

Haydn, A Prince, and Beethoven's Mass in C

Jeremiah W. McGrann

On July 26, 1807, Beethoven picked up his pen to write Prince Nikolaus Esterházy about the mass the prince had commissioned and on which Beethoven was then working. The purpose of the letter was to respond to the prince's concerns about the status of the work, specifically, to allay fears that it would not be ready in time to celebrate the name day of his wife Princess Maria on September 13, less than two months away. Promising delivery by August 20th, Beethoven closed the letter:

May I add that I shall hand you the Mass with considerable apprehension, since you, most excellent Prince, are accustomed to have the inimitable masterpieces of the great Haydn performed for you.¹

One could read this sentence simply as a customarily deferential remark to an influential patron and his revered kapellmeister, but should we take Beethoven's admission of having considerable apprehension ("viel Furcht" in the original) as something more than verbal niceties?

Beethoven had reasons enough for concern: he had nev-

er written a mass before, had never used the compositional process to discover what he thought of those issues of style and content, meaning and expression that surrounded this tradition-laden and ever controversial genre. And, in writing his first mass for the Esterházy and for the name day of the princess, Beethoven was following more closely and directly than he ever had in the footsteps of his one-time teacher, Haydn, whose last six masses, composed between 1796 and 1802 for this same prince, would inevitably be the standard against which his work would be judged.² Was there a real fear of comparison on Beethoven's part? Did this fear influence what he wrote?

In the end, Beethoven and at least some of his contemporaries believed he had gone his own way. For Prince Esterházy this was not for the best. Initially, the prince replied to Beethoven's letter offering reassurance: "The concern you expressed of comparison to the masses of Haydn only increases the value of your work even more."³ This may not have consoled the composer, for surely by late July Beethoven sensed he was not writing the kind of music that the prince expected. Such was the case. The prince disliked the work, though the reasons are unclear. At a reception following the first performance, the prince reportedly aggravated Beethoven with the quip, "But my dear Beethoven, what have you gone and done now?"⁴ This comment is tame in comparison to the feelings he vented in a letter to the Countess Zielinska:

Beethoven's Mass is unbearably ridiculous and detestable, and I am not convinced that it can ever be performed properly. I am angry and embarrassed by it.⁵

We now know that a number of singers missed a rehearsal

Jeremiah W. McGrann is a graduate of Austin College and Harvard University; his PhD dissertation was on Beethoven's sketches for the *Mass in C*. He edited the mass for the Beethoven-Haus/Henle edition of Beethoven's works and has written about Beethoven, Haydn, the Esterházy, and liturgical music for the *Journal of Musicological Research*, *Religion and the Arts*, and *Bonner Beethoven-Studien*. McGrann is adjunct associate professor and assistant chair of the Music Department at Boston College.

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the day before the premiere,⁶ and that the performing parts were prepared by an inordinate number of copyists and contained last minute changes by Beethoven.⁷ Undoubtedly, some combination of haste in preparation, inadequate rehearsals, and the perceived novelty of the musical setting contributed to the prince's outrage.

Another of Beethoven's contemporaries, the author and composer E.T.A. Hoffmann, also felt deceived by his expectations as he admitted in his review of the mass, now Opus 86, for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1813:

As soon as I learned that Beethoven had written a mass, and before I had seen or heard a note of it, I felt

certain that the master would take old Joseph Haydn as his model for style and character. Yet I found I was wrong; for he felt the words of the liturgy quite differently.⁸


Hoffmann was echoing Beethoven's own sentiment, expressed to his Leipzig publisher Härtel, that he had "treated the text in a manner in which it has rarely been treated."⁹ Yet, with time, scholars would see that Haydn lurked, if not on the expressive surface, at least behind Beethoven's handling of the general structure.¹⁰ One scholar proposed an even closer and stronger link. In 1909 Alfred Schnerich published that Beethoven's Gloria followed that of Haydn's *Nelson Mass* (*Missa in angustis*) in structure

and details.¹¹ Although he provided no evidence for this claim, Schnerich was correct in thinking that Beethoven modeled at least one movement of his mass on a Haydn work, but he identified the wrong model.

In fact, Beethoven's stated apprehension about comparison to Haydn was more than an obsequious bow to an influential patron and deference to an honored master. Haydn and the contrapuntal tradition, so identified with the genre, were undoubtedly issues for Beethoven while composing the *Mass in C*, but the extent of these concerns is not readily apparent in the finished product. What Beethoven produced was a mass different in expression from Haydn, but what Beethoven started with was a mass more closely dependent on Haydn and that tradition.

1. Haydn

To understand Beethoven's thoughts during the process of composition, we must turn to his working papers to see what led to the finished product. Luckily, the principal sketchbook for the *Mass in C* survives.¹² This source contains clear evidence of the relationship of Beethoven's Opus 86 to Haydn's late masses and the contrapuntal tradition of the genre. Remarkably, the sketchbook contains proof that Beethoven looked at one of Haydn's late masses while composing his own. Among the predominantly monolinear notations that Beethoven used to draft the melodic spine of a movement appear some visually arresting entries in four-part score on folio 3v (transcribed in Figure 1). Here, Beethoven copied two passages from the Gloria of Haydn's *Schöpfungsmesse* (*Creation Mass*) of 1801.¹³ In the first set of four staves are the choral parts for the first ten measures of the Gloria; in the second set of four staves are twelve measures of the *Presto* fugue at "in gloria Dei patris" (mm. 242–253). These Haydn excerpts have the appearance on the page of a plan halted in midstream. Beethoven may have intended to copy more of the movement as he braced sets of four staves throughout folio 3v and continued on folio 4r before his pen ran out of ink; and he started copying rather neatly from the beginning of the movement, entered the soprano line and text through



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the entire first system, returned to fill in the other voices but gave up after only four measures. At some point, he copied the exposition of the choral fugue in the following systems and later still added two sketches for his own "Quoniam."

It is unclear from these scraps of music what Beethoven intended by looking at Haydn, as it is also unclear exactly from what source he was copying. Beethoven could have seen a printed score of the *Schöpfungsmesse*, because it was one of four Haydn masses published by Breitkopf & Härtel in full score before 1807.¹⁴ Beethoven owned

two of these (the *Missa in angustiis* and the *Missa Sancti Bernardi*), listed in the auction catalogue of his estate, but there is no information about the *Creation Mass*.¹⁵ In fact, he may not have copied from a printed edition at all. The music he notated for the basses in the fifth measure of the fugue presents a variant (shown in Figure 1) that is neither in Haydn's autograph nor in the Breitkopf first edition. Possibly, Beethoven was looking at a handwritten score of the Gloria that contained this mistaken reading or perhaps he was simply making his own "improvement" to the passage.¹⁶

Regardless of the exemplar he used,

Beethoven was concerned enough about Haydn to search out a score of at least one Haydn mass. Although it is not immediately apparent what Beethoven got from this exercise, the quotations compel us to compare the Glorias of Haydn's *Schöpfungsmesse* and Beethoven's *Mass in C*. Such a comparison reveals a previously unseen connection: Beethoven's Gloria up to the change of tempo and double bar at "Qui tollis peccata mundi" displays a striking number of parallels to Haydn's Gloria in structure and in the handling of the text. It would appear that Beethoven grafted the opening *Allegro* section of his Gloria onto Haydn's Gloria, a

Figure 1

The image shows a musical score for a mass, specifically the Gloria section. It consists of twelve staves, labeled I through XII. The top four staves (I-IV) are vocal parts with lyrics: I: glo - ri - a in ex - cel - sis; II: glo - ri - a in ex - cel - sis; III: glo - ri - a in ex - cel - sis; IV: glo - ri - a in ex - cel - sis. Staves V-VIII are instrumental parts, with V-VII being treble clef and VIII being bass clef. A bracketed section between staves VII and VIII shows a specific reading: [B] - reading in autograph & first edition. Staves IX-XII are vocal parts with lyrics: IX: quo - ni - am tu so - lus tu so - lus san - ctus; X: quo - ni - am tu so - lus tu so - lus san - ctus; XI: (empty); XII: (empty).

Figure 1. Ludwig van Beethoven, Mass in C Sketchbook, Beethoven aut. MS 60 no. 2, folio 3v
Bibliothèque nationale, Paris

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rare case of Beethoven modeling a movement on Haydn.¹⁷

Tables 1 and 2 outline the structure of the two movements.

Structure

Each Gloria uses two recurring ideas to structure the music. The first idea, a short melody of no more than four measures (labeled "Motto"), appears at or near the beginning of each movement. In Haydn, the motto is the two-measure opening fanfare announced in the winds and brass, taken up and extended by the chorus. In Beethoven,

the motto is first heard a few measures into the piece (m. 7) sung by the sopranos and altos, then repeated by the basses. Both mottos begin with the same stock rhythmic scan-sion of "gloria in excelsis Deo" —thematic resemblances later in the movement are more pronounced.¹⁸ The mottos reappear in voices or orchestra at parallel points in the section. They first recur in the orchestra after

Table 1- Haydn, *Schöpfungsmesse*, Gloria. Outline of "Gloria" section







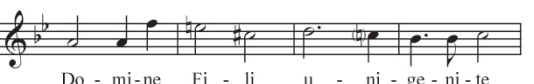
	1	Motto				
Gloria in excelsis Deo	3	"	chorus	homophonic		
	10	Motto				
Gloria in excelsis Deo	12	"	chorus	homophonic		Glo - - ri - a in ex - cel - sis De - o
	18	Ritornello				
	23			interlude		
et in terra ...	26		B	melody of interlude		
bonae voluntatis	30		SAT	homophonic		
et in terra ...	34		B			
bonae voluntatis	38		SAT	homophonic		
"	42		SAT/B	homophonic		
"	50		S/ATB	homophonic		lau - da - mus te, be - ne - di - ci - mus te
	54	Motto				
[55		chorus	homophonic		
	57		chorus	homophonic		a - - - do - ra - mus te
	59			interlude		
adoramus te	62		chorus	homophonic		
glorificamus te	71	(motto?)	SA/TB	imitative		
	82		SA/TB	imitative		
	91		S/ATB	homophonic		
	95	Ritornello				
Gratias ... tuam	100		SA/TB	imitative		
Domine Deus ... omnipotens	108		S/A/TB	imitative		
Domine Fili ... Christe	116		S/A/TB	imitative		
Jesu Christe	123		imitative	homophonic		Do - mi - ne De - us, Rex coe - le - stis,
	132	Motto				
Domine Deus ... patris	134		chorus	homophonic		
filius patris	143		S/ATB	homophonic		Do - mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te
	147	Ritornello				
	152					orchestral quote of "Holde Gattin" m. 75–79 from <i>Die Schöpfung</i>
	156					solo bass, <i>Die Schöpfung</i> melody set to "Qui tollis"

Table 2 Beethoven, *Mass in C*, Gloria. Outline of "Gloria" Section

Gloria	1		chorus	homophonic
Gloria in excelsis Deo	7	Motto	SA	
Gloria	10	"	B/SAT	
Gloria in excelsis Deo	13		chorus	homophonic
	17	Ritornello		
et in terra ...	21		chorus	homophonic
bonae voluntatis	25		chorus	homophonic
"	28		S/A/T/B	imitative
"	37		chorus	
	40	Motto		
laudamus te	42		chorus	homophonic
	44	Motto		
benedicimus te	46		chorus	homophonic
adoramus te	48		chorus	homophonic
glorificamus te	50		chorus	homophonic
"	53	(motto)		imitative
"	61			homophonic
	65	Motto (developed)		
	71	Ritornello (derived)		
Gratias ... tuam	75		solo tenor	
"	82		TB/SA	homophonic
Domine Deus ... omnipotens	89		solo tenor	
Deus omnipotens	97		chorus	homophonic
Domine fili ... Christe	99		solo tenor	
Jesu Christe	105		chorus	homophonic
Domine Deus ... patris	107		solo tenor	
"	121		chorus	homophonic
	135	Ritornello (fragment)		

Motto

Glo - - ri - a in ex - cel - sis De - o

Ritornello

lau - da - mus te

be - ne - di - ci - mus te

a - do - ra - mus te

53 Sop. *Motto*

glo - ri - fi - ca - - - -

Alto *Motto*

glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te

Do - mi - ne De - us, rex coe - le - stis

Do - mi - ne fi - li - u - ni - ge - ni - te

Do - mi - ne De - us

an extended treatment of "bonae voluntatis" (Haydn m. 54, Beethoven m. 40), and continue in the orchestra while the voices sing the laudatory texts, "laudamus te, benedicimus te," etc. In Opus 86, Beethoven's motto separates "laudamus te" from "benedicimus te"; in the *Schöpfungsmesse*, Haydn's motto accompanies "benedicimus te."

Besides the motto, a true orchestral ritornello structures the two movements: first heard between the final "gloria in ex-

celsis Deo" and "et in terra pax" (Haydn m. 18, Beethoven m. 17), ritornelli then precede "gratias agimus tibi" (Haydn m. 95, Beethoven m. 71) and serve as a continuous accompaniment throughout the remainder of the section. This opening *Allegro* section ends in each with a statement of the ritornello (Haydn m. 147), or material derived from it (Beethoven m. 135).

Although both composers place their ritornelli in the same locations, they do

not relate the later ritornelli to the first in the same way. Haydn's ritornelli are alike in all three locations (mm. 18, 95, 147) and function like symmetrical structural pillars. Beethoven's ritornelli have a more derivative association (Figure 2). The descending arpeggios and turning pattern of the first ritornello are somewhat altered in the second ritornello; the turning figure of ritornello two then supplies the motivic material for ritornello three. Each of Beethoven's ritornelli connects

Figure 2



Figure 2. Relationship between ritornelli in Beethoven's *Mass in C*, Gloria.

Also handled comparably in each Gloria are the three lines beginning "Domine." Haydn sets the first two "Domine" texts to similar rhythmic patterns and an imitative choral texture. Beethoven extends Haydn's idea and sets all three of the "Domine" texts to the same rhythmic pattern (compare the first three measures of each melody) and assigns them

back to its predecessor in a developmental way, not in Haydn's repetitive manner.

There remains one link between the two composers' ritornelli that, though obscure at first, seems significant. If we slow the eighth-note motion of Haydn's melody to quarter notes, then the outline of descending sixth, fifth, and stepwise motion of Beethoven's ritornello is revealed (Figure 3). Beethoven's ritornello is thus the direct offspring of Haydn's ritornello in content, if not in the way it reappears in later ritornelli.

Text

There are two places where the texts are handled in parallel ways. Both composers set the laudatory texts similarly: the music for "laudamus te" repeats at "benedicimus te," followed by a dramatic drop in range and a colorful change of harmony for "adoramus te." To extend the last laudatory phrase, "glorificamus te," Beethoven sets it in sequential imitation based on the motto (m. 53f.), whereas Haydn's similar imitative setting of the same text (m. 71f.) makes a somewhat more oblique reference to the rhythm but not the contour of his motto (shown in Tables 1 and 2).

to the tenor soloist followed by a choral tag. While the realization is different, the method of linking the "Domine" texts by parallel rhythmic and procedural settings is the same. However, Beethoven's sketches for the "Domine" reveal a closer connection to Haydn, for, in fact, Beethoven's initial idea for the "Domine" was an imitative setting (Figure 4) as in Haydn. Furthermore, the sketchbook shows that Beethoven first drafted the entire opening section of his Gloria, modeled on the sequence and content of Haydn, on folio 4r in the sketchbook, the page immediately following the Haydn quotations.

These then are the points of comparison in the order they occur in the first section of the Haydn and the Beethoven Glorias:

- 1) each opens with a short idea (motto) that will return;
- 2) each uses a ritornello after "gloria in excelsis Deo";
- 3) each uses the motto after "bonae voluntatis";
- 4) each sets the laudatory texts alike;
- 5) each uses the motto to accompany the laudatory texts and;
- 6) then incorporates the motto (arguably in Haydn's case) in similar imitative extensions of "glorificamus te";
- 7) each places a ritornello before "gratias agimus tibi";
- 8) the contour of Beethoven's ritornello

Figure 3



Figure 3. Derivation of Beethoven's ritornello from Haydn's.

Figure 4



Figure 4. Ludwig van Beethoven, Mass in C Sketchbook, "Domine" sketch, fol. 4r, system 11.

a Gloria and occur in other masses by Haydn: for instance, the placement of ritornelli before "Gratias" and "Qui tollis," the musical extensions of "bonae voluntatis" and "glorificamus te," the drop in range at "adoramus te."¹⁹ Taken individually,

- 9) each has the ritornello accompany the remainder of the text in the first section;
- 10) each treats the "Domine" texts in a similar manner; and

- 11) each places a ritornello before the beginning of the slower second section of the Gloria.

Admittedly, many of these features are part of the common language for

each connection is not determinative of modeling; yet the number of parallels and particularly the use of two recurring ideas and the agreement with which they are laid out in the *Schöpfungsmesse* and Opus 86 present unique links that bind these works



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as parent to child.

To strengthen this relationship, I would add a third mass, for contrast, to the discussion. Table 3 diagrams the Gloria of Haydn's *Missa in angustiis*, which Schnerich claimed was the model for Beethoven's Gloria. Here the number of recurring ideas, their use in the structure, and the treatment of the laudatory and "Domine" texts show

Schnerich's claim to be untenable.

Unlike Opus 86 or even the *Schöpfungsmesse*, Haydn bases the first section of the *Missa in angustiis* Gloria on three ideas: a principal theme (theme 1) first set to "gloria in excelsis Deo," a purely orchestral, arpeggiated figure (ritornello), which plays a more continuous role throughout the section than the ritornelli in the other two Glorias, and

a secondary theme first heard in imitation at "et in terra pax." The subsequent association and placement of these three ideas clearly differ from the pattern common to the *Schöpfungsmesse* and the *Mass in C*. In the *Missa in angustiis*, the recurrence of the opening material articulates a three-part structure: theme 1 and the ritornello appearing in the dominant at measure 52 to the text "gratias agimus tibi" form a brief midsection, followed at measure 71 by an al-

Table 3 Haydn, *Missa in angustiis*, Gloria. Outline of "Gloria" Section.

Gloria in excelsis Deo	1	Theme 1	soprano → chorus	
"	9	Theme 1	chorus	homophonic
	15	Ritornello		
et in terra ...	16	+ Theme 2	b/t/s	imitative
"	21	"	b/t	homophonic
bonae voluntatis	24		b/t	homophonic
"	29		b/t	homophonic
laudamus te	33		chorus	homophonic
benedicimus te	34		chorus	homophonic
	35			
adoramus te	36		chorus	homophonic
	37			
glorificamus te	38		SA/TB	homophonic
laudamus te	42		chorus	homophonic
benedicimus te	43		chorus	homophonic
adoramus te	44		chorus	homophonic
glorificamus te	45		chorus	homophonic
	50			interlude
Gratias ... tuam	52	Theme 1	solo alto	
	60	Ritornello		
Domine Deus ... omnipotens	62	+ Theme 1	solo soprano	
	69			
	71	Theme 1	chorus	homophonic
	77	Ritornello		
Domine Deus, agnus Dei	78	+ Theme 2	bass/tenor	imitative
filius patris ...	81	"	bass/tenor	imitative
Domine Deus, agnus Dei	85		bt	homophonic
Domine Deus ... patris	91		sat/b	
	97	Ritornello		
Domine Deus ... patris	98		chorus	homophonic
	104			postlude

Theme 1



Ritornello



most exact reprise of the beginning music in the tonic. Although in the *Schöpfungsmesse*, Haydn admittedly makes a weak reference to a reprise at measure 132 (where the succession of motto by ritornello forms a shortened and inexact restatement of the beginning) there is no recurrence of the motto and ritornello at "Gratias" comparable to the recurrence of theme 1 and ritornello in the *Missa in angustiis*. The Opus 86 Gloria makes no attempt at thematic recapitulation.

In addition to these structural differences, there are dissimilarities in text setting. The extended sonata-like reprise in the *Missa in angustiis* forces Haydn to reiterate the text "Domine Deus, agnus Dei" in order to accommodate the amount of music at hand. This does not happen in the *Schöpfungsmesse* or Opus 86. Elsewhere, at the laudatory texts, in the *Missa in angustiis*, Haydn sets the first three—"laudamus," "benedicimus," and "adoramus"—to the same melody accompanied by the ritornello. In the *Schöpfungsmesse* and Opus 86, only "laudamus" and "benedicimus" have the same music, and both use the motto rather than the ritornello. Neither the structure of the music nor the setting of the text supports Schnerich's claim that the Gloria of the *Missa in angustiis* is the model for the Opus 86 Gloria to any significant degree. Furthermore, only the *Schöpfungsmesse* of Haydn's late masses and Beethoven's *Mass in C* correspond to such a remarkable degree.

Thus, the evidence allows us to propose one compositional issue that Beethoven resolved by turning to Haydn: how to structure a Gloria. That it would be this problem that sent Beethoven to his former teacher is understandable. Of the Mass texts, the Gloria and the Credo present compositional issues that Beethoven had not faced before: issues of how to set and individualize the lines of a diverse prosaic text while at the same time organizing a coherent structure. It is not that Beethoven was inexperienced with church music; he had served as organist to the Bonn court for much of his youth. But, he had left Bonn and his church job in 1792, four years before Haydn's late masses and fifteen years before his own *Mass in C*. Whereas Beethoven had earlier "hands-on" experience, he probably did not have

as thorough a knowledge of more recent developments, particularly those by Haydn, nor the need for such knowledge until the Esterházy commission.

Beethoven had gotten what he wanted: help on how to set, order, and organize thematic components within the highly diverse and non-poetic text of the first part of the Gloria. There, his interest in Haydn ended. I can see no significant thematic or procedural similarities that Beethoven derived from Haydn's mass in the "Qui tollis" section or in the closing fugue. Why then did Beethoven begin to copy out the Haydn fugue at "in gloria Dei patris?" This quotation suggests an interest in a key moment in any mass—one of the conventional locations where learned contrapuntal writing so distinctive of sacred


music was to be expected. This leads to a second look at the *Mass in C*.

II. The Learned Style

Just as Beethoven's mass puzzled Hoffmann by its apparent lack of stylistic deference to Haydn, so too it seemed lacking in learned contrapuntal writing: "In the entire work, there is no movement that does not contain imitations and contrapuntal devices, although not one strictly worked fugue is to be found."²⁰ Hoffmann mentions various highlights: such as the Gloria's canonic "bonae voluntatis" (mm. 28–36) and "miserere" (mm. 190–196: this "composed with deep feeling in true church style"²¹),

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or the Credo's "numerous imitations, which reveal the composer's lively invention,"²² and the all-too-brief fugal Osanna that "one is sorry to hear ... rush past so rapidly."²³ But he passes a somewhat qualified judgment on the fugues at the end of the Gloria and Credo: "This 'Cum sancto' is the only movement that closely resembles a proper fugue;"²⁴ and of the "Et vitam:" "the listener eagerly awaits its further development and would gladly surrender himself to the flood-waves storming past, but here too, the subject unfortunately breaks off after it has been carried through the four voices, and apart from a stretto and an imitation of the second bar by three voices, the splendid theme is not used again."²⁵ Evidence of the learned style, and specifically fugue, was a defining mark of the genre and an expected component in any mass. Just as Beethoven had gone his own way in terms of Haydn, so too he had apparently deemphasized an essential element of sacred style.

Hoffmann is correct; the fugal writing is not what one might expect. The Credo at "Et vitam venturi" (m. 279f.) is little more than a fugal exposition (with regular four-measure entries) followed by a brief set of entries in diminished overlaps (m. 317); a third appearance of the subject in the soloists (m. 333) is really an example of species

Table 4 Beethoven, *Mass in C*, Gloria. Outline of "Quoniam" section.

	Quoniam	Cum	Quoniam	Cum/Amen	Quoniam	Amen
m.	A1 214	B1 238	A2 254	B2 280	A3 324	B3 335
key	C	C		G	C	

writing against whole notes. The reasons for disregarding it as a proper fugue are clear.

His opinion that the "Cum sancto" setting comes closest to a fugue gains clarity by comparison with Haydn. Haydn usually sets "In gloria Dei Patris, amen" as some sort of fugue in four works (*Missa Sancti Bernardi*, *Missa in angustiis*, *Schöpfungsmesse*, and *Harmoniemesse*); in two instances (*Missa in tempore belli*, *Theresienmesse*), just the word "amen" receives some degree of imitative play.²⁶ Beethoven, in contrast, sets the entire text "Cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris amen" as a single fugal subject encompassing more of the grammatical structure of the text. In most cases, Haydn's Gloria fugues are double fugues. Only the *Missa in tempore belli* uses a lighter touch: a single motive in a freely imitative setting. For two other settings, one's understanding of the term "fugue" needs to be qualified: in the Gloria of the

Theresienmesse, Haydn uses little more than a fugal exposition (*recte* a fugato),²⁷ while the *Harmoniemesse* Gloria closes with an impressive fugal structure, yet one without the standard opening tonic-dominant alternations of a fugal exposition.

The novelty of Beethoven's fugue in the Gloria stems from its structure and the way in which the "Quoniam," largely introductory in Haydn's settings, interacts with the fugue. What Beethoven created was of extended scope and forward drive, like Haydn's fugues, yet constructed in a series of phrases and periods alternating two principal themes, each receiving its own treatment (Table 4).

The A theme maintains its essentially sequential and motivic nature in subsequent reappearances, while the B theme is consistently set in fugue. Offsetting the sectional divisions are elided cadences and the primarily ascending nature of the A material, which reinforces the forward momentum. In this way, the sections mesh into one extended whole. Although still separated, the interweavings of the two ideas result in a totality that joins together the complete text from "Quoniam" through the "Amen."

Each of the fugal B sections has a different purpose. B1 presents a fugal exposition, uniform in its four-measure separation of entries. B2 is a methodical development of the fugue divided into three subsections: (1) mm. 280–96, a second exposition in the dominant with greater attention to the countersubject, (2) mm. 297–304, a stretto on the subject elided into (3) mm. 302–14, a further stretto restricted to the second portion of the subject now textured "Amen." B3 presents a culminating manipulation of the subject: in parallel thirds and a block-like dialogue (m. 335), and finally (m. 342) a three-



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Figure 5

Figure 5. Ludwig van Beethoven, Mass in C Sketchbook, fol. 1v, Kyrie draft 2 with fugal ending.

part stretto (upper string and solo soprano). Beethoven saves one contrapuntal trick for the end (mm. 371–75), a close canonic imitation of the subject in strings and winds just before the final cadence. Though separated by the A sections, the fugal sections together constitute a single, ongoing process. One can, in fact, omit the intervening “Quoniam” sections and move fairly effortlessly from one fugal section to the next with only minimal adjustments to the music. It is as if Beethoven conceptualized the fugue as a single entity but divided its three parts by the inserted contrasting music of A. In such a view, the later “Quoniam” sections function as extended and highly differentiated episodes between fugal statements. Although it is the closest thing to a proper fugue in the entire mass and could constitute a proper fugue without the “Quoniam” episodes, the unusual musical and verbal interweavings serve to link three textual references—the Son of the “Quoniam” with the Father and Holy Spirit of the “Cum Sancto”—and thus musically reflect the theological unity of the three persons of the Trinity as the single object of praise in this closing text and section of the Gloria. As Beethoven implied in his letter to Härtel, his attention to the treatment of the text thus overrode established conventions of the genre.

If Beethoven did something peculiar and distinctive with fugue in the Gloria, he apparently avoided it altogether in the Kyrie. The Kyrie of Beethoven’s mass is the only movement of Opus 86 that does not include a significant section of imitation.²⁸ This may not seem a transgression of musical convention; unlike a Gloria or Credo, a fugue is not required here. But, Haydn had placed extended imitative or fugal sections in three of his late Kyrie settings (*the Missa Sancti Bernardi*, *the Missa in angustiis*, and *the Theresienmesse*).²⁹ In contrast to these fugal Kyries, Opus 86 displays little contrapuntal intricacy: a brief stretto (mm. 22–25), a simple two-part counterpoint in contrary motion (mm. 74–78), and some light contrapuntal interjections (mm. 101–06). To the listeners of Beethoven’s day, and particularly to that reported lover of counterpoint Prince Esterházy, this opening movement of the mass must have seemed stylistically weak as sacred music in comparison to Haydn’s late Kyries.³⁰

Beethoven’s sketches for the *Mass in C* Kyrie reveal a different story. At one point, Beethoven had contemplated a fugal ending for the movement. The setting of the second Kyrie received Beethoven’s repeated attention; its content and shape change in each of three principal drafts for the movement.³¹

Of particular interest is the second draft that Beethoven notated at the top of folio 1v. Figure 5 shows part of this, the beginning of the “Kyrie” reprise. It starts with a double statement of the main theme—once in bass clef, once in soprano clef, both in C major. The intent, I believe, is for the orchestra



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Haydn, A Prince, and Beethoven's Mass in C cont.

Figure 6

15 Violin

Soprano Solo

Chorus

Ky - ri - e - e - lei - son. Ky - ri - e

Alto Solo

Chorus

Ky - ri - e - e - lei - son Ky - ri - e

Tenor Solo

Chorus

Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e

Bass Solo

Chorus

Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e Ky - ri - e

Violoncello

Figure 6. Ludwig van Beethoven, *Mass in C*, Kyrie, mm. 15–27 (reduced score).

to play the theme, then for the chorus to sing it, an idea that Beethoven eventually transferred and transposed to an earlier location in the piece (see mm. 68–74). What follows in the sketch is a series of melodic statements based on the soprano's sequence (m. 15f). Three statements clearly change range and alternate tonic and dominant; a possible fourth entry is indicated merely by the tentative notation of the first measure of the sequence. This is a rough but viable lining out in one system of the entries of a fugal exposition. Although this fugato provides contrapuntal weight to the movement, it lacks the dramatic vigor and tension of the final version. It is precisely this problem of a dramatic ending for the fugue that Beethoven tried to solve in other sketches before dropping the idea altogether.³²

Having shown what Beethoven did not include in his Kyrie, I can suggest a possible connection between what he did include and the Kyrie of Haydn's *Creation Mass*. Beethoven may have derived the soprano's sequential passage, (m. 15f., Figure 6), with its circling motion and stepwise rise, from a

similar sequence in the Kyrie of the *Schöpfungsmesse* (m. 67f. the "Christe" section, Figure 7). As this type of figure is commonplace, Beethoven need not have taken it from Haydn. On the other hand, it is the only time it appears in a late Kyrie by Haydn; it is highlighted prominently by Haydn as a held dominant-seventh preparation (m. 66); it is sung by the soprano soloist as in Beethoven; both have a similar accompaniment in the strings; and after a brief interchange of soloist and chorus in the Haydn (m. 73–78 omitted in Figure 7), the sequence is taken up by the other soloists in both (Haydn m. 82, Beethoven m. 22). If Beethoven did know this Haydn movement (and strictly speaking, we can only verify that Beethoven saw the Gloria of the *Schöpfungsmesse*), this moment with its sudden change to a soloist from chorus and to a minor key from major might have been one of the striking events which he remembered. I hesitate to claim that Beethoven intended to quote Haydn or pay tribute to the master. This sequence is too insignificant a musical shape to serve as a meaningful or even recognizable *homage*

(though surely Haydn would have realized its source). Rather, it seems clear that this moment from Haydn's work impressed the younger composer and it remained with him, to be reworked in his creative subconscious.

Here, as in the Gloria, Beethoven is simply trying to write his first mass, a new compositional exercise for him, possibly in a short amount of time, but definitely in competition with the reputation and legacy of a revered predecessor and the expectations of an influential patron. His concerns while composing extended beyond his statement of apprehension to Prince Esterházy, and sent Beethoven to peruse a score of Haydn's *Schöpfungsmesse* from which he copied fragments of the Gloria into his sketchbook. This fact helps to substantiate melodic and structural connections between the two composers' masses that might otherwise seem questionable or coincidental. In addition, the fragment from Haydn's fugue that Beethoven copied corroborates evidence in the sketches of his concern for the stylistic tradition of the genre, again a fact not entirely evident from the finished product.

The nature of Beethoven's musical reliance on Haydn is different in the various movements. In the Gloria, Beethoven is clearly modeling on Haydn; in the Kyrie,

there is, at best, a remembrance of a moment from Haydn. As Hoffmann perceived and Beethoven knew, Opus 86 does not sound like Haydn. Beethoven's intent was not to write a Haydnesque mass but rather to get help in matters of structure and

organization while finding his own voice. But what is clear is that Beethoven's stated "apprehension" about comparison to Haydn can now be seen to conceal the ways in which the "inimitable" Haydn was, in fact, being imitated.

Figure 7

67 Violin 1

Violin 2

Soprano Solo

Chri - ste e - lei - son, e - lei - - - - - son

Violoncello

Figure 7a. Franz Joseph Haydn, *Schöpfungsmesse*, Kyrie, mm. 67–72.

79 Violin 1

Violin 2

Soprano Solo

e - lei - - - son e - lei - - - son Chri - ste e - lei - son

Alto Solo

Chri - ste e - lei - son e - lei - - - - son

Tenor Solo

Chri - ste e - lei - son e - lei - - - - son

Bass Solo

Chri - ste e - lei - son

Violoncello

Figure 7b. Franz Joseph Haydn, *Schöpfungsmesse*, Kyrie, mm. 79–86 (reduced score).

Haydn, A Prince, and Beethoven's Mass in C cont.

NOTES

¹ Emily Anderson, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Beethoven* (London: MacMillan, 1961), 1:174, letter no. 150. Ludwig van Beethoven, *Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg (Munich: G. Henle, 1996), 1:321, letter no. 291. The letter is dated July 26, no year, from Baden.

² The relationship of Haydn and Beethoven has come under close scrutiny by James Webster, "The Falling-out Between Haydn and Beethoven: The Evidence of the Sources," in *Beethoven Essays: Studies in Honor of Elliot Forbes*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Phyllis Benjamin (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Department of Music, 1984), 3–45. Webster reviews the relevant scholarship on this topic. His essay takes as its specific object of study the biographical sources from which the supposed falling-out between Beethoven and his erstwhile teacher Haydn was established, and determines (p. 4) that, "No direct word or action of Haydn's or Beethoven's, and few reliable contemporary

observers, document any falling-out or feeling of artistic incompatibility between the two." However, Webster does not investigate the implications of Beethoven's admitted apprehensions to Prince Esterházy or the evidence of Beethoven's sketchbooks, which are the focus of the present study.

³ Beethoven, *Briefwechsel*, 1:322, letter no. 292, dated August 9, 1807.

⁴ Anton Schindler, *Beethoven As I Knew Him*, ed. Donald W. MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1966), p. 166. This is a translation of Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, 3rd ed. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1860), 189. Schindler relates second-hand an event that occurred seven years before he met Beethoven, and he gets many of the facts wrong. For instance, Schindler says that Beethoven left Eisenstadt that same day in reaction to Prince Nikolaus' comment, yet documents in the Esterházy archives prove that the supposedly irate composer stayed in Eisenstadt for three days after the premiere. See Johann (Janos) Harich, "Beethoven in

Eisenstadt," *Burgenländisches Heimatsblätter* 21 (1959): 175.

⁵ Harich, "Beethoven in Eisenstadt," 179.

⁶ Beethoven, *Briefwechsel*, 1:323, letter no. 293 dated September 12, 1807.

⁷ Jeremiah W. McGrann, ed., *Beethoven: Messe C-Dur Opus 86* in Beethoven Werke Gesamtausgabe Abteilung VIII Band 2 (Munich: G. Henle, 2003), 172–209 identifies as many as 13 hands involved in copying the parts.

⁸ R. Murray Schafer, *E.T.A. Hoffmann and Music* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1975), 106. Hoffmann reviewed the first edition of the mass for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig), 15 (June 16, 1813): column 398f. He later incorporated parts of this review, slightly revised, into his novel *Die Serapionsbrüder* of 1819–21.

⁹ Anderson, ed., *Letters of Beethoven*, 1:189–90, letter no. 167. Beethoven, *Briefwechsel*, 2:15, letter no. 327, dated June 8 (1808). I suspect that Härtel, who also published the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, shared this thought with Hoffmann.



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- ¹⁰ Jens Peter Larsen, "Beethoven's C-Major Mass and the Late Masses of Joseph Haydn," in *Handel, Haydn, and the Viennese Classical Style*, tr. Ulrich Krämer, Studies in Musicology no. 100, ed. George J. Buelow (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1988), 154–55: "The general outline of the C-major Mass follows the (traditional) subdivision of the mass movements—especially of the Gloria and the Credo—in Haydn's late masses. Yet the filling-out of this general frame is very different as with Haydn....The general formal conception is related, but the character of expression and the style intention is different."
- ¹¹ Alfred Schnerich, *Messe und Requiem seit Haydn und Mozart* (Vienna & Leipzig: C.W. Stern, 1909), 60.
- ¹² Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Beethoven autograph MS 60 no. 2, the so-called "Mass in C Sketchbook." For a study of its structure and the little known about its history, see Alan Tyson's study in Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson, and Robert Winter, *The Beethoven Sketchbooks: History, Reconstruction, Inventory* (Berkeley: University of California, 1985), 156–59.
- ¹³ Alan Tyson identified these entries in a footnote to his discussion of the *Mass in C* sketchbook. See Johnson, Tyson, and Winter, *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, 157 fn. 1. My identification of these entries in 1982 was made independently of Tyson.
- ¹⁴ Breitkopf & Härtel published Haydn's *Heiligmesse* (*Missa Sti. Bernardi*, 1796) as *Missa No. 1* in 1802, *Paukenmesse* (*Missa in tempore belli*, 1796) as *No. 2* in 1802; the *Nelson Mass* (*Missa in angustiis*) as *No. 3* in 1803 and the *Schöpfungsmesse* (1801) as *No. 4* in 1804.
- ¹⁵ Partiturs of the *Missa in angustiis* and the *Missa Sancti Bernardi* appear in lot 225 in the catalogue of Beethoven's possessions auctioned after his death. Theodor von Frimmel, "Beethovens Nachlass" in *Beethoven-Studien II: Bausteine zu einer Lebensgeschichte des Meisters* (Munich & Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1906), 195. Oddly, in 1809 (two years after the *Mass in C*), Beethoven writes Härtel asking for scores of Haydn masses, among other things, for use in his weekly singing parties. Beethoven, *Briefwechsel*, 2:72 letter no. 392. Anderson, *Letters* 1:235 letter no. 220 dated July 26, 1809. Beethoven may not have owned any Haydn masses when he wrote the *Mass in C*.
- ¹⁶ Haydn's autograph of the *Schöpfungsmesse* is in the Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in Munich and is available in facsimile as *Joseph Haydn, Messe in B-Dur "Schöpfungsmesse"* (Munich-Duisburg: G. Henle, 1957). I hesitate to call Beethoven's reading a simple mistake in copying as the two readings are so different. The shape of the bass line in Beethoven's version, for the most part ascending and paralleling the tenor, is the opposite of Haydn's descending line in contrary motion to the tenor. That Beethoven may have been supplying what he thought was a better reading may be justified on a subjective level, but objectively Haydn's use of contrary motion is more in keeping with the preference for contrary motion in contrapuntal writing.
- ¹⁷ Cases of modeling are known in Beethoven but concern Mozart more so than Haydn. Beethoven had recently made copies from Mozart's operas for use or stimulation while at work on the first version of his opera *Leonore*, and, while still a teenager, Beethoven had apparently been introduced to the procedure of compositional modeling when he composed his Piano Quartets WoO 36 based upon violin sonatas by Mozart. See Lewis Lockwood, "Beethoven Before 1800: The Mozart Legacy" in *Beethoven Forum 3* (1994): 39–53. A case of Beethoven directly modeling a work on Haydn is hitherto unknown.
- ¹⁸ The same rhythmic pattern can be found in the duple-meter Glorias of Haydn's *Missa Sancti Bernardi*, *Missa in angustiis*, and *Harmoniemesse*.
- ¹⁹ Concerning these conventions, see Bruce C. Mac Intyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period* Studies in Musicology No. 89 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986, 1984), 280–307.
- ²⁰ Hoffmann, *AmZ*, 15 (June 16, 1813): column 392. Translated in *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, *Music Criticism*, ed. David Charlton, trans. Martyn Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 329.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 333.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 335.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 336.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 335.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 336.
- ²⁶ Stephen A. Town, "Toward an Understanding of Fugue and Fugato in the Masses of Joseph Haydn," *Journal of Musicological Research*, 6 (1986): 313, catalogs this aspect of Haydn's Ordinary settings. For one alteration to Town's chart see footnote 27.
- ²⁷ differ from Town concerning the *Theresienmesse*. He does not classify the counterpoint of the "In gloria", mm. 283–99, as being fugal or fugato. See Town, "Fugue and Fugato," p. 313. While admittedly brief, it does present alternating tonic and dominant statements of a subject.
- ²⁸ Besides the traditional fugal endings of the Gloria and the Credo, Beethoven uses prominent contrapuntal textures in the Sanctus at "pleni sunt coeli" (imitation) and "osanna" (a fugal exposition). In the Agnus Dei, the setting of "pacem" at m. 108 and elsewhere is imitative. No such extended use of imitation occurs in the Kyrie.
- ²⁹ Even in the masses that do not have extended sections of imitation, there are prominent moments of imitation. For the *Schöpfungsmesse* Kyrie, these occur at mm. 41–42, 103–04, 108–09, 114–16.
- ³⁰ Schindler seems to have been the first to make this claim in print although he, as usual, misrepresents the facts by overstatement: "Neither *Christus am Oelberge* nor the C-major Mass had anything like a fugue, even where one would have been appropriate. Indeed, the Mass should have had a fugue for two reasons: first, because Prince Esterházy, for whom the work was composed, was known to be especially fond of this art form, and secondly, because the musical world was awaiting in the Mass itself a piece of evidence to disprove the maxim quoted above (that Beethoven was incapable of writing a fugue)." Schindler, *Beethoven As I Knew Him*, 212–13 from Schindler, *Biographie*, 3rd ed., 245.
- ³¹ The three drafts occur as follows: (1) folio 1r systems 1–9; (2) folio 1v systems 1–9; (3) folio 1v systems 11–15.
- ³² Two ancillary sketches, in the same thin-nibbed pen as draft two, appear on folio 1r system 15 and system 16. In them, Beethoven changes the stepwise rise after the last entry of the sequential idea, altering the rhythmic placement of the peak pitch *c* and the subsequent cadential release of tension.

For Cecil Isaac

