Bruckner's Mass in F Minor Culmination of the Symphonic Mass

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The decade between 1864 and 1874 witnessed the composition of several of the most significant large-scale sacred works of the Romantic period: Brahms's Ein deutsches Requiem (1868), Verdi's Requiem (1874), and Bruckner's three mature masses (1864-68). The Brahms and Verdi works have become staples of the choral/orchestral repertoire. However, despite recent efforts, more widespread study and performance of the mature choral-orchestral works of Anton Bruckner are long overdue in the United States. The Mass in F Minor (sometimes known as "the Great") is the last, the most extended, and the finest of Bruckner's masses, and it occupies a significant place both in the evolution of Bruckner's mature style and in the development of the symphonic mass in the Romantic period.

This article was originally published in the *Choral Journal* in September 1996 and included an overview of four versions of the mass. The author has updated the text for 2024—the two hundredth anniversary year of the composer's birth—and it will present an overview of Bruckner's mass settings, a more detailed discussion of the *Mass in F Minor*, and a comparison of the eight contrasting editions of the work that have been published to date.

Bruckner's Mass in F Minor

Bruckner's Masses

Bruckner's seven masses, seven other extended sacred works for chorus and orchestra, and more than three dozen motets constitute a body of sacred music larger and more varied than that of almost any other major composer of his day. The first half of Bruckner's compositional life was occupied almost entirely with writing music for the church. Two important factors influenced his sacred output during these years. First, from his early youth through his student days in Linz, he had often heard the classical masses of Mozart, Franz Joseph Haydn, and Michael Haydn, music which was still very much alive in Austrian churches thirty years after the deaths of the Haydns.¹ Bruckner was also interested in older traditions of music for the Roman rite: Renaissance polyphony and plainsong. These traditions influenced not only his early liturgical works but also his mature masses and symphonies of the 1860s. His interest and skill in polyphonic technique were refined during his years of compositional study with Simon Sechter (1855-61), years during which Sechter permitted Bruckner no composing at all except for his counterpoint assignments.²

Bruckner's completed masses are listed in Table 1. Two short masses for small performance forces date from the early 1840s. Two important transitional works (the *Requiem* and *Missa solemnis* in B^{\downarrow} minor) employ more extended structures and demonstrate a higher level of craftsmanship. The three final masses of the 1860s constitute the first full flowering of Bruckner's genius and his first masterpieces in any genre.

The *Mass in D Minor* exhibits several features found in masses of the Classical period. In the Gloria and Credo, the opening words are not set to music and re-

Title	Date	Vocal Forces	Instrumental Forces
Mass in C	1842	Alto solo (no chorus)	Two horns, organ
Choralmesse in F	1844	SATB	None
Requiem in D minor	1848-49 (Rev 1854, 1894)	SATB soli SATB chorus	Orchestra, organ
<i>Missa solemnis</i> in B ^b minor	1854	SATB soli SATB chorus	Orchestra, organ
Mass No. 1 in D minor	1864 (Rev 1876, 1881-82)	SATB soli SATB chorus	Orchestra, organ
Mass No. 2 in E minor	1866 (Rev 1876, 1882)	SSAATTBB chorus	Woodwinds, brass
Mass No. 3 in F minor	1867-68 (Rev 1872, 1876-77, 1881, 1890-93)	SATB soli SATB chorus	Orchestra, organ

Table 1. Bruckner's Masses

quire a chanted intonation in performance. These two movements are set in several clearly defined sections with contrasting keys and tempos, after the fashion of the Viennese Classical mass. The Gloria (but not the Credo) ends with a fugue, following the Classical period convention. Bruckner also employs the classical technique of recapitulating previous material in the Agnus Dei of this mass, but in a striking way. He reintroduces both themes and accompanimental material from all the previous movements-a technique he was to use to excellent effect in the finales of most of his symphonies. In other ways, Bruckner moves beyond the Classical tradition. He frequently explores unusual and distant key relationships, and he begins to employ the extended ostinatos, pedal points, and brass fanfares that are trademarks of his symphonies.

