

1 An anatomy of change: Anton Bruckner's revisions to the Mass in F Minor

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Anton Bruckner's revisions and his students' tampering have been a source of editorial distress for most of this century. He was an inveterate reviser throughout much of his career and, late in his life, relied upon his students in preparations for publication. Most of his major works survive in more than one manuscript version and many exist in early editions which are different yet again. As a result this century has witnessed the publication of an imposing array of scores including not one, but two Collected Works Editions, and a substantial portion of the secondary literature on the composer has been devoted to assessing the relative merits of various versions and speculating as to their *raison d'être*.¹ In particular the battle over the reliability of early prints as opposed to the manuscripts has been hard-fought, often on terrain far removed from music.² Although the manuscript versions have achieved supremacy in the eyes of performers and scholars in recent years, many text-critical aspects of the Bruckner legacy remain shrouded in mystery. Crucial sources, especially *Stichvorlagen* for many early editions, have disappeared, and an

¹ For lists of published scores of major works see Arthur D. Walker, "Bruckner's Works: A List of the Published Scores of the Various Versions," *Brio* 3 (Autumn 1966), 4–9 and Renate Grasberger, *Werkverzeichnis Anton Bruckner* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag, 1977), pp. 246–53. For selected points of view see Max Auer, "Der Streit um den 'echten' Bruckner im Licht biographischer Tatsachen," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 103 (May and October 1936), 538–45 and 1191–96; Deryck Cooke, "The Bruckner Problem Simplified," *Musical Times* 110 (January, February, April, May, and August 1969), 20–22, 142–44, 362–65, 479–82, and 828; Franz Grasberger, *Anton Bruckner zwischen Wagnis und Sicherheit*, (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977); Grasberger, *Anton Bruckner in Wien. Eine kritische Studie zu seiner Persönlichkeit*, Anton Bruckner Dokumente und Studien, no. 2 (Graz:

Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1980); *Bruckner-Symposion Bericht "Die Fassungen"*, ed. Grasberger (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1981); Max Morold, "Der wahre Bruckner?", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 103 (May 1936), 533–37; Morold, "Noch einiges zur Bruckner-Frage," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 103 (October 1936), 1187–90; Leopold Nowak, "Urfassung und Endfassung bei Bruckner," *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress. Wien. Mozartjahr 1956*, ed. Erich Schenk (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1958), pp. 448–51; and Geoffrey Sharp, "Anton Bruckner: Simpleton or Mystic?," *Music Review* 3 (February 1942), 46–54.

² See Benjamin Korstvedt's study in the present volume for a history of this debate. He believes there is reason to reconsider these issues.

2 Paul Hawkshaw

enormous amount of source-critical analysis remains to be done on those which are available. Why Bruckner revised, when he did it (numerous autograph dates notwithstanding), what he altered on specific occasions, and the extent of his involvement in the preparation of published scores are lingering questions for many of his works.

On the premise that present-day Bruckner scholarship must address these questions one work at a time, the exclusive concern of this article is the Mass in F Minor. The Mass is a useful case study because its history touches upon every controversial and problematic aspect of the “versions” question. Often cited for its numerous revisions and foreign incursions, not to mention the stormy provenance of its autograph score, it was first published in 1894 by Doblinger, in a much altered form, the product of solicitous efforts on the part of Josef Schalk.³ Schalk’s alterations have been purged from two different publications (manuscript versions) in the *Gesamtausgabe*, one by Robert Haas and one by Leopold Nowak.⁴ Both transmit mixed stages of the composer’s own revisions, and neither contains the “original” version of 1868. That score has yet to be published.⁵

The present study traces the chronology of Bruckner’s revisions as they are preserved in the primary sources for his Mass in F Minor. What did *he* change, when, and why? The alterations occurred in four stages which are not always easy to discern – early revisions, 1877/81, the 1890s, and the first edition. The process of separating the layers and analyzing them in this order leads to three conclusions:

1. Haas and Nowak were correct to use Bruckner’s manuscripts, rather than the first print, as the basis for their modern editions of the F Minor Mass. The first print contains an “arrangement” of the score and not a

³ Thomas Leibnitz, *Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988), p. 192, cites a letter dated 24 May 1894 from Josef to Franz Schalk in which the former indicates that the Doblinger edition (title page undated) was in preparation. The autograph manuscript was at the center of a well-publicized dispute between the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library and Lilly Schalk. Robert Haas, “Die Originalpartitur von Bruckners Messe in F-moll,” *Der Auftakt* 4 (1924), 106–09. Haas, “Die neue Bruckner-Bewegung,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 103 (October 1936), 1185.

⁴ Robert Haas, ed., *Bruckner Sämtliche Werke A, XIV* (published 1944); Leopold Nowak, ed., *Bruckner Sämtliche Werke B, XVIII* (published 1960). Neither editor prepared a critical

report. Leopold Nowak, “Die Messe in F-moll von Anton Bruckner,” *Österreichische Musik Zeitschrift* 15 (September 1960), 429–31 provides an overview of the revisions as well as a discussion of the differences between his and Haas’s editions. A third modern edition, by Hans Ferdinand Redlich, is also available: *Anton Bruckner: Mass in F Minor* (London: Ernst Eulenburg, 1967). Redlich’s score is the same as the Haas edition. He provided an often perceptive, but vituperative introduction lamenting that Leopold Nowak, then Director of the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, had denied him access to the primary sources.

⁵ It will appear along with detailed descriptions of the sources discussed in this chapter in Paul Hawkshaw, ed., *Bruckner Sämtliche Werke B, XVIII, Revisionsbericht*.

3 Anton Bruckner's revisions to the Mass in F Minor

legitimate version for which the composer was responsible. This article will demonstrate that Bruckner disapproved of its content and criticized it, in writing, for its editors' failure to recognize the very things he had devoted years of revision to correcting in his manuscripts.

2. Many of Bruckner's revisions in the manuscripts were the practical results of years of professional performances in the Viennese Hofkapelle – performances in which Bruckner himself participated as organist.

3. His other revisions were influenced by detailed studies of music of his predecessors, particularly of Mozart's Requiem.

Of principal concern in this study are alterations in pitch, orchestration, and structure which Bruckner made after his initial completion of the score.⁶ What emerges is *not* a picture of an insecure, adulation-seeking composer with a counting mania, as Bruckner has often been portrayed. Rather, the process of analyzing his layers of change in the Mass sources reveals a professional composer at work systematically "fine-tuning" his score throughout a quarter century of performances and meticulous self-analyses.

I

First some chronological facts about the Mass: Bruckner began the work in Linz in late summer 1867 and finished his first version approximately one year later. The earliest surviving autograph date, 14 September 1867, appears on a Kyrie sketch, and the end of the autograph score is dated 9 September 1868.⁷ Although rehearsals began in November 1868, the first performance did not take place until 16 June 1872 in the Augustinerkirche, Vienna, with Bruckner conducting.⁸ He conducted the Mass again on 8 December 1873, this time in the Hofkapelle where the work remained in the repertoire throughout his career.⁹ The first

⁶ With the exception of an early score draft discussed in the first example, the sketch process as well as discrepancies between surviving sketches and the score are not considered. See Paul Hawkshaw, "Weiteres über die Arbeitsweise Anton Bruckners während seiner Linzer Jahren. Der Inhalt von Kremsmünster C56. 2," in *Bruckner-Symposium Bericht 1992* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1995), pp. 143–52. Also discrepancies in dynamics and other performance directions are not discussed, even though many of these emanated from Bruckner himself and coincided (both in time as well as in their location in the sources) with alterations described here.

⁷ Wn Mus. Hs. 2106, fols. 123r. and 120v. respectively.

⁸ Performer's rehearsal date, 20 November 1868, Viola 1 part, Wn Mus. Hs. 6075, fol. 401v. Bruckner's annotation in the autograph score re. date of the first performance is found on Wn Mus. Hs. 2106, fol. 120v.

⁹ Theophil Antonicek, *Anton Bruckner und die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle*, Anton Bruckner. Dokumente und Studien, vol. I (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), p. 142. By the end of the century the work had also found its way into the repertoires of major choruses throughout Europe. Göllerich–Auer IV/4, p. 255.

4 Paul Hawkshaw

Table 1.1. *Manuscript sources for the Mass in F Minor*

Source	Description	Date
1. Wn Mus. Hs. 2106, fols. 123r.–124v.	Autograph Kyrie sketches	14 Sept.–19 Oct. 1867
2. Kr C56.2, fols. 6r.–12v.	Autograph Gloria, Credo sketches	21 Nov. 1867 (Credo)
3. Wn Mus. Hs. 2106, fols. 9r.–10v.	Autograph Kyrie score bifolio 4	before 1 Mar. 1868
4. Kr C56.2, fols. 13r.–18v.	Autograph Credo score bifolios 10, 17, 18	21 Nov. 1867 (bif. 10); completed 15 Feb. 1868 (bif. 18)
5. Wn Mus. Hs. 2106, fols. 79r.–80v.	Autograph Credo score bifolio 16	before 15 Feb. 1868
6. Wn Mus. Hs. 2106	Autograph score (entries by Johann Noll)	completed 9 Sept. 1868; revised Aug. 1876, 1877, and 1881
7. Wn Mus. Hs. 31.246	Copy score (autograph entries)	before 1 Oct. 1868
8. Wn Mus. Hs. 6075	Copy parts (autograph entries)	before 20 Nov. 1868; additions before 30 Jul. 1876
9. Wn Mus. Hs. 6015	Copy score	between 1877 and 1881; revised 1881 and 1893/94
10. Wn Mus. Hs. 29.302	Copy score by Johann Noll (Entries by Josef Schalk)	Nov. 1883
11. Wgm I57.583	Copy parts	1889–93

concert performance took place with the chorus of the Wiener akademischer Wagner-Verein and the Capelle Eduard Strauss under Josef Schalk in the Grosser Musikvereinsal, Vienna, on 23 March 1893.¹⁰ The surviving primary manuscript sources for the Mass are listed in table 1; they date from 1867 to 1893.

Strictly speaking plate 1 falls outside the purview of a study of Bruckner’s *revisions* because it involves a bifolio removed during the initial composition of the Mass. It concerns a passage which Bruckner

¹⁰ Wgm I57.583 parts: trumpet 1, horns 2, 3, and 4 have performers’ signatures and dates referring to the 1893 performance.

5 Anton Bruckner's revisions to the Mass in F Minor

was still changing as late as 1881 and illustrates a very important distinction between Bruckner's compositional and revisionist activities as they are reflected in sources for the F Minor Mass. In large works such as Masses or symphonies, Bruckner composed in layers on bifolios arranged successively and numbered by movement. If he was unhappy with a particular passage, excessive emendation led to his discarding an entire bifolio and replacing it with a new one.¹¹ He often followed the same procedure revising a work. Extensive alteration caused him to replace or, later in his career, paste over original bifolios in both autograph and copy scores. As a result a proliferation of discarded score bifolios in varying states of completion survives for many Bruckner pieces including the F Minor Mass.

The bifolio reproduced, in part, in plate 1.1 (table 1, no. 4) stems from the earliest stages of work on the Mass and is described best as a score sketch. It is an incomplete Credo bifolio 10; the wind staves are blank waiting for either music or rests. A comparison with the published scores illustrates that the complete version is quite different. It has a clearer B \flat –D \flat harmonic axis on its way to the F which closes the section; relies on Alberti-like figurations as opposed to arpeggios; and its vocal parts place more textual emphasis on “judicare” rather than “vivos et mortuos.”¹² Evidence that Bruckner replaced the bifolio of plate 1.1 at an early stage is provided by the dedication copy, Wn Mus. Hs. 31.246 (table 1.1, no. 7). This manuscript contains the reading of the bifolio as it existed in the autograph score prior to revisions which Bruckner made in 1881.¹³ Prepared by Bruckner's most important anonymous Linz copyist, Wn Mus. Hs. 31.246 was signed and dated by the composer 1 October 1868.¹⁴ The Kremsmünster tenth Credo bifolio had already been replaced by that date.

¹¹ Paul Hawkshaw, “The Manuscript Sources for Anton Bruckner's Linz Works: A Study of his Working Methods from 1856 to 1868” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1984), pp. 185–203. His copyists were often involved in the replacement process.

¹² Compare, for example, Leopold Nowak, *Bruckner Sämtliche Werke B*, XVIII, 105ff. Because it is the most accessible, measure and page numbers in this edition will serve as the point of reference for the remainder of the chapter. A point of interest as far as Bruckner's working procedures are concerned: the manuscript page in plate 1.1 has an autograph date, “21. Nov.” The same date is found on a sketch for the same music (table 1.1, no. 2) as well as on the present tenth bifolio of the autograph score, Kr C56.2, fol. 12r. and Wn

Mus. Hs. 2106, fol. 67r. respectively. At this point in the movement Bruckner must have worked on a sketch, started, and restarted the score all on the same day. 21 November is also the date of Karl Waldeck's anecdote about Bruckner improvising parts of the Credo at the piano. Göllerich–Auer, III/1, pp. 472–73.

¹³ To be discussed as plate 1.9, a revision which affected the same section of the movement.

¹⁴ Wn Mus. Hs. 31.246, fol. 97v. Antonicek, *Bruckner und die Hofmusikkapelle*, pp. 148f., contains a facsimile of the signature page. For more on Bruckner's Linz copyists see Paul Hawkshaw, “Die Kopisten Anton Bruckners während seines Aufenthaltes in Linz,” in *Bruckner-Symposium Bericht 1990* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1993), pp. 225–40.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-04606-0 - Bruckner Studies
Edited by Timothy L. Jackson and Paul Hawkshaw
Excerpt
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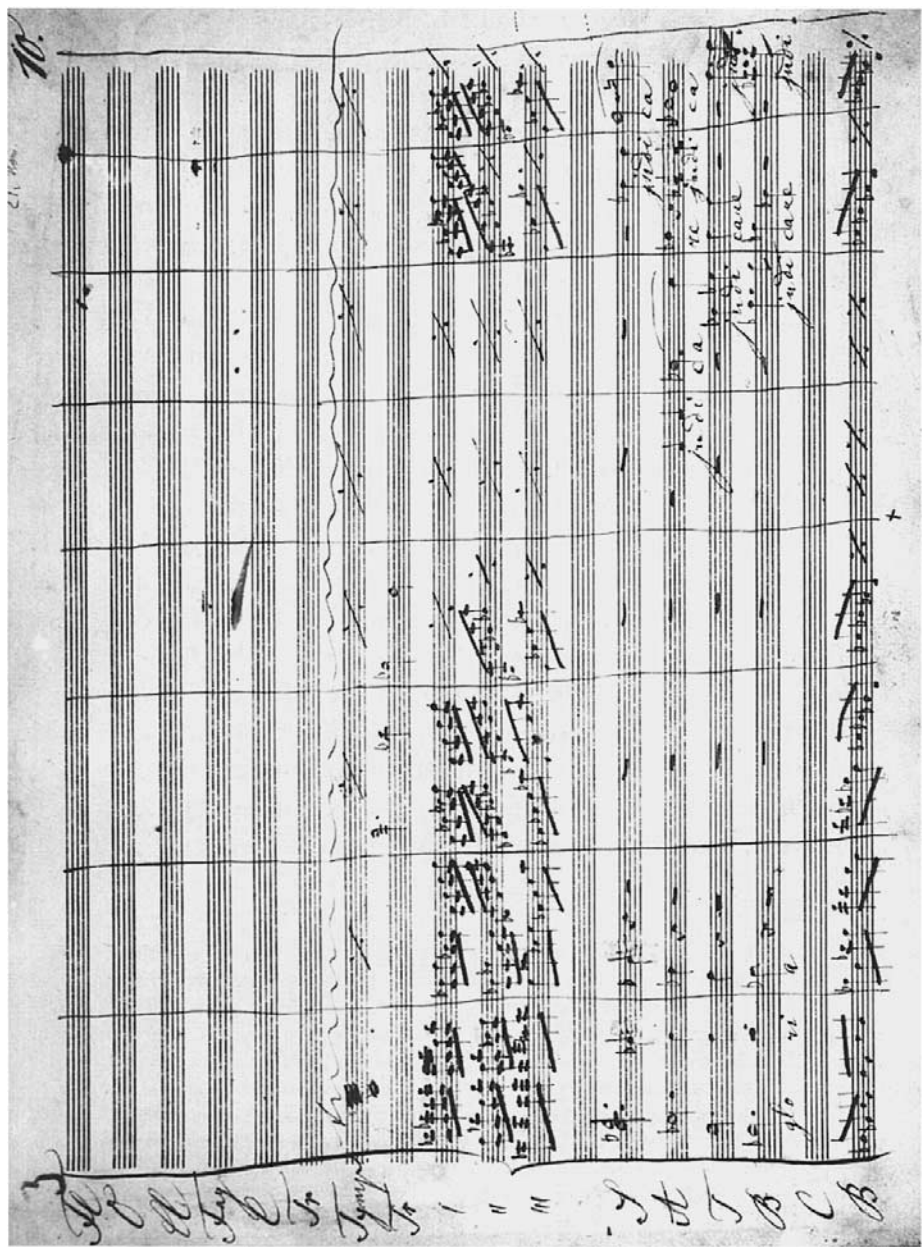


Plate 1.1a Kr C56.2, fol. 13r. (Credo mm. 255ff., score sketch)

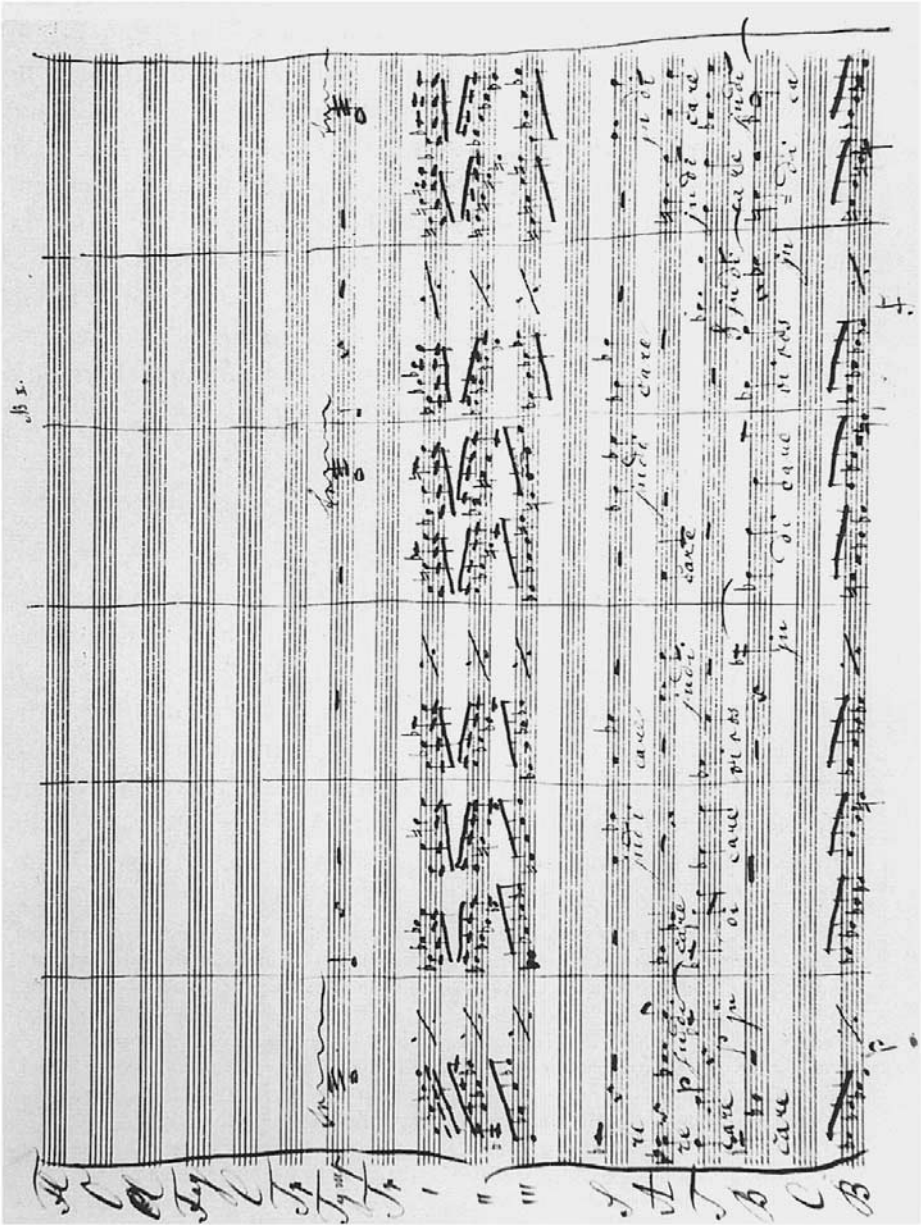


Plate 1.1b Kr C56.2, fol. 13v. (Credo sketch cont.)

8 Paul Hawkshaw

The copy score, Wn Mus. Hs. 31.246, is of critical importance to understanding the genesis of the F Minor Mass and its revisions because it contains the only surviving reading of the earliest complete version.¹⁵ Neither Haas nor Nowak had access to it when they prepared their editions. A comparison of its contents with other sources reveals a remarkable fact: with the exception of a soprano solo taken over by woodwinds at the end of the Credo (table 1.2, no. 10), for all intents and purposes, the vocal parts of the Mass were never altered after 1868.¹⁶ The discussion of plate 1.1 demonstrated that, as was to be expected, changes during the initial composition process included rewriting vocal parts. The remainder of this investigation will show that the revisions did not. After the Mass was completed in 1868, the vocal parts were, so to speak, its structural skeleton which remained intact regardless of what Bruckner did to the rest of the body of the score. The 1868 score differs from its later counterparts in orchestration, instrumental figuration, harmonic content of orchestral passages, and phrase structure.

II

The earliest revisions which Bruckner made to his Mass are listed in table 1.2 and illustrated in plates 1.2–1.5. Following his usual practice Bruckner made the Kyrie and Credo changes (table 1.2, nos. 2, 9, and 10) in the autograph score by removing bifolios and replacing them. The original Credo bifolios 17 and 18 are now in Kremsmünster (table 1.1, no. 4), and the original Kyrie bifolio 4 and Credo bifolio 16 are bound with the autograph score (table 1, nos. 3 and 5).¹⁷ The autograph Credo bifolios 13 and 14 containing the earlier reading of no. 9 in table 1.2 were

¹⁵ Wn Mus. Hs. 31.246 probably came into the possession of the dedicatee, Anton Ritter Imhof von Geisslinghof, soon after Bruckner signed it. Antonicek, *Bruckner und die Hofmusikkapelle*, pp. 148ff. It almost certainly did not remain with the composer because, unlike the autograph and other materials to which Bruckner had access during his Vienna years, it was not subject to later revision. It came into the possession of the Austrian National Library from a Professor Louis Dité in the 1960s.

¹⁶ There was a nine-measure cut of the entire ensemble in the Gloria (table 1.2, no. 5). Also the vocal parts of the Credo were affected, on occasion, by the addition and removal of individual measures during the metrical revisions of the 1870s and 1880s as will be

discussed below. See also note 39 concerning the eventual deletion of an alternative version of the Soprano solo in the Agnus Dei, mm. 76–78.

¹⁷ Redlich, *Mass F Minor*, pp. 40ff., contains a discussion and facsimile of Kremsmünster bifolio 18. The two Vienna bifolios are bound in their respective places in the autograph score as though they had never been superseded. Their replacements are presently located at the end of the autograph, fols. 125r.–126v. and 127r.–128v. respectively. How this arrangement came about is a mystery. Without question Bruckner intended the reading in the replacement bifolios to prevail because it is found in all surviving sources (other than Wn Mus. Hs. 31.246) including the instrumental parts which had to be corrected as a result of the changes (see below).

9 Anton Bruckner’s revisions to the Mass in F Minor

Table 1.2. Distinguishing features of the first version of the Mass in F Minor preserved in the copy score, Wn Mus. Hs. 31.246, and altered during early revision stages

- A. Passages altered prior to 20 Nov. 1868.
- B. Passages altered between Nov. 1868 and Apr. 1873.
- C. Subsequent alterations copied with the 1877 revisions in Wn Mus. Hs. 6015.

Kyrie		
1. 66–71	A	solos are more independent of the chorus (compare Haas with Nowak. See note 20).
2. 101–21	B	violin figurations continue as sixteenths throughout (plate 1.2).
Gloria		
3. 100–11	C	upper pitch of violin trills is unspecified.
4. 157–59	C	soprano and alto are chorus, not solo.
5. 169–77	B	these measures are in Wn 31.246; cut from later sources.
6. 301 and 303, beat 3	C	oboe I has c ² and b ¹ respectively.
7. 238–end	B	less instrumental doubling of the fugue subject and its inversion (plate 1.3).
Credo		
8. 186–89	A	trombone chorale is not doubled by French horns.
9. 349–58 and 377–97	B	violin and viola figurations recall a trill motive which originates in the Kyrie, m. 22, and plays a rôle in the Gloria, mm. 100–15 (see note 18). Texture is more contrapuntal (plