Missa Brevis, K. 194 is also in D major and is also scored without cellos.

The serenade is in eight movements with an opening sonata form movement, at least two minuets, and a brisk finale. Serenades are usually accompanied by a march (in this case, K. 237). The serenades were performed in a relaxed atmosphere and may have had long pauses between the movements. The unique feature of the serenade is its use of slow introductions, which are not found in earlier symphonies. Overall, the serenades are fairly simple and

¹⁵ Alec Hyatt King, "Strings Alone," <u>The Mozart</u> <u>Compendium</u>, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 295.

unadventurous.¹⁶

The church music composed during this time period is of primary interest for this study. It includes one Litany, one Vesper, two church sonatas or epistle sonatas, and two missa breves. The Litaniae Laurentanae, K. 195, in D major, was composed in May 1774. It is scored for SATB, SATB soloists, and small orchestra. It is set in a multimovement cantata form created by the Neapolitan composers by the end of the seventeenth century. The text is derived from the Mass (Kyrie and Agnus Dei) and the setting is similar to Mozart's Mass settings, using homorhythmic choral declamation, minimal text repetition, and busy string accompaniments. Litanies, a part of the Salzburg musical tradition, were composed by Biber, Eberlin, Adlgasser and Leopold Mozart. Other well-known composers of the genre include the Viennese composers Fux, Caldara, Reutter and Bonno.¹⁷

The Dixit Dominus and Magnificat comprise the first set of Vespers by Mozart, composed in July 1774, between the composition of his two <u>missa breves</u>. This Vesper reveals many similar characteristics of the two masses: bustling strings, choral declamation interspersed with polyphonic

¹⁶David Wyn Jones "Miscellaneous Instrumental,"in <u>The</u> <u>Mozart Compendium</u>, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 271-272.

¹⁷David Humphries, "Miscellaneous Sacred Music," <u>The</u> <u>Mozart Compendium</u>, H. C. Robbins Landon (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 316-318.

writing, and church scoring (omission of upper woodwinds and violas). Unlike the masses, the Vesper calls for trumpets, trombones and timpani and the Litany for oboe, horns, and trombones.

The two short works which actually accompany the masses are the church or epistle sonatas: they are single sonataallegro movements composed to be played between the Epistle and the Gospel. K. 144 in D major, and K. 145 in F major, are composed in the <u>galant</u> style for two violins and bass with organ continuo.¹⁸

Before dealing with the Missa Brevis, K. 192 (which will be compared more closely with the work under study, K. 194), I will note factors from the works already discussed which may suggest connection to K. 194.

While K. 194 is not a <u>Sturm und Drang</u> work, there are textual opportunities for such elements to be employed. The most obvious is the "Crucifixus" text in the Credo which is in minor, uses wide skips and sudden dynamic change. The sudden measure of silence (another characteristic of the style) immediately preceding the "Amen" of the Credo is another dramatic moment. The other connection to the symphony is Mozart's use of sonata principle in this Mass.

As has already been mentioned, Mozart's motivic approach to organization in his composition of concerti may have influenced his composition of K. 194.

¹⁸Humphries, 317.

The choice of key for the Serenades may well be related to his choice of key for this Mass, which will be discussed further in chapter five of this document. Similarities between the Litany and Vesper have already been noted.

Comparison of K. 192 to K. 194

Finally, the Missa Brevis, K. 192, will be given more focus as it was written just prior to the Mass under study. K. 192, in F major, was composed in June of 1774. The scoring is the same as that for K. 194, except that Mozart later added parts for two trumpets to K. 192. General characteristics of the individual movements of both <u>missa</u> <u>breves</u> will be discussed and compared.

KYRIE

In K. 192, the Kyrie opens with a short eleven-measure sinfonia which introduces the thematic material for the movement. The choral fabric is quite contrapuntal. Unity is created by repetition of the orchestral material and its interaction with the choral writing. Mozart's use of the soloists is unusual. Rather than use the soloist for the contrasting Christe, Mozart introduces a second Kyrie motive (in the dominant over its dominant pedal) by the soloist immediately preceding the Christe which is then repeated at the conclusion of the movement. The Christe is choral (rather than with traditional soloists) and connects thematically to the opening statement of the sinfonia, this time in the dominant. The concluding Kyrie repeats the

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material of the first but remains in the tonic throughout.

This treatment of the Kyrie is quite different from K. 194. In K. 192, the orchestral writing is more independent from the choral parts. In K. 194 the orchestra is frequently <u>colla parte</u>. In K. 192, the overall structure is partially concealed because of the displacement of the soloist. K. 194 is structurally very clear. K. 192 feels far more "church" like because of the heavy contrapuntal writing which actually obscures the interesting structural features. The Kyrie of K. 194 sounds more modern.

GLORIA

Like K. 194, Mozart relies on only the intoned "Gloria in excelsis Deo" for this portion of text, which reinforces an old "church" style. What is most noticeable about this Gloria (in comparison with K. 194) is its lack of obvious text painting. There is a frequent alternation between soloists and tutti sections, but it is not overtly sectional in nature as is the Gloria of K. 194. There is unity created by the use of thematic material. There are some internal repetitions and the first theme is reiterated as the final statement.

The movement seems to get its forward motion by the orchestral writing, which is actually quite independent from the voices. The writing for the violins is florid and in perpetual motion except when it stops momentarily and completely, twice, at "Domine Deus" and "Amen." Here the

soloists (over a sustained dominant pedal) continue the motion in florid polyphonic writing. The traditional threepart structure of the Gloria is not obvious as it is in K. 194. Again, Mozart employs some modern techniques. This movement, while it mixes in more homophony than the Kyrie did, still has an older "church" style feeling to it.