The Mass in E Minor (1866) stands apart from Bruckner's other mass settings in its scoring for eight-part chorus and wind ensemble, and in its conscious imitation of Renaissance counterpoint. This latter feature reflects the influence of the Cecilian Society, a group of nineteenth-century Catholic musicians and clerics who attempted to rid church music of operatic and symphonic tendencies, and to reinstate a style based on the music of Palestrina. Bruckner never officially joined the Cecilian Society, but clearly showed his sympathy with their interest in historical traditions of Catholic liturgical music, and their rejection of more modern and operatic styles in church. Bruckner not only displays a mastery of Renaissance contrapuntal style in the Mass in E Minor, but also infuses it with a sense of drama through harmonic tension and large-scale formal design. His Sanctus specifically pays homage to Palestrina by quoting the first section of the Sanctus of Palestrina's Missa brevis.

The *Mass in F Minor*: Style and Structure

Bruckner's final mass, the *Mass in F Minor*, was written between September 1867 and September 1868, immediately following his nervous breakdown in the summer of 1867. The work was commissioned by the Vienna Hofburgkapelle (Imperial Court Chapel) after the successful Vienna premiere of the *Mass in D Minor* in February 1867. The year-long work on the *Mass in* F *Minor* came between the composition of his first two symphonies in 1866 and 1869. This period, an important personal and professional turning point, marked Bruckner's final year as cathedral organist in Linz before his move to Vienna in 1868. According to Hans Redlich, the *Mass in F Minor* was "conceived as a work to introduce the composer Bruckner as a mature artistic personality to musical Vienna."³

After the dress rehearsal for the first performance of the *Mass in F Minor* in 1872, Bruckner's admirer Johann Herbeck said, "I now know only two masses: this one and Beethoven's *Solemnis*."⁴ Bruckner's mass uses instrumental and vocal scoring almost identical to Beethoven's *Missa solemnis*, and both works are rooted in the symphonic masses of Haydn, albeit expanded in scope in their technical demands. Furthermore, the masses of Haydn, Beethoven, and Bruckner are closely tied to each composer's symphonic writing.⁵

The subdued opening of the Kyrie on an octave F in the low strings resembles not only the beginning of Bruckner's earlier *Mass in D Minor* but also the opening passages of nearly all of Bruckner's symphonies.⁶ The Kyrie begins with a descending scale from F to C, later accompanied by its inversion at the first entry of the chorus (Figure 1). The movement evolves as a three-part ABA form, reflecting the structure of the Kyrie text. After an initial series of climbing homophonic choral statements, the central "Christe" section features exchanges between the chorus and soprano and bass soloists (reminiscent of the exchanges in the first movement of Beethoven's *Missa solemnis*), as well as the addition of an ornate violin solo obbligato. The return



Figure 1. Anton Bruckner, Mass in F Minor, "Kyrie."

of the Kyrie text is extended to more than twice the length of the first Kyrie section. The same two soloists enter with echoes of the "Christe" exchanges, and the movement builds to a prolonged climax on C^b Major. This passage contains several trademark features of Bruckner's mature symphonic style: the prolongation of a single harmony for an entire eight-measure period, the use of simultaneous ostinato figures to animate a static harmony, and the prolongation of the most distant harmonic pole (the chord a tritone away from the tonic). The masterfully constructed coda opens with fourteen measures of essentially unaccompanied choral writing that modulate from C^b securely back to the tonic (Figure 2). The movement ends on the same pianissimo octave F with which it began.⁷

In both the Gloria and Credo, Bruckner builds extended structures in C Major based on chant-related themes (Figure 3 on the next page). The remarkably similar openings of these movements resemble inversions of the opening Kyrie motive. Both movements outline sonata forms and end with brilliant fugues. Hans Redlich points out that the Gloria's surprisingly angular and chromatic fugue subject (Figure 4a on the next page) derives from the opening phrase of the movement (Figure 4b on the next page), featuring its ascending major thirds (x) and the chromatic coloration (y) heard at its harmonic climax.⁸ This fugue of 108 measures is a compositional *tour de force*, repeatedly exploring the inversion of the subject, passing through several sequential stretto passages, and culminating in an augmentation of the subject in thirds.

The Credo is even larger in scale than the Gloria. The slow central portion, which shifts between E Major and E^{\flat} Major, is especially effective, with its tenor aria ("Et incarnatus est") accompanied by interwoven solo violin and viola obbligato lines. The "Crucifixus" for bass soloist and chorus cadences in E^{\flat} and is followed by an unprepared shift to an open-fifth, E-B, at the Allegro preceding "Et resurrexit." Bruckner unifies this expansive movement through repetitions of fanfares and ostinatos developed from string motives at the outset of the movement. He again uses the move-



Figure 2. Anton Bruckner, Mass in F Minor, "Kyrie."

ment's opening theme as the subject for the final fugue at "Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen." Although somewhat shorter than the fugue in the Gloria, this one also includes ingenious use of inversion and stretto, and ends with a majestic unison choral statement of the subject in augmentation (Figure 5). Bruckner creates a striking effect in this fugue by interjecting four chords, each repeating the word "credo," between entries of the subject.

The brief Sanctus and Osanna follow standard Viennese Classical mass conventions. The more expansive Benedictus, however, illustrates the connection between the *F Minor Mass* and Bruckner's emerging symphonies. The theme of the bass solo entry (mm. 22-26) is quoted twice (in the same key) in the slow movement of his *Symphony No.* 2.⁹ Furthermore, as in



Figure 3. Anton Bruckner, Mass in F Minor, Openings of "Gloria" and "Credo."



Figure 4 a - b. Anton Bruckner, Mass in F Minor, Opening of "Gloria" and fugue subject.



Figure 5. Anton Bruckner, Mass in F Minor, "Credo."

the slow movements of Symphonies No. 2, 3, and 5, the Benedictus takes shape from the alternation and interplay of two contrasting lyrical themes (Figure 6). The first theme is set forth in the orchestral introduction and at the entry of the voices. It leads to a second brief theme, consisting of ascending and descending scales, sequenced and developed in mm. 41-74. The return of the first theme in m. 75 is interrupted by the second, scalar theme in m. 92. The music seems to dissolve away as ever shorter phrases from the two themes alternate to the end of the movement. Finally, the coda presents alternating one-measure fragments of the two themes, gradually working toward a harmonic link with the repeat of the "Osanna."

In the manner of the D minor and E minor masses and his later symphonies, Bruckner closes this work with a cumulative finale in which materials from all the previous movements appear in various combinations and transformations. The Agnus Dei opens with a melody passed from violins to flute to cellos that reproduces the rhythm of the opening theme of the Sanctus, while inverting its pitch material (Figure 7). At the same



Figure 6. Anton Bruckner, Mass in F Minor, "Benedictus" themes.



Figure 7. Anton Bruckner, *Mass in F Minor*. Opening themes of "Sanctus" and "Agnus Dei."

time, the combination of short ascending and descending scale fragments in F minor throughout the Agnus Dei's first section strongly echoes the opening of the Kyrie. With the establishment of F major ("dona nobis pacem"), Bruckner further recapitulates the Kyrie. Woodwinds state the initial Kyrie choral theme as the chorus recalls the descending octave leaps first sung by the soloists at the "Christe." These unison downward leaps evolve into a climactic unison restatement of the Gloria's fugue subject in C, followed immediately by the initial theme of the Credo in F in the oboes. The work dies away with mirror images of motives from the Kyrie and the oboe's final hushed statement of the initial Kyrie theme.

Versions and Editions

Bruckner's tendency to revise his music repeatedly and then to subject it to further changes by others is well known. The pattern of revision with this mass is similar to that which took place with the symphonies. First, Bruckner himself made a series of revisions and refinements over a number of years; then, in the 1890s, well-meaning friends and associates carried out further revisions and reorchestrations, sometimes with the composer's tentative acceptance, but other times unbeknownst to him. These highly questionable versions became the basis for the first published editions and for all early performances for several decades. In 1927 the International Bruckner Society began an effort to distinguish Bruckner's own final authentic versions of his major works from the published versions that were not authorized by the composer. As further sources have gradually come to light over the past 100 years, the International Bruckner Society has produced several newer editions of the various versions of the symphonies, as well as the masses, and further editions have appeared from other publishers as well.

Bruckner's own revisions of the *Mass in F Minor* began almost immediately after its completion in 1868, even before its first performance in 1872.¹⁰ He made further minor changes datable to 1876, 1877, 1881, 1883, and 1893. During 1890-93, conductor Josef Schalk independently prepared a major revision for the work's first concert performance in 1893; this was the basis for the work's first publication in 1894. This revision was made without Bruckner's approval, and he strongly objected to Schalk's changes.

There have been eight published versions of the Mass in F. These are discussed in chronological order:

I. Josef Schalk, ed. (Doblinger, [1894]). Full score and parts are available through Universal; corresponding vocal scores available through Universal (UE 2901, piano reduction by Schalk) and Peters (No. 3845, piano reduction by Kurt Soldan). Available on IMSLP.

Bruckner, and perhaps others, conducted the Mass a number of times at the Imperial Court Chapel in Vienna for liturgical services starting in 1872. However, the first concert performance of the work was conducted by Josef Schalk in 1893. While the earliest printed versions of the Bruckner symphonies are almost entirely out of circulation, one can still obtain performing materials for the first printed version of this mass, edited and revised by Schalk.

Opinions on the work of Josef Schalk and his brother Franz (later music director of the Vienna State Opera) vary widely. Most modern scholars reject the extensive changes that the brothers and other collaborators made in preparing the first printed editions of Bruckner's music, which were occasionally (as in this case) not approved by the composer. However, the Schalk brothers were among the most important early promoters of Bruckner's music, and their efforts succeeded in increasing Bruckner's popularity. Leopold Nowak comes to Josef Schalk's defense, citing his "glowing admiration for Bruckner" and lauding him as the "indefatigable champion of Bruckner's cause."11 Although Schalk's efforts won a much wider audience for this mass in 1893 and resulted in its first publication, his revisions coincided with a major falling-out with Bruckner.

While the Schalk arrangement can be seen today mainly as a historical curiosity, several aspects of it are worthy of mention. The extensive revisions in the orchestration tend to thicken what is often a surprisingly transparent use of the orchestra in Bruckner's original version. Schalk expands Bruckner's two horns to four, and adds wind instruments liberally to the texture in many places, probably to fulfill the function of the organ for concert performances where no organ would be available. Bruckner's 1881 score contains a handful of cues for organ, but it is unclear exactly where or what the organ should be playing, as no organ part written by Bruckner survives.

Schalk's dozens of changes in the dynamics and tempos of the vocal lines have the earmarks of a conductor's performance decisions. They tend to emphasize important thematic material, to reinforce natural phrase inflections, to exaggerate dynamic contrasts, and to specify slight tempo changes. Schalk's dynamics for the fugues in the Gloria and Credo can be seen as an effective conductor's interpretation of a score. While Bruckner, like Brahms and many other composers, almost always marks all voices at the same *forte* dynamic level in his fugues, Schalk often marks the fugue subjects *forte* and *fortissimo* and all the accompanying material at lower levels. A conductor who seeks to clarify the structure of these fugues would do well to consult Schalk's markings.

One additional factor may also explain why Schalk added so many dynamic markings. According to Nowak, the Imperial Court Chapel Choir consisted of a choir of only eighteen voices and a small orchestra (presumably with organ), and the work was apparently performed there with these modest forces in the chapel's cramped organ loft at least seven times between 1873 and 1885.¹² But for his concert performance in 1893, Schalk enlarged the orchestra, added occasional choral divisi, and made many other additions to the score. The performing forces for this highly successful concert were the combined choruses of the Vienna Wagner Society and the Academic Choral Society with an augmented version of Eduard Strauss's dance orchestra.¹³ Whereas the smaller, professional Court Chapel might have been able to adequately interpret the work under Bruckner's own direction without many detailed markings, Schalk's larger non-professional forces, perhaps with fewer rehearsals, might have benefitted greatly from his detailed interpretive markings.

