

# THREE NEW EDITIONS OF MOZART'S "GREAT" C MINOR MASS

by Lawrence Schenbeck

IN HIS RECENT ESSAY "Text, Content, and the Early Music Editor," Philip Brett traced the history of two kinds of music edition, the *descriptive* and the *prescriptive*.<sup>1</sup> A *descriptive* edition seeks to provide only what the composer wrote, free of editorial additions or suggestions. A *prescriptive* edition, on the other hand, seeks to guide the performer toward an interpretation of the work that could not be gleaned from the written record alone. We might assume that, when preparing old music for publication, a good scholar aims mainly at the descriptive, leaving matters of interpretation to the performer. That is not necessarily so.

The ideal of the perfectly descriptive edition, or *Urtext*, arose at the end of the Romantic era when performers infected by the modernist aesthetic began to call for scores free of superfluous markings. The personal approach exemplified by Czerny's editions of Bach, or Liszt's of Beethoven, was no longer desirable. A more objective age had begun, and with it came a new sense of historical distance from the music of the past — one that demanded a more

distanced, objective score.

Yet scholars had begun to realize that producing a singular true text was often impossible. Even if the composer had left only one version of the work in question, the autograph might contain obvious mistakes, omissions, or smudges. And what if no autograph could be found? Issues

(depending on the work in question) reducing note values, fashioning barline substitutes, adding *ficta*, providing continuo realization, and more. Thus, the prescriptive edition was reborn, albeit based on values undreamt of by Liszt and Czerny.

For every problem text and for each succeeding generation, editors have continued to struggle with the contending ideals of description and prescription. Nowhere is such a dilemma more apparent than in the checkered history of Mozart's *Mass in C Minor*, K427. Evidently designed as a vast multi-movement work like Bach's *B Minor Mass* or Haydn's *Cäcilienmesse*, it remained unfinished even at its first performance in 1783. When the publisher J. A. André located the autograph at the turn of the century, only the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, and Benedictus appeared to be intact and complete.<sup>2</sup> The Agnus Dei was missing entirely. The first two



of textual accuracy aside, "what the composer wrote" was still subject to misinterpretation by performers not familiar with the notation and practice of earlier times. So, in the first place, editors were usually obliged to supply missing voices, to correct errors, or to produce eclectic texts from whatever sources were available. Often as not they also directed the modern performer toward an "authentic" interpretation

movements of the Credo were present more or less in sketch form, with many accompanimental lines remaining to be filled in later. André also made use of a score he found "in a Bavarian monastery"; it had apparently been copied from the original performance parts by one Pater Matthäus Fischer. In 1840 André published what he had found without attempting major reconstruction, although he did

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invent a viola part for the first "Osanna." Philipp Spitta followed André right down to that viola part for his 1882 edition in the old Mozart *Gesamtausgabe*. In spite of both those efforts, the Mass remained generally unknown.

Enter Alois Schmitt, a Dresden composer and conductor, who resolved to make the work practicable for church use. Largely by adapting movements from Mozart's earlier music, Schmitt was able to complete those parts of the Ordinary left undone by Mozart. He also altered the work in certain other ways, some admirable and some not; those alterations are discussed below. After its first performance in 1901, Schmitt's version was published by Breitkopf & Härtel. Although it was not the first "completion" of the score, it was by far the most successful and has remained in print to the present time.<sup>3</sup> The Schmitt edition played a crucial role in making Mozart's "Great" *C Minor Mass* part of the permanent repertoire.

Nevertheless, Schmitt's rather Lisztian means of resurrecting the piece were bound to make some people uneasy. None of the music he added to the score possessed the strength of the original movements, for the simple reason that Mozart had written nothing in Salzburg to equal them. There were other anachronisms as well: Schmitt made cuts in the "Laudamus te" and "Et incarnatus est" and orchestrated or re-orchestrated some movements to his own taste. Worse yet, a German musicologist eventually discovered that one of the numbers adapted to

fill out the Credo, the "Crucifixus" fragment, K. Anh. 21 (93<sup>c</sup>), was not even by Mozart; he had copied it for study purposes from a Requiem by Ernst Eberlin.

Schmitt's most lasting contribution to the legacy of K427 turned out to be his rediscovery of additional choral lines in the Sanctus and "Osanna." From the layout of the choral parts in the Sanctus as well as the orchestral

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.....

accompaniment of the "Osanna," his practiced eye determined that the five- and four-part choruses given in the *Gesamtausgabe* were incomplete and that Mozart must actually have written a grand double chorus ending in an eight-voice double fugue. To Schmitt, it was incomprehensible that the choruses could have been published as they were. Clearly, neither André nor Spitta had ever seen the complete material for those movements.<sup>4</sup> Later scholars have

offered evidence corroborating Schmitt's assumptions and have joined with him in offering reconstructions of the missing choral voices. That has been no great chore, since the Sanctus is relatively straightforward and Mozart's orchestral parts provide doublings for the lines of the "Osanna" fugue.

In 1956 H. C. Robbins Landon offered the first performing version of the Mass edited according to modern standards and sensibilities. [W. A. Mozart: *Missa/Messe C moll, K. V. 427 (417<sup>a</sup>)*. Revised and reconstructed from the [1882] *Gesamtausgabe* and André's first edition by H. C. Robbins Landon. London and New York: C. F. Peters, 1956. Edition Peters 4856 (vocal score), \$16.70. Edition Eulenburg 983 (study score); full score (4856A) and performance material on sale.] His aim was to create a performable *Urtext* by including only what the composer wrote, assumably wrote (the missing choral parts), or verifiably would have written (the missing accompanimental lines). Thus, the additional Credo movements with their dreaded mixture of younger Mozart and older Schmitt were excised, as was Schmitt's recasting of the Kyrie music for the Agnus Dei. Schmitt's added wind parts were also eliminated, but accompanimental string parts, etc., were newly created for the two Credo sketches to fill them out in as Mozartian a manner as possible; the Schmitt "Osanna" realization was retained with minor alterations. Finally, all the bona fide K427 that Schmitt had cut from his edition was reinstated. Although the resulting Mass could not be performed liturgically, it satisfied purists' desires for a concert version based on the original text and nothing more.

Thirty years have passed, and now three more performing versions with scholarly pedigrees have materialized:

W. A. Mozart: *Missa in c-Moll/Missa in C minor, KV 427 (417<sup>a</sup>)*. Edited by Monika Holl with Karl-Heinz Köhler. Credo in unum Deum, Et incarnatus est, Sanctus, and Hosanna reconstructed and completed by Helmut Eder. Supplementary edition to *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe I/1/1/5*. Kassel:

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Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1987. BA 4846a (vocal score), \$17.25. TP 255 (study score) \$18.75; BA 4846 (full score and performance material) on rental.

W. A. Mozart: Mass in C minor, K427. Edited by Richard Maunder. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. 46.061 (vocal score), \$19.95. 46.071 (full score) \$125.00; performance material, incl. vocal and full scores, on rental.

W. A. Mozart: Missa c-moll, KV 427. Revised according to the Urtext, completed and edited by Franz Beyer. Winterthur, Switzerland: Amadeus Verlag, 1989. BP0372A (vocal score), \$21.00. BP0372 (full score), \$108.00; performance material on rental.

The first question we might well ask is, Why? Undoubtedly, the impetus for Bärenreiter's new version

came from their 200th-anniversary issue of the related Neue Mozart-Ausgabe volume. Because the NMA editors did not consider it proper to go beyond "what the composer wrote," Vol. I/1/1/5 offered a rigidly descriptive view of the work similar in spirit to the old *Gesamtausgabe*. Bärenreiter then commissioned composer Helmut Eder (b. 1916) to reconstruct the fragmentary movements a la Robbins Landon; in that way a performing version based on the NMA could be offered.

Versions by Richard Maunder and Franz Beyer have followed almost on the heels of Eder's, and it is tempting to view their work as a critical response.<sup>5</sup> For although all three editions contribute to our developing sense of an "authentic" K427, Maunder's and Beyer's are superior from both the scholarly and practical points of view. They are also more daringly prescriptive at every turn.

The greatest handicap Robbins Landon faced in preparing his 1956 edition was the disappearance of both the autograph and the Fischer copy in the aftermath of World War II. Since that time, both have been recovered and some of the original performance materials have surfaced as well. Access to these sources has allowed Eder, Maunder, and Beyer to handle a number of details in the score with more authority. Nevertheless, it is the variety in their approaches to missing or incomplete material that is most telling. In the "Credo in unum Deum," Eder adhered closely to André's realization of the inner string parts (as did Robbins Landon), resulting in a

Example 1: Maunder edition, Credo in unum Deum, mm. 1-8

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unison hammering of the main violin figure throughout the movement. Maunder, however, fleshed out these figures into four parts when they accompany the choir's sustained chords ("et invisibilium"). He also added *colla voce* woodwind and horn parts at other appropriate spots throughout. Indeed, Maunder has further expanded the movement's instrumentation beyond anything implied in the sketches themselves:

Mozart's incomplete score uses all twelve staves on his paper, for woodwind, horns, strings, and 5-part chorus. It is inconceivable, though, that he intended to omit trombones, trumpets, and drums from a movement of such splendour, and which is so closely related to the opening of the Gloria; they would of necessity have been put in a separate *particella*. Parts for those instruments have therefore been included in the new version.<sup>6</sup>

The trombones double the three lowest choral lines in proper Austrian style, and the trumpets and drums generally reinforce the existing horn lines.

Beyer has also assumed trombone doubling of the choir and has expanded the woodwind and horn parts (sometimes in a more interesting way than Maunder). But he draws the line at trumpets and timpani. While noting that all of Mozart's other trumpet-and-timpani masses do include those instruments in the Credo, he has determined that

the movement's layout — from its tempo indication onwards — differs considerably from the Credo settings of earlier Masses: the steady dialogue between the strings and the winds, the richly modulatory, often polyphonic setting are sufficient motivation for his avoidance of this timbre; the tacet by the trumpets and timpani after the full sound of the expansive *Cum Sancto Spiritu* also serves to underline the steely strength of the following Sanctus.<sup>7</sup>

In point of fact, the continuous tonal fluctuations of the Credo leave the

timpani in Maunder's realization with no role to play after the first 25 measures; furthermore, their reappearance at the end of the movement

is unconvincing given the fluidity of the harmonic, dynamic, and textural situation until the last few bars. Nor does the addition of trumpets come

Example 2a: Maunder edition, Et incarnatus est, mm. 19-24

Example 2a: Maunder edition, Et incarnatus est, mm. 19-24. The score includes parts for Flute solo, Oboe solo, Bassoon solo, Violin I and II, Viola, C. (SOLO), and Bassi (senza Org.). The lyrics are "Et in-car-na - tus est de Spi - ri - tu Sanc - to".

Example 2b: Eder edition, Et incarnatus est, mm. 19-24

Example 2b: Eder edition, Et incarnatus est, mm. 19-24. The score includes parts for Flute, Oboe, Bassoon, Violin I and II, Viola, Soprano, and Bassi. The lyrics are "Et in-car-na - tus est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto,".

without practical problems; the doubling of the horn figures (see Example 1) risks upsetting the carefully balanced voicing of the

wind ensemble in those measures and the Credo's important string-wind dialogue overall.

In his sketch for the "Et incarnatus

est," Mozart left two blank but barred staves. Landon had ignored these lines in 1956, noting only, "It has been suggested that the two empty staves . . . were intended for an *organo obbligato*. . . . I am inclined to doubt this supposition."<sup>8</sup> Eder and Maunder have responded to the blank staves by adding two horn parts. Beyer did not. Why two horns? First, we know that Mozart had Constanze in mind when he wrote this Mass: it was undertaken to fulfill a vow related to his marriage, and his sister Nannerl's diary indicates that the new bride was soprano soloist at the first performance.<sup>9</sup> Also, the "Et incarnatus est" bears a marked resemblance to "Se il padre perdei" from *Idomeneo*, an aria that Mozart especially loved to hear his wife sing.<sup>10</sup> Maunder has provided a clever hypothesis that accounts for Mozart's layout of the staves in this sketch as well as for each alteration he made (scratched-out clefs, etc.); for Maunder, not only does the evidence point to horns, it also implies that one of those horns joined

Example 2c: Beyer edition, Et incarnatus est, mm. 19-24

Example 2d: Robbins Landon edition, Et incarnatus est, mm. 19-24

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occasionally in the solo passagework. If the movement were thus reconstructed, it would bear an even stronger stylistic relationship to "Se il padre perdei."

As a general comparison between the two editors' horn writing here, one could say that Maunder used the horns structurally — that is, to reinforce cadential drives and to complete certain chords — while Eder used them for color. Although the two versions coincide at times,

one version often fills measures left blank in the other. Another result of this difference in approach is that in Eder's version, soprano and horns often enter together after resting during a ritornello. Soprano soloists may not enjoy sharing those moments with the horns, and in any case the effect is not characteristic of Mozart's aria scoring.<sup>11</sup> By comparison, Maunder's horn parts seem more musically sensitive and also appear to be historically informed; his skilful application of the evidence even takes into account such niceties of eighteenth-century horn playing as the occasional need to change crooks. Nevertheless, neither Eder nor Maunder has managed to devise horn parts resembling that written for "Se il padre perdei," which is distinguished by its absolute integration with the aria's solo woodwind lines. Apparently they found it impossible to carve out territory in which the horns could share motivic material with, or give consistent harmonic support to, the flute, oboe, and bassoon. That should have been a clue.