CREDO

The Credo is the most well-known portion of this particular Missa Brevis. It is the first time Mozart uses the reappearance of the word "Credo" throughout the movement as a unifying factor. In K. 257 he again uses the repetition of "Credo" to unify the movement, and that Mass is known as the "Credo" Mass. This is another throughcomposed movement without the noticeable breaks which are typical of the early Viennese Mass. He uses some extremes in text painting as huge leaps downward for the "descendit" and soft dynamics for "et mortuos" and "et sepultus est." Even so, the text painting is not blatant and is absorbed in the overall texture of the music. The movement is driven forward by constant and independent violin writing, which even continues in the contrapuntal choral sections (rather than reverting to traditional <u>colla parte</u>). The choral parts are for the most part homophonic and declamatory. This Credo is in another world from K. 194. K. 194 is composed in a clearly revealed sonata form and belies a dramatic intensity which seems almost operatic next to the

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"church" feeling of the K. 192.

SANCTUS

The Sanctus of K. 192 is the first movement to reveal any similarities to K. 194. The choices of meter are opposite in the two Masses--K. 192 begins in 3/4 and moves to 4/4 at the Hosanna; K. 194 begins in 4/4 and moves to 3/4 earlier, at the Pleni. The opening themes move in opposite directions--K. 192 descends while K. 194 ascends. The similarity is in the violin writing, which utilizes an offbeat, arpeggiated pattern. The "Dominus Deus" in K. 192 is set in a hemiola in duple. The similarity in the violin writing and the hemiola show the possibility of development from K. 192 to K. 194 in Mozart's mind. This movement uses one of the standard two-part formats for the Sanctus. The Hosanna is contrapuntal and the strings are basically <u>colla</u> <u>parte</u> (as in K. 194).

BENEDICTUS

As per tradition, the Benedictus of K. 192, is composed in the subdominant. This setting is for the solo quartet. Though the entrances are staggered, giving the illusion of counterpoint, the fabric is really homophonic with a melodically independent violin accompaniment. The violin melodic material, very light and in ascending patterns, is completely different in nature to that of the quartet which is rhythmically slower and in descending patterns. The superimposition of the violins over the quartet is often not evenly juxtasaposed, blurring the form. The Hosanna is repeated verbatim.

In the Benedictus of K. 194, the violins begin <u>colla</u> <u>parte</u> with the soloists and then become part of the fabric of the ensemble. K. 194 is transparent and simple melodically, formally, and harmonically. It moves from a duet to a quartet texture with the slightest hint of imitation.

AGNUS DEI

The Agnus Dei of K. 192 begins with a short, threemeasure sinfonia. This perhaps relates back to the Kyrie though there is no other connection to that movement. The form, which alternates soloist with chorus, is one frequently used by early Viennese composers. Throughout the Agnus Dei, the violin part-writing is independent of the vocal lines in an obbligato fashion with continuous, arpeggiated sixteenth-notes. Against this is set a simple and predictable solo melody with a homophonic choral response. The Agnus Dei is usually in the tonic, tonic major or relative minor. The Agnus Dei of K. 192, instead of beginning in the relative minor (d minor), begins in D major! It then moves through F major to F minor, to G minor, to A major--A minor, to D minor and leads back to F major for the Dona nobis pacem.

The Dona nobis moves into a 3/8 meter--an unusual choice for the section. It is in a binary-type form

followed by a coda. The two parts--the second repeats the first with slight harmonic changes--are divided into three connected thematic groups which are in balanced antecedent/consequent phrases. The string parts are <u>colla</u> <u>parte</u> for the first thematic group, moving to a quick subdivided chordal accompaniment for the second and third groups and the coda. The Dona is choral and homophonic.

The Agnus Dei of K. 194 is much more transparent. The form is clear harmonically, and supported by very simple chordal string writing. The alternation of solo with chorus is present but the key relationships are clearer. The Dona of K. 194 reveals a use of sonata principle which seems years away from K. 192, though they were written only two months apart. It also involves the reuse of material from the Kyrie which unifies the Mass. Both end in a fast tempo in a cheerful manner, typical for the period.

With this brief analysis, K. 192 seems to reveal traits of a fairly conservative vein of Mass composition when compared to K. 194. Overall, K. 192, seems to continue in the Baroque tradition of one "affect" for one movement. The work as a whole never goes to extremes of emotions and reveals the characteristic of its key--F major--which Schubart described as "complaisance and calm."¹⁹

Reviewing the compositional activity prior to K. 194 is

¹⁹Rita Steblin, <u>A History of Key Characteristics in the</u> <u>Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries</u> (UMI Research Press, 1983), 124.

valuable because it brings the work into a larger perspective. This is really necessary to understand the work and avoid erroneous conclusions which can be drawn from looking at it in isolation. While musicians may limit the study of music of a composer to just one work, or just one genre, this study reveals the importance of cutting through genre barriers for a better understanding of composer and composition. For instance, with even a quick look into Mozart's concerto compositions, his motivic principle of structure is revealed. For the study of K. 194, this is important information because, according to Bruce Mac Intyre, Mass composition was not unified by motive means in the early Classical Mass. Yet in K. 194, there seem to be a heavy reliance on just this kind of unity. What was Mozart's model? Could it be within himself, as shown by his concept in composing concerti?

An element which stands out in reviewing Mozart's work from October 1773 to August 1774 is his apparent predisposition (at least in this period of time) to compose pairs of works--one conservative and one progressive. In this short period of time, he composed two symphonies in October, one which is considered to be composed from an earlier style and the second, a progressive work which brings him fame ("the Little G Minor"). This happens again in the spring, with two other symphonies and seems to be the case with the composition of the two <u>missa breves</u>. Is this a trend in his composing?

This is not to suggest that a progressive work is "better" than a conservative one. Yet noting this pattern should give awareness that Mozart, the genius, was also a craftsman and there is much to be gained in deep study of his works. It is important to avoid quick and simplistic opinions; what may appear conservative on the surface may hide deeper progressive elements.

Another factor which should be kept in mind is that Mozart the student was always "in school." Continued study of his life, contacts, and the works that he studied during this period could, undoubtedly, give countless bits of light into the composition of K. 194.

CHAPTER 5

A Hermeneutical Exploration of Missa Brevis, K. 194

Language, whether verbal, pictorial, or musical, owes its effectiveness, indeed its very function as a vehicle for the expression of ideas, to the conventional association of certain modes of expression with certain meanings.¹

This hermeneutical exploration of Missa Brevis, K. 194, will include several approaches, including traditional formal and tonal analysis. Some reference will be made to the use of traditional rhetoric. The work of Rita Steblin on "key characteristics" will be referred to. The main work of the analysis, which is primarily concerned with meaning, will utilize Deryck Cooke's analytical method.² This

¹Warren Kirkendale, "New Roads to Old Ideas in Beethoven's <u>Missa Solemnis</u>," in <u>The Creative World of</u> <u>Beethoven</u> (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1970), 164.

²The method of Deryck Cooke, as described in <u>The</u> <u>Language of Music</u>, attempts to "decipher" the language of music. It is Cooke's contention that musical language expresses definite things based on "the common unconscious assumption of composers for the past five-and-a-half centuries at least." Cooke discusses pitch, time and volume and their potential musical effects. He further tries to "pinpoint the inherent emotional characters of the various notes of the major, minor, and chromatic scales, and of certain basic melodic patterns which have been used persistently throughout our musical history." This hermeneutical exploration will utilize his "musical vocabulary" based on his analysis of the melodic patterns. Deryck Cooke, <u>The Language of Music</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), xi-xii.

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analysis will reveal an advanced motivic unity and use of sonata principle when compared to the norms of Mass composition of the eighteenth-century.

Before looking at specific movements of the Mass, it is important to consider Mozart's choice of the key of D for K. 194. The key of D is powerful and a less popular choice for a Mass setting. Joseph Haydn never used this key for a Mass and Beethoven's <u>Missa solemnis</u> is in D--a piece on a completely different scale and for a rather different purpose. Of the Masses considered in Mac Intyre's study of the eighteenth-century Mass, two-thirds are set in C, onesixth in D and the rest in F, Bb, G and some minor keys. In a study of key characteristics by Rita Steblin, D major is categorized as a brilliant, joyful, bright key. Her appendix on the key of D major shows agreement on this characteristic by forty composers or theorists, who wrote about key characteristics between 1691 and 1843.

Schubart's well-known list of key characteristics published in 1787 listed D major as

The key of triumph, of Hallelujahs, of war-cries, of victory-rejoicing. Thus, the inviting symphonies, the marches, holiday songs and heaven-rejoicing choruses are set in this key.³

Schubart's summary of keys is that

Every key is either coloured or uncoloured (\underline{sic}) . Innocence and simplicity are expressed by uncoloured keys. Tender and melancholy feelings are expressed by

³Steblin, 124.

flat keys: wild and strong passions by sharp keys.⁴ Mozart's K.192, composed only two months prior to K. 194, is written in F major which Schubart says reflects "complaisance and calm."⁵ K. 192 certainly reflects those characteristics. So why did Mozart choose D major for his next mass? He never uses D major for a Mass again.

Einstein suggests that Mozart utilizes D major as a neutral key, so that he would have greater freedom in modulation.

In Mozart, the keys are more neutral in character, carefully as he chose them for each work. His C major, D major and E-flat major are richer, broader domains than those keys are to his contemporaries--more fertile soil, in which not only roses may grow, but cypresses.⁶ As was discussed earlier, the F major Mass seems for Mozart to be an exercise in composing in an earlier style. The

ensuing discussion of the motivic material of K. 194, will reveal why D major is a perfect choice. The motivic material expressed through D major culminates in a brilliant expression of the "joyful" affect.

The Missa Brevis, K. 194, will be analyzed movement by movement. For the purpose of clarity, a brief diagram of the formal structure of each movement is provided prior to the discussion of that movement. LaRuevian symbols will be used to name thematic groups ("P"--primary, "S"--secondary).

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'Steblin, 124.
'Steblin, 121.
'Einstein, 161.

When there is material which cannot be described using the LaRue system, it will be labeled in another fashion.

<u>Kyrie</u>

	Exposition		Development	Recapitulation	
text	Kyrie	Christe	Kyrie	Kyrie	
Reasure	n. 1	m.1 3	n. 21	m. 35	
key center	D	A	D/A	D	
thematic group	P	S	S/P	P	
voicing	choral		choral	choral	

The Kyrie is set in the traditional ABA pattern, though this particular Kyrie inserts a development section before the return of A, and it has therefore been labeled as a sonata form rather than as an ABA form. The development section utilizes material from both the A and B sections. The text is from the A section and since it starts in the tonic, may sound like it is simply the return of the A section. Thematically, the Kyrie opens with a descending 5-3-1 (major) arpeggio, which becomes an important unifying figure for K. 194 (Ex. 1). According to Deryck Cooke,

...to descend from the outlying dominant to the point of repose, the tonic, through the major third, will naturally convey a sense of experiencing joy passively, i.e. accepting or welcoming blessings, relief, consolation, reassurance or fulfillment, together with a feeling of 'having come home.'⁷

Cooke adds a note to say that, in addition, a "sense of confidence" also arises which is more noticeable if the

⁷Cooke, 130.

passage is loud and the phrasing staccato or accented⁶-which is the case in this initial statement of the Kyrie. Mozart could only have increased the confidence and joy if the arpeggio had gone in the opposite direction beginning on the tonic!



Example 1: Kyrie, mm. 1-12

The second appearance of the 5-3-1 pattern in is the third bar, this time in E minor. Cooke finds that,

Substituting the minor for the major third in the descending 5-3-1 progression, we have a phrase which has been much used to express an 'incoming' painful emotion, in a context of finality; acceptance of, or yielding to grief; discouragement and depression; passive suffering; and the despair connected with death.⁹

The use of the 5-3-1 pattern in minor is important for balance of content in the Kyrie. The 5-3-1 pattern (major

[°]Cooke, 167.

[°]Cooke, 133.

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and minor) continues throughout the Kyrie, moving to the dominant in the Christe, and sometimes filled in as 5-4-3-2-1 at the end of sections.

In mm. 4-5, Mozart elaborates on the descending passage beginning high in the soprano and resolving downward 4-1-3-The next four measures are imitative, pairing the 2-1. tenor part with the bass, in overlapping descending 5-3-1 material, similar to the opening statement. The soprano and alto parts are also paired, the material is more ornamented though still revealing the descending pattern. In the soprano, the line descends through F#-E-D-C-B. The alto primary descent is B-A-G#-E. Finally, in m. 11, the Kyrie concludes with a 5-4-3-2-1 descent to A, leading to the dominant for the Christe. Mozart will use, as another unifying force, the recurrence of high soprano entrances to reinforce the descending pattern. In the opening Kyrie section, three Kyries and three Eleisons begin in this range.

The eight-measure Christe is imitative in nature. Each voice part begins with outlining the 5-3-1 descending pattern, but then moves in an ascending direction while elaborating the word "eleison." This is an important direction change. Descending motion implies passivity while ascending motion implies effort.¹⁰ From m. 7 to the downbeat of m. 8, the choir converges in a final upward cry

¹⁰Cooke, 102.

of "eleison" (have mercy). At this point the texture has become homophonic, the pitches are high and the note values have become smaller--all contributing to the intensity of the moment. This becomes the climax of the movement which lasts only for a moment. The final "eleison" immediately falls back passively in a simple 3-2-1 descent.

The next Kyrie section of fourteen measures is a development section. The section develops the motivic material from both the Kyrie and Christe sections. The first seven measures (mm. 21-27) are reminiscent of the beginning of the Christe. The next four bars (mm. 28-31) mirror the material of mm. 6-9, this time pairing the outer voices opposite the inner voices. This development closes with a short three-measure segment similar to m. 10-12, this time ending in the tonic. This closing statement has one interesting variation in the soprano line. Instead of the 5-3-1 motive, the soprano ascends from 1 to 3 dropping immediately a minor seventh to the third of the chord. This wide interval which moves from the third of the dominant to the third of its dominant has a different kind of expression of incoming joy.

The final Kyrie section (m. 35) repeats mm. 1-5 with 4-5 sung twice--first <u>piano</u> then <u>forte</u>.

An essential accomplishment in this Kyrie, is the introduction and complete saturation of the 5-3-1 motive. This is important because it will serve to be a unifying factor of the Mass as a whole.

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While this Kyrie may seem almost too brilliant to our sensibilities when considering the textual content, for Mozart it was a part of the established language. It was known that Mozart studied and copied the Masses of Eberlin and Michael Haydn. Eberlin's <u>Messa di San Giuseppe</u> begins with a rhythmically-similar Kyrie and actually uses the descending 5-3-1 pattern (relative minor) in the Christe section (Ex.2). There are a number of similar syllabic rhythmic patterns found throughout both Kyrie's.



Example 2: Eberlin mm. 15

<u>Gloria</u>

Exposition		Develop n ent		Recapitulation	
text	Et in terra	Domine Qui tollis	Quoniam	Cum sancto	
thematic group	Pa Pb Pc	S D1 D2 D1 D3 D2 (new material)	D4	Pa Pb Pc	
measure	1-3 3-6 7-10 11-23	24-29 30-40	40-45	46end	
key	D	A b e F#	modulatory	D	
voicing	choral	solo choral	solo	choral	

In his discussion of the form of the Gloria, Bruce Mac Intyre shows that the Viennese Mass of this period would normally divide the movement into three contrasting

sections.¹¹ Because this is a <u>missa brevis</u>, the Gloria is set in one movement. Mozart utilizes a kind of sonata form to provide contrast and dramatic tension. The "quoniam" text is the normal placement for a third movement. It is notable that Mozart chooses to give it a transitional function.



Example 3: Gloria mm. 1-4

The opening material of the chorus in the Gloria may be interpreted as 5-1-5-1-3-1 (major) (Ex. 3). According to Cooke 5-1-3 represents "joy, pure and simple."¹² Mozart begins with an upward leap from 5-1 twice in the soprano line which creates a momentum to the major third which occurs on the downbeat of m. 3 for a joyful opening statement. At the "Laudamus te" is the familiar 5-3-1 (major) motif which is repeated in the "Adoramus te." The descending 5-4-3-2-1 in the text "propter magnam, propter magnam gloriam tuam" leads down to the dominant and concludes the opening, inwardly and outwardly joyful, section.

¹¹Mac Intyre, 317. ¹²Cooke, 119.



Example 4: Gloria mm. 11-14

From this joyful choral statement, Mozart moves into a lyrical solo section to express the "Domine Deus" (Ex. 4). The thematic material for the second area also begins with a descending 5-4-3-2-1 (major) in the second key area. The descending 5-4-3-2-1 pattern is repeated in the bass part (m. 15), as the material moves into B minor. The solo moves through passive acceptance of grief, and prepares for the move from joy to despair in the "Agnus Dei." The "Agnus Dei" uses an extended version of the most widely used of all musical symbols, 5-6-5 (minor), which Deryck Cooke describes as a "burst of anguish."¹³ The section concludes with "Filius Patris" on a descending 8-(7-6-5)-4-3-2-1 (minor) pattern (mm. 21-23), with a final yielding to the grief.

The next choral section of the Gloria, beginning in B minor, is tonally unstable and moves through several minor keys until it makes its way back to D major, for the return of the primary thematic material. The first "Qui tolis peccata mundi" (m. 24) makes a feeble chromatic attempt upward, only to fall back to the "miserere," which makes a slight attempt at ascent only to descend 5-4-3-2-1 (minor)

¹³Cooke, 146.

to E minor. This gesture is repeated. This time it ends with the 5-4-3-2-1 descent through the "deprecationem nostram" to F#, for a brief declamatory moment in the "Qui sedes" which returns to the dominant. The "miserere" section (mm. 36-39) is tonally destabilized, leading to the brief closing gesture in the bass solo where the "Quoniam" begins with a descending 5-1 on the tonic. The solo continues with three descending phrases "Tu solus Sanctus" 5-4-3-2-1 (G minor), "Tu solus Dominus" 5-4-3-2-1 (F major), and "Tu solus Altissimus" 5-4-3-2-1 (D minor) showing a mixture of incoming joy and pain finally leading to the dominant and back to D major.



Example 5: Gloria mm. 46-49

At the "Cum sancto Spiritu" (Ex. 5), Mozart recapitulates to the opening material and recaptures the joy expressed in the opening text "Et in Terra Pax." The "Amen" section reworks and expands the "Laudamus te" and "Gratias" material, this time in the tonic. The return of the outgoing and incoming joy overcomes the anguished, painful middle sections.

<u>Credo</u>

	Exposition	osition Development		Recapitulation	
text	Patrem	Et Inc/Cruci	Et Resurrexit	Spiritum Et Unu	e Et Expecto
thematic group	P P1 P2	S K	D1	D2 D3	P1 P D1 P2
voicing	choral	solo choral	choral	solo choral	choral
neasure	1 9 51	59 62	68	106 129	144 156 162 173
texture	homophonic	homoph	polyphonic	h h p	h ph
key	D/unstabl D	b / chrom.	G	ef# b	D dest D/G D
tempo	allegro	andante	allegro		
neter	3/4	4/4	3/4		

The difficulty every composer faced in setting the Credo was one concerning unity and variety. How does a composer creatively handle the immense text? To create interest and unity in K. 192, Mozart chooses to use the repetition and insertion of the word, Credo (I believe), throughout the movement. The Credo of K. 194, is an example of sonata principle applied to a long and diverse text.

The movement is unified both tonally and thematically. Mozart obviously wants the distinct meaning of the parts of the Credo to be expressed, and changes the affect frequently. Tonally, Credo begins in D major, and moves through many related key areas before returning to the tonic at the recapitulation. Mozart avoids the dominant in the Credo and moves instead to the relative minor, the subdominant and its relative minor. The Credo moves forward through the long text by continually destabilizing tonal centers, rarely achieving a sense of arrival. The movement begins immediately with tonal instability in the first key area, hovering around D rather than being in it. Though the tonic is present, the harmonic movement in the first four bars is toward the subdominant. The tonic is stable in m. 5 only to be destabilized in the next two measures by a I₇ over the tonic pedal. The entire first section finally finds its resolution in m. 58.

The first long section of the Credo (mm. 1-58) is through-composed. While the opening theme is reused at the C major transition (m. 28) the rest of the thematic material, while similar in nature, is varied for each portion of text.



Example 6: Credo mm. 1-8

The opening measure in the soprano line is simple--two ascending quarter notes on the text "patrem" (Ex. 6). This is followed by two descending phrases on "omnipotens." The first of the two phrases rests on the 3rd of the subdominant, never reaching the tonic. The second phrase land on the 5th of the tonic chord. All three of the opening phrases are quite passive. While upward motion may

show "effort," this two note phrase shows as little effort as possible. The two descending passages also lack energy. While the descending 5-3-1 "joy" passage shows itself in mm. 4-5 (E-C#-A) in the soprano, it lacks something in the expression of joy since it lands on the fifth degree of the chord and not the first.

At "factorum" (m. 6), the melodic line begins to trace a 7-6-5-4-3-(4-5) descent, but again it never falls all the way to 1, instead turning back up to 5 at the end. Thus the potential for "incoming joy" feels thwarted.

The rest of this section is quite similar in nature. Phrases begin with a small upward motion and descend in short phrases, some of which outline a 5-3-1 pattern, though rarely is 1 on the tonic. The most interesting moment in the section is at sudden key shifts to C major at the text "Deum, Deum de Deo." C major according to Schubart is a key of "purity" and Gretry calls it "noble and frank."¹⁴ This temporary shift down a whole step from the tonic brings an immediate focus to, and paints the text "God, God of Gods."

The first section concludes beginning at m. 51, with the "descendit," on a 8-7, 8-7 pattern to a 3-2-1 pattern. Descending gestures are a part of the traditional rhetoric for this text. The repetition of the phrase, again emphasizing the 8-7 twice, finally resolving upward, is a typical setting for the text.

¹⁴Steblin, 121.



Example 7: Credo mm. 69-70

There are two choral sections which are imitative. The first follows the "Crucifixus." The "Et resurrexit" (Ex. 7) contains the 5-6-5-3-1 pattern in major, first in the dominant in the soprano and finally in the tonic in the bass part. This short section is important as a moment of tonal and melodic arrival in the middle of the movement. It is interesting that rather than follow the traditional rhetoric of the resurrection--upward motion--Mozart chooses instead to reinforce his 5-3-1 "expression of incoming joy" which will help to unify the work. He makes only a short upward gesture, 5-6, which according to Cooke signifies a "simple assertion of joy."¹⁵ Perhaps the initial motion is an obligatory reference to the tradition, since the downward direction is a definite break with tradition.

Following the "et resurrexit" the movement continues in a declamatory, through-composed fashion which includes some of the common Viennese rhetoric for text painting. He sets the word "sedet" (sits) in m. 84 statically as a dottedhalf-note over a static dominant 7 chord repeated in eighth notes. The setting of "vivos et mortuos" is dramatic as it

¹⁵Cooke, 143.

drops suddenly in pitch and to a piano dynamic marking.

At m. 106, a lyrical solo section begins which eventually becomes a solo quartet. The section begins in E minor, moves through F# major to B minor for the choral entrance. The tenor solo (m. 107) begins with the "et in spiritum" text on an arched 5-1-5-6-5 to a 5-4-3-4-5-1 phrase. The first pattern incorporates the 5-1, which when it continues to 3, according to Cooke, expresses "pure tragedy."¹⁶ This motion merely touches to 1 bringing in a sense of the tragic which is reinforced by the 5-6-5 (minor) "burst of anguish." The solo ends with a 7-6-5-4-3-1 setting of "filioque procedit" (m. 115). This descending pattern includes the 5-3-1 (major) "expression of incoming joy"

Immediately, the soprano (m. 118) follows with four phrases all containing the 1-5-6-5 (minor) pattern reinforcing that "burst of anguish." The solo bass closes the section with the 5-3-1 (minor) in E minor followed by a descending 1-5-1 to B minor. The translation for this section reads

I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, who together with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified, who spoke to us through the prophets.¹⁷

Mozart has taken great care in painting this solo section

¹⁷Ron Jeffers, <u>Translations and Annotations of Choral</u> Repertoire Vol. I (Oregon: Cascade Printing Co., 1988), 52.

¹⁶Cooke, 125.

with what Deryck Cooke considers to be the most universal of all musical symbols, 5-6-5 (minor) the effect of a "burst of anguish."¹⁸ It is necessary to explore why Mozart chose such a painful expressive venue for this text; it is not a part of the traditional rhetoric. It is notable that in K. 192, the same text is set in an opposite affect--a major key, very light and joyful. Since there is nothing obviously negative about the text to call for this treatment, it may be that Mozart is connecting back to the affect of the "Et incarnatus," also in minor, a solo section and the only other reference to the Holy Spirit in the Credo.

The next section begins at m. 129 with a strong 1-3-5 (minor) statement which includes dramatic octave leaps. This shows an outgoing expression of pain in the "et unam sanctam" (I believe in one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.) The <u>forte</u> dynamic marking, fast tempo and strong pulsing chordal movement reinforce the aspect of "a complaint" more than "an assertion of sorrow."¹⁹ Again, this level of drama in this section is unusual.

Mozart breaks off for a moment with a rather static, and traditional setting of "confiteor" (m. 136) preparing for a triumphant blast at the "in remissionem peccatorum." This phrase begins high in the soprano tessitura imitated

¹⁹Both are potential meanings for the figure. Cooke, 122.

¹⁸Cooke, 146.

immediately by the tenor, followed by basses and altos. The phrase begins with a 7b-6-5-4-3-2-1 scale on the dominant which continues below 1 to 7b-6-5 before leading back to 1 in the tonic. It is heard as a huge descending expression of incoming joy for "the remission of sins" which is welcome relief following the earlier darker statements.

Mozart then returns to destabilizing the tonality in the next measure (m. 145). The next sections mm. 145-150 and mm. 155-161 are a recapitulation of material from the first thematic group. In this section, rather than set the "resurrectionem" in the traditional ascending rhetoric, Mozart chooses to recapitulate, fitting the text into the material of the primary thematic group. At m. 151 Mozart uses traditional rhetoric to paint the word "mortuorum" (death)--syllabically, in long dotted half notes, over the span of four measures.

Following this section Mozart stops the motion for a complete measure of silence before concluding with the "Amen." After almost 100 measures utilizing a fairly persistent underlying eighth-note accompaniment (to a quarter note pulse), this dead stop, which follows the text "and the life of the world to come," is quite dramatic. It seems like an insistent halting of worldly concerns for a glimpse of eternity.

Most notable about this entire section is Mozart's use of <u>Sturm und Drang</u> elements: the driving eighth notes, wide melodic skips, sudden dynamic changes and sudden silence.

Mozart has effectively combined these elements with some traditional rhetoric into the portion of the Mass which is potentially boring, and created an unconventional dramatic moment.

At m. 162 (Ex. 8), the second imitative section occurs at the close of the movement, as in the Viennese tradition, as the "Et resurrexit" material is reworked for the "Amen." This section renews the stabilizing and fulfilling emotional element of incoming joy, and contributes to the sense of unity in the movement and the Mass as a whole.



Example 8: Credo mm. 162-164

Finally, material from the first thematic group at "descendit" is reworked to close the Credo (m. 173) in the final "Amen." This also contributes to a sense of arrival, unity and closure. In this case, however, the major third of the tonic chord, omitted in the "descendit," is included--a most important element for a joyful conclusion!

<u>Sanctus</u>

text	Sanctus	Pleni sunt	Hosanna
neasure	1-7	8-15	16-end
key center	D - A	D - A	D
thematic grou;	Å	B	C

voicing	choral	choral	choral	
texture	polyph	homophonic	polyphonic	
neter	4/4	3/4	3/4	
tempo	andante	allegro	allegro	

The form of this Sanctus is slightly varied from the traditional two-part Sanctus. Instead of incorporating the "pleni" text into the Sanctus, Mozart sets it as a brief independent section which creates anticipation for the Hosanna.



Example 9: Sanctus mm. 1-2

The Sanctus begins with a beautiful lyrical fugue based on the simple 1-2-3-2-1 (Ex. 9) pattern which represents the beginning of outward and inward expressions of joy. The first figure, repeated in each voice part, doesn't go to the fifth degree, so the emotional content lacks the energy of the ascent or descent to or from 5. In the bass part which starts the fugue, the second phrase contains the 5-4-3-2-1 (major) pattern which exudes the sense of "having come home" at long last after the Credo! This lyrical beginning in 4/4 lasts only seven measures before moving to the Allegro "Pleni sunt coeli" in 3/4. This is one point in the Mass where the <u>brevis</u> is felt. Though Mozart makes the transition well, in so few bars to the Pleni, the unfulfilled 1-2-3 passage and the beauty, simplicity, and shortness of the opening Sanctus create a feeling of "wanting more."

The quick Pleni section is homophonic and declamatory, set in short phrases. The first "pleni sunt coeli" is melodically static--the soprano repeats one pitch--and harmonically strong, reinforcing dominant to tonic. The next "pleni" is an octave jump on the tonic, immediately released downward in a 7b-6 descent. This is answered in the next phrase "coeli et terra," which slightly rises and falls. The "gloria tua" leaps up from the "terra" and descends 5-4-3. This entire section, which uses very limited musical gestures, creates anticipation for the "Hosanna."



Example 10: Sanctus mm. 16-17

In the joyful imitative "Hosanna" the descending 5-3-1 (major) pattern (Ex. 10) returns expressing "experiencing joy passively, i.e. accepting welcoming blessings, relief, consolation, reassurance, or fulfillment, together with feeling of having come home."²⁰ This pattern is reinforced by the quick tempo, imitation, trills, dotted rhythms,

²⁰Cooke, 130.

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smaller subdivisions, high range and the consequential ascending phrases.

Benedictus

text	Benedictus	Hosanna
measure	1-16	17 - end
key	G	D
thematic group	A	В
voicing	solo/duet/guartet	choral
texture	polyphonic	polyphonic
tempo	andante	allegro

The Benedictus, set in a traditional two-part form, begins with a beautiful slow Benedictus section for four soloists in the subdominant, which utilizes different versions of the descending 5-4-3-2-1 motive (Ex. 11) throughout. The 5-3-1 is the most frequently used pattern and occurs in the subdominant triad and the tonic.



Example 11: Benedictus mm. 1-4

What melodic pattern would be more appropriate for the text? There are also balancing ascending 1-2-3-4-5 (major) scale patterns. The Benedictus seems to pick up where the Sanctus left off. The short 1-2-3 patterns in the Sanctus and its brevity creates a desire for more. The Benedictus, like the

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Sanctus, is marked Andante and is in 4/4 time. Yet, in the repeated and complete use of the 1-5 motives, is a full 16 measures long, and has a feeling of fulfillment. Modulating to the dominant, the "Hosanna" from the Sanctus is repeated at the conclusion of the Benedictus reinforcing again the 5-3-1 (major) emotion of incoming joy.

<u>Agnus Dei</u>

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text	Agnus Dei	Miserere	Agnus Dei	Miserere	Agnus	Agnus
measure	1-8	9-16	17-24	25-32	33-40	41-48
key	b	D	е	G	a	b
thematic group	A	A & B	A	A & B	A	A&B
voicing	solo	choral	solo	choral	duet	choral
texture	nonophonic	imitative	monophonic	imitative	imit.	imit.
tempo	andante					

Though the Agnus Dei and Dona are generally considered one movement, they will be treated separately, as they are two independently complete, though connected sections in this Mass. As usual, the form of the Agnus Dei is derived from the text.

The modulation for each new "Agnus" is typical in the Classical Mass, however Mozart's use of major keys in the choral responses is unusual. Traditionally the "miserere" is harmonically unstable and chromatic, expressing the pleading of the text, but Mozart sets the "miserere" sections in the major mode. Karl Barth perhaps explains well Mozart's move from the more painful affect of the minor

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mode to the joyful affect of the major mode.

We will never hear in Mozart an equilibrium of forces and a consequent uncertainty and doubt....does not every <u>Kyrie</u>, every <u>Miserere</u>, no matter how darkly foreboding its beginning, sound as if borne upward by the trust that the plea for mercy was granted long ago?²¹



Example 12: Agnus Dei mm. 1-11

The Agnus Dei sections begin with a version of the arched 5-3-2-1 (minor) (Ex. 12) which is explained by Cooke.

To rise from the lower dominant over the tonic to the minor third, and fall back to the tonic...conveys the feeling of a passionate outburst of painful emotion, which does not protest further, but falls back into acceptance--flow and ebb of grief. Being neither complete protest nor complete acceptance, it has an effect of restless sorrow.²²

In Mozart's version, the fall to 1 is never reached in the first two phrases and yet the definition is not far from the emotional quality of the actual arched 5-3-4-3-2 pattern that Mozart uses. At this point Mozart also employs a unifying feature in the soprano solo which keeps the affect from becoming too painful. This is the choice of the range and rhythm. The first "Dei" is set in the same tessitura

²¹Barth, 56.

²²Cooke, 137-138.

for the soprano, and utilizes the same dotted rhythmic pattern found in the "Hosanna" from the preceding movement. This is a common unifying practice and it is notable that Mozart employ it near the end of the Mass, lightening the sober affect of the Agnus Dei.

At the "miserere," (m. 9) Mozart repeats the melody of the Agnus Dei in the tenor and alto parts, this time in the major. A second theme in the soprano is a descending 8-5-4-3-2-1 major pattern (mm. 9-10, Ex. 12), superimposed over the "Agnus" melody in the major. This completely changes the affect to one of joy over sorrow. After two repetitions, the third "miserere" (mm. 13) is used to transition to the next "Agnus Dei." This entire process is repeated following the alto "Agnus Dei" solo.

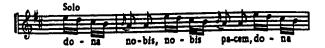
Following the third "Agnus Dei" solo, sung by the bass, the choir returns to the original B minor with both the original "Agnus" melody and the second theme set in minor. The 8-5-4-3-2-1 (minor) descending pattern now symbolizes a submission to grief. The final "qui tollis, peccata mundi" (m. 46) is chromatic, which by every half-step increases the "element of pain."²³

The Dona nobis pacem is a self-contained section in a simple well-balanced sonata form.

²³Cooke, 165.

	Exposition		Development	Recapitulation		Coda
text	Dona	Dona	Dona	Dona	Dona	Pacen
leasure	49	57	66	79	87	99
key	D	A	Å	D	D	D
thematic group	P	S	P/D	P	S/P	new
voicing	s/c/s/c s/c		s/c	s/c	s/c	C
texture	honoph	h	mon/polyph	h	h	h
tempo	allegr	0				

The first key area of eight measures contains two halves, each containing a solo statement for two measures, and a choral response for two measures. The melodic material never quite "arrives," and seems to need the second area for completion. The secondary area in the dominant (Ex. 13) begins first with the descending 5-4-3-2-1 (major) and ending with the ascending 1-2-3-4-5 (major) patterns. The incoming joy becoming outgoing and active.



Example 13: Dona nobis mm. 57-58

The next thirteen measures (mm. 66-78) are a development section, first in the solo voices, for eight bars, then responded to by the choir, in a brief polyphonic setting using the material of the first key area. This is the most exciting area of the Dona nobis pacem. Mozart

begins with the solo voices in the dominant moving to B minor for a sudden "pacem" outburst by the chorus on the V_7/IV . The chorus then begins a dramatic fugue in the subdominant with the sopranos and tenors, in a high tessitura for four measures. It moves quickly through V_7/V --V--I--V and returns to I for the recapitulation. This harmonic play brings a needed tension to an otherwise passive movement.

The recapitulation finally occurs with an identical repetition of the original "dona" material for four measures, followed by a minor version of the second four measures--as if to momentarily remember the pain which created the need for peace. Finally, the material from the second theme is repeated, this time in the tonic key expressing the incoming and outgoing joy and triumph. At the close, the theme from the first group is again used; this time it finally arrives at the tonic and gives a sense of completion to the movement and to the mass as a whole.

The final gesture, which for this purpose is called a "coda" on the chart, is an interplay between a final downward, effortless, incoming, gentle, gesture of joy 2-1 and an upward, energetic, outward expression of joy 7-1. Mozart sets these simple yet definitive gestures in the last two repetitions of "dona pacem" over an interesting harmonic ground. The first "dona" (mm. 98-99) reaches upward over A_7 to G# dim. motion. The "pacem" relaxes over a A_7 to B minor motion. The second "dona" (mm. 100-101) is a repetition of

the first. The "pacem" relaxes again, this time from dominant to tonic. The final "pacem" breaks out of the rhythmic mold and bursts upward 7-1 over a dominant to tonic chord; reinforcing the tonic this decidedly outward action is a final outward expression of joy!

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions

Mozart lived in a world in transition. On the one hand, his head was filled with "enlightened" thoughts, while on the other, he lived in what we regard today as a repressive reality. He felt a call by God to his life work and wanted to fulfill it, yet he found it difficult to find his niche within it. Mozart wanted to please his father and be approved by him and yet eventually had to free himself from his father's control. He was applauded as a child "genius," then regarded with suspicion as an adult for having been one. In short, his life was full of tensions. Yet he did not allow them to overcome him. In the year under study, he composed over twenty works, some of which were masterpieces. Regardless of how he may have felt about the circumstances of his life and occupation, he worked.

The Missa Brevis, K. 194, though a short work, is remarkable in its use of sonata principle, integration of diverse styles and thematic unity. Though it may never receive a great deal of attention, this document has shown that it deserves more than it has been given. David Humphries, in <u>The Mozart Compendium</u>, called it (and K. 192) "unassuming, somewhat functional works." Superficially, this may appear to be an accurate label. Unfortunately,

remarks such as these can cause works to lie in obscurity.

What meaning can be drawn from all of this material? First of all, K. 194 is recognized as a part of the repertory, it is legitimate for practical use in the Catholic Church and was so employed when it was composed. Philip Downs, in his book <u>Classical Music</u>, shows a misunderstanding of the eighteenth-century Mass when he says that Mozart's Mass composition is

...full of internal contradictions, undoubtedly brought about by the Mozart family's animosity toward the archbishop...much of his music for the church service appears to juxtapose the serious and deeply felt with the flippant and the superficial. He quite often allows the effect of a work to be marred in one way or another, almost as though he cannot resist the impulse to mock his employer...¹

This is absolutely not what this Missa Brevis is about. This was a Mass which was intended for, and was utilized in, the Catholic service.

Application of Deryck Cooke's system reveals through the motivic structure, that the primary message is one of "joy." Mozart expresses every possible kind of joy-incoming, outgoing, inward, outward, calm, ecstatic, energetic. Mozart's use of sonata principle reveals a Classical balance which contributes to a sense of reassured, peaceful joy. His use of traditional rhetoric and other musical language is deliberate and ultimately creates a sense of joy. This analysis has shown how carefully the

¹Downs, 329.

thematic material was used and reworked to reveal a Mass centered on joy.

Does the Mass reveal Mozart the person? It must, in some way, and yet whether Mozart allows his personal feelings to infiltrate his work will always be debatable. Is his fiery setting of the "et unum sanctam" ("and one, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic church") a personal message to Archbishop Colloredo? It is doubtful, yet, he may have smiled if he thought of it. The Mass could easily be used as a vehicle for personal messages or confessions, yet that is the wonder of this Mass. Mozart's life was in the center of tension and yet the Missa Brevis reveals a clarity, balance and joyfulness that more than defies those tensions. It is not saccharine nor weighty. Mozart's Credo uses Sturm und Drang characteristics in the center of the movement which bring a much needed dramatic tension to the movement, yet these elements never overcome the rest of the music. The "exposition" and "recapitulation" bring back the equilibrium. Perhaps it is best said in Mozart's final gesture in the Mass. Instead of allowing the "pacem" to rest in a final gesture of incoming joy, perhaps from the Almighty, Mozart turns it upward. This final upward gesture, which implies a human effort, may reveal some of Mozart's "enlightened" thoughts. For one to find real joy, one must bound upward for it!

It is clear that Mozart's Missa Brevis has a message. While the message may have moved the Catholic listener by the clarity and beauty of the setting of the liturgy, there is a message of joy for the rest of us which transcends its original purpose.

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