II. Josef V. Wöss, ed. (Universal/Eulenberg, 1924). A revision of the Schalk edition, published with an organ part created by Siegfried Ochs. Score available on IMSLP.

Essentially a duplication of Schalk's version of 1894, and also published by Universal, this edition was published with an organ part created by the noted Berlin conductor Siegfried Ochs, founder of the highly regarded Philharmonic Chorus of Berlin. Bruckner had asked Ochs to perform the Mass in 1895, and specified several details about how the organ should be used to reinforce climaxes-but again, by the time of Bruckner's death in 1896 there was no written or published organ part. Ochs did not perform the work until 1915, and based on Bruckner's advice, he created an organ part, which was published with the 1924 Wöss edition. The organ part itself does not appear in the Wöss score, but brackets show where the organ enters and exits the texture. This version, then, is a strange but useful hybrid; it presents Schalk's score, likely created for performances where no organ was available, but also provides Ochs's organ part-apparently the only organ part ever created for the piece.

It should be noted that this hybrid of Schalk's expanded wind section, along with the organ part by Ochs, was what was heard in Siegfried Ochs's important 1915 Berlin performance—likely the first performance of the work outside Austria or Hungary. Schalk's edition was used, as it was the only available version at that time.

A score of the mass from Ochs's own collection, now housed at the Sibley Library of the Eastman School of Music, contains dozens of further small changes in orchestration (written in red) to provide doubling of the first few notes of choral entries. This indicates both the rather loose attitude of conductors in this period toward altering orchestration and also that Ochs's renowned Philharmonic Chorus of Berlin seemed to need help in securing many entries.

III. Robert Haas, ed. Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, vol. 14 (International Bruckner Society, 1944 and 1952). Full score (A 2581), vocal score (K 06122),

and orchestral parts are reprinted by Kalmus,¹⁴ and a corresponding vocal score is available from Breitkopf & Härtel (No. 5758, piano reduction by Fritz Geiller).

This is the first critical edition of the work and replicates Bruckner's version of 1881, with a few additions from 1883. No critical report was published with this edition.

IV. Leopold Nowak, ed. Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, vol. 18 (International Bruckner Society, 1960). Performing materials are available through the publisher. Full score and orchestral parts also are available through Peters (BR 14).

This second edition published by the International Bruckner Society is largely a reprint of the Haas edition, but makes use of sources from 1893 discovered during the 1950s that were not available to Haas. This purports to represent Bruckner's final thoughts on the piece from 1893. As with the Haas version, no critical report was published with this edition.

V. Hans Redlich, ed. (London: Eulenberg, 1967). This miniature score is the basis for the performance materials published by Kalmus.

Redlich's score essentially duplicates Haas (the 1881/1883 version) in the Eulenberg miniature score series, of which Redlich was the main editor. In an often acrimonious preface, he refuses to acknowledge the authenticity of the materials used by Nowak, since they were not shared with him, and since Nowak published no critical report on his sources.

VI. Paul Hawkshaw, ed. Bruckner *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 18 (revised). (International Bruckner Society, 2005).

This is yet a third version published by the International Bruckner Society, included in the Collected Works of Bruckner. This differs from its predecessors in two major ways. First, it is accompanied by an extensive critical report, comparing all the variants from the manuscript and printed scores and parts consulted. Second, it presents the 1893 thoughts of Brucker, as well as readings from the 1883 version, as options in both the score and orchestral parts. In addition to many small changes between 1883 and 1893, Bruckner made major changes in the violin and viola solo lines in the middle of the Credo ("Et incarnatus est"). The 1883 version of this section is presented as an appendix.

VII. Rüdiger Börnhöft, ed. (C. F. Peters, 2006). Performing materials are available through the publisher.

Börnhöft's edition presents the 1893 version— Bruckner's final thoughts—without any of Schalk's changes, essentially duplicating the Hawkshaw edition. In addition, this edition again makes available the organ part constructed by Siegfried Ochs with its set of orchestral parts, although the score itself indicates only a few places where the organ would play, according to Bruckner's marking of "Org." under the double bass line.

VIII. Felix Loy, ed. (Carus, 2023). Performance materials available through the publisher.

Loy's edition, prepared in time for Bruckner's bicentennial year, is also based on the 1893 version. Loy acknowledges Bruckner's intention that the organ should play, but in the absence of an organ part by Bruckner himself, no organ part appears with the Carus edit ion.

Choosing an Edition

Faced with this tangled web of choices, any conductor might well simply choose to program a different work! Fortunately, the situation can be simplified somewhat. First, the good news: Bruckner made virtually no changes in any of the vocal parts of the mass after his first version of 1868. (The only small change was the removal of a soprano solo passage in mm. 487508 of the Credo; this somewhat florid passage was apparently deemed too difficult and transferred to the woodwinds.) This means that all published vocal scores agree, excepting the two Schalk versions published by Universal, where Josef Schalk altered some of Bruckner's vocal lines, in addition to many other changes.

The situation is more complicated regarding the orchestral materials. Schalk's 1894 edition/arrangement adapts a piece that was intended to be performed with organ for concert venues without an organ. The long list of important works where arrangements similarly substitute winds for organ (and vice versa) includes the Haydn Lord Nelson Mass, the Fauré and Duruflé Requiems, Lili Boulanger's Psalm 130 (Du fond de l'abîme) and Bernstein's Chichester Psalms. Schalk's version goes beyond reorchestration in many ways, however, and it drew specific objection from Bruckner, especially when it was published instead of Bruckner's own final version. Still, it might be considered for large choruses and orchestras in spaces with no organ, as long as it is acknowledged as an arrangement that includes substantial material that was not written by Brucker. In any case, conductors would benefit from studying its extensive interpretive markings, in an effort to enter the world of a conductor from the 1890s. Wöss (1924) essentially duplicates Schalk, but with indications for where the organ part might enter, according to the part constructed by Siegfried Ochs in 1915.

The Haas (1944) and Redlich (1967) editions present identical, definitive scores of Bruckner's version from 1881-1883—a picture of Bruckner's performances of the work at an intermediate stage of development. Although no organ part appears in these editions, performances during this period would have probably taken place in churches with an organ as part of the orchestra. The Kalmus reprint of performance materials for this version are by far the least expensive option. They do not represent either Bruckner's "original" version or his final version, but they do represent the version he performed frequently during the 1870s and 1880s.

Nowak (1960) seems to present Bruckner's final thoughts on the Mass from 1893, but has been superseded in the Bruckner Collected Works by Hawkshaw's nearly identical 2005 revision, accompanied by a critical report. All versions published since 2005 (Börnhöft, Hawkshaw, and Loy) offer Bruckner's own final version from 1893 (as distinct from what Schalk performed in the same year).

Use of the Organ

The organ was an integral part of Bruckner's sound world. He was renowned as an organist and especially as an improviser during his early career at the Linz Cathedral, and later served as organist at the court of Emperor Franz Josef I in Vienna. Despite this, he left only a very small body of organ music, much of it in sketch form. It is likely that Bruckner improvised an organ part for the *Mass in F Minor* and never wrote it down. As with another work from 1868, the Brahms *Ein deutsches Requiem*, the participation of an organ (*ad libitum*) was assumed if one was available. Any listener who has heard works like the Brahms *Requiem* or Mendelssohn's *Elijah* both with and without organ can attest to the tremendous difference the organ makes in the overall sonority.

If using an organ is an option, a conductor should be sure to avoid the Schalk version, and preferably opt for one of the last three editions mentioned previously. The organ part from the Börnhöft/Peters edition can be obtained, and one could consult the brackets in the Wöss edition on IMSLP, which indicate where the organ will play, or mark this by comparing the organ part with the score. If no organ is available, one of the three most recent editions, all from Bruckner's 1893 version, would still provide the best option. Although the 1893 version stems from early performances with organ, the absence of an organ part by Bruckner implies that he would have approved of performances of this version without organ.

Place in History

Bruckner's *Mass in F Minor* stands as his most significant sacred work and a monument of nineteenth-century repertoire. Although justifiably compared with Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, its vocal challenges are not nearly as daunting, and it definitely deserves a place alongside works like the Brahms *Ein deutsches Requiem* and the Verdi *Requiem*. The dizzying array of available

versions provide several options for performance, but fortunately each of the twenty-first-century editions provide a solid basis for a performance that Brucker would have sanctioned.

An interesting pair of transformations in the 1790s and the 1860s frame the history of the symphonic mass. In the 1790s, Haydn abandoned the writing of highly successful symphonies to turn his attention to the development of the orchestral mass. His final six masses (1796-1802) were the first to experiment with a highly developed symphonic approach to sacred music. Seventy years later, the evolution of Bruckner's music followed a similar path, but in reverse. Rooted in the traditions of Haydn's church music, Bruckner's last three masses are expansive and highly organized works that gave rise to his mature symphonies. His Mass in F Minor, one of the last significant masses written in the symphonic tradition, stands at the final juncture between mass and symphony.

NOTES

- ¹ Hans-Hubert Schönzeler, *Bruckner* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1970), 18, 22. It is interesting to note that masses and motets by Bruckner were performed regularly with those of Franz Joseph and Michael Haydn from 1896 to 1917 in services at the Vienna Imperial Court Chapel. See Theophil Antonicek, Anton Bruckner *und die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), 142-43.
- ² Deryck Cooke, "Bruckner, Anton," New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 1980.
- ³ Anton Bruckner, *Mass in F Minor*, Hans Redlich, ed. (London: Eulenberg, [1968]), 35.
- ⁴ Schönzeler, 60. After the first performance, the work also received favorable comment from music critic Eduard Hanslick and Brahms, as well as from Franz Liszt.
- ⁵ Although no specific evidence suggests Bruckner's conscious imitation of Beethoven's *Missa solemnis*, Bruckner's studies with Otto Kitzler (1861-63) included a thorough examination of a wide range of Beethoven's music, in addition to music of Liszt and Wagner (Cooke, 354).
- ⁶ The opening character of these extended works of the mature Bruckner can be traced to the influence of

Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, which Bruckner first heard in 1866. Robert Simpson, *The Essence of Bruckner* (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1968), 20.

⁷ Bruckner quotes this modulatory passage in the Finale of his Symphony No. 2 (mm. 200-209 and 547-56). For an extended discussion of quotations from the Mass in F Minor in the Symphony No. 2, see Timothy L. Jackson, "Bruckner's Metrical Numbers," Nineteenth Century Music 14 (Fall 1990): 101-31.

⁸ Redlich, 31.

- ⁹ Anton Bruckner, Symphony No. 2, ed. Robert Haas (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft, 1938), Adagio, mm. 137-42 and 180-85.
- ¹⁰ Redlich (pp. 33-39) offers the most complete English-language summary of the work's transformations.
- ¹¹ Leopold Nowak, ed., Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, vol. 18 (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft, 1960), preface; Anton Bruckner, Te Deum, Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, vol. 19, preface.
- ¹² Nowak, 2. See also Antonicek, 142-43.
- ¹³ Theodor Helm, concert review, Deutsche Zeitung, March 24, 1893, quoted in Thomas Leibnitz, *Die Brüder Schalk* und Anton Bruckner (Tutzing: Schneider, 1988), 176-77.
- ¹⁴ The Kalmus reprint materials include full score, vocal score, and instrumental parts using plates from Haas's edition but without crediting his editorial work.