Beyer took another path, stating that it seemed unlikely Mozart had

horns or anything else in mind for those two blank staves. Whereas Maunder asserted that "Mozart never left blank staves in the middle of his scores, and in any case went to the trouble of filling in the barlines . . . throughout [this] movement," Beyer has graphically demonstrated that for Mozart, such behavior was simply a

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matter of habit. The preface to Beyer's full score includes a facsimile of the first page autograph for "Ach, ich fühl's" (*Die Zauberflöte*, II/iv) complete with barred, blank staves —

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#### Example 3a: Eder and Beyer editions, Osanna, mm. 30-32

The image displays a musical score for the Osanna, measures 30-32, comparing two editions: Eder's and Beyer's. The score is arranged in two systems. Each system contains five staves: Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), Bass (B.), and Piano (P.). The lyrics are written below the vocal staves. In the Eder edition (top system), the piano part has a more active accompaniment, while in the Beyer edition (bottom system), the piano part is more sparse, reflecting the 'blank staves' mentioned in the text. The lyrics are: 'cel-sis, in-ex-cel-sis, ho-san-na, ho-san-na in-ex-cel-sis. Ho-san-na, san-na, ho-san-na, ho-san-na, ho-san-na, ho-san-na, in-ex-cel-sis, in-ex-cel-sis, ho-san-na, ho-san-na, ho-san-na, in-ex-cel-sis, in-ex-cel-sis, ho-san-na, ho-'

just one example of many, we are told. The composer certainly intended no horn parts for that aria, nor for similar soprano arias with soloistic woodwinds from *La finta giardiniera*, *Zaide*, *Le nozze di Figaro*, or *Così fan tutte*. And, Beyer adds the argument for horns is further weakened by their absence from all the completed sections of the movement, namely bars 1-18, the cadenza, and the epilogue. If Mozart had intended horns, it is reasonable to assume that he would have added their few notes in those places. For Beyer, the hornless autograph, Einstein's "finished sketch," perfectly conveys Mozart's original intention.<sup>12</sup>

Another orchestration variance can be seen in the accompanimental string parts of the "Et incarnatus." Helmut Eder has left his reconstruction unexplained, although Monika Holl has provided some interpretation in her Preface to the Bärenreiter study score: "By contrast with all earlier arrangements, Eder did not involve strings for a discreet harmonic addition but gave them a thematical life of their own as a contrasting element to the soprano and the solo wind instruments."<sup>13</sup>

That may have been innovative, but it was not necessarily wise. A comparison of measures 19-24 in the three editions (Examples 2a, 2b, 2c) points out the folly of putting the string lines into competition, as it were, with Mozart's exquisitely simple soprano and wind parts. By too often repeating it, Eder's string parts manage only to trivialize one of the key motives in those other lines. On the other hand, Maunder's seems a bit flat and Beyer's is perhaps overreliant on eighth-note motion. The solution given in the Schmitt-Landon realization (Example 2d) is perhaps the most appropriate; the strings provide momentum and preserve the *siciliano* feeling without detracting from more important lines.

For the "Osanna" double fugue, Beyer has largely retained the Schmitt-Landon solution described earlier. Eder and Maunder have departed from that path (although Eder's departure is modest). Schmitt and Robbins Landon treated the four voices transmitted in the Fischer/André/Spitta "Osanna" as if they were all Choir I and went on to reconstruct a Choir II part from the orchestral accompaniment. Eder has

followed their lead, although he transferred the first 10 measures of the bass part from Choir I to Choir II. That way the subject always appears in Choir II and the countersubject in Choir I. His choral bass lines also double one another less often. All this shows a tidy logic at work, but it contributes neither to Mozartian style or ease of performance. Maunder, after inspecting the Fischer score and noting its haphazard transcription of the other eight-part choral movements, saw no reason to accept the four given choral parts of the "Osanna" as Choir I. He arrived at a "more plausible" exposition "in which the subject and countersubject always appear together, alternately in coro I and coro II."<sup>14</sup> That this arrangement should prove more pleasing in performance as well as in a historical-stylistic sense can be seen from comparing musical examples 3a and 3b.

Beyer also rates high marks for joining erudition with practical musicality. His skill in providing

Example 3b: Maunder edition, Osanna, mm. 30-32

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expanded wind parts for the Credo was mentioned earlier. Another positive attribute of his edition is the provision of an optional Agnus Dei using the music of the Kyrie. Although the likelihood of Mozart's ending the work in this manner cannot be proved (and may indeed seem improbable), neither can it be absolutely denied, and the presence of the movement in both full and vocal scores gives conductors and choirs a performance alternative.

If any conclusion can be drawn from the varied and contradictory results offered by Eder, Maunder, and Beyer, it is that K427's final chapter remains unwritten. Still, each of these new editions contains something to recommend it. Helmut Eder's minimalist account will appeal to those whose primary desire is for a "corrected" version of Robbins Landon (although the edition is not without new errors). Richard Maunder's imaginative reading of the evidence has produced a revised,

unstandard version bound to shock some and delight others. Franz Beyer has taken a middle-of-the-road approach based on sound scholarship and style analysis; to me, his edition is the pick of the lot. Yet, if I may end on a personal note, I must confess to a reaction that others may also experience when they examine these scores: a nostalgia for Schmitt and Robbins Landon. It is difficult, for example, to part with the choral voicings in Schmitt's Sanctus, so full of Brucknerian drama. Can one be forgiven for wanting to preserve anachronistic thrills? Maybe. After all, Schmitt and his pioneering reconstruction are now history. If we can cherish the Mozart rendering of *Messiah*, surely one of history's great prescriptive editions, there must be room on the shelf for Schmitt's late-Romantic vision of Mozart. Let it remain, to help warm these three new prescriptions from the late 20th century.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> In Nicholas Kenyon, ed., *Authenticity and Early Music* (London and New York, 1988), pp. 83-114.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, for the Sanctus and first "Osanna," only the particella, or supplementary score of the wind and timpani parts remained; the Benedictus had completely disappeared. Nevertheless, André did not make this clear when he brought out his edition, thereby causing some confusion on the part of later scholars.

<sup>3</sup> Currently available from Breitkopf, G. Schirmer, and Kalmus.

<sup>4</sup> Fischer evidently had seen more, but in the process of copying his score from the parts he reduced the eight choral lines into the mangled rendition that André incomprehensibly carried forth. In any case, Schmitt was unaware of the Fischer score. An interesting counter theory can be inferred from remarks made by the editors of the NMA. They have suggested that, because of weak choral forces and limited rehearsal time, Mozart may have directed that the "Hosanna" be performed as a four-voice choral fugue with the trombones carrying the other four voices. Thus, it is possible that Fischer's copy more or less reflects the choral disposition of the work as it was first performed. See Monika Holl with Karl-Heinz Köhler, "Vorwort," *Missa in c-Moll. Neue Mozart-Ausgabe I/1/1/5* (Kassel, 1983), pp. xvii-xviii.

<sup>5</sup> Beyer also had access to Maunder's opinions, and perhaps to an early performance of Maunder's performing version, since he quotes in his own "Foreword" from program notes written by Maunder for a 1988 Stuttgart concert. See *Missa c-moll, KV 427*, full score, pp. iv-v.

<sup>6</sup> Maunder, "Introduction," *Mass in C Minor, K427*, full score, p. viii.

<sup>7</sup> Beyer, "Foreword," p. iv.

<sup>8</sup> The suggestion was made by Einstein, although he implied it did not originate with him. See *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, trans. by Mendel and Broder (London and New York, 1945), p. 349. Robbins Landon, "Notes to the Textual Revision," *Missa/Messe c-moll, K.V. 427 (417a)*, Eulenburg score, p. ixxx.

<sup>9</sup> W. A. Bauer and O. E. Deutsch, eds., *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel, 1962-3), III, p. 290 (No. 765).

<sup>10</sup> N. Medici di Marignano and R. Hughes, *A Mozart Pilgrimage: Being the Travel Diaries of Vincent and Mary Novello in the year 1829* (London, 1955), p. 94.

<sup>11</sup> Unlike Maunder, Eder has not provided a rationale for his choices, either in this matter or in regard to any other reconstructive choices he made. His silence suggests an unfortunate attitude, namely that the "realizer" need not concern himself with the fine points of stylistic precedent.

<sup>12</sup> Beyer, "Foreword," iv-v; Einstein, *Mozart*, p. 347.

<sup>13</sup> Holl, "Preface," *Messe in c* (Bärenreiter TP 255), ix.

<sup>14</sup> Maunder, "Introduction," p. ix. **CJ**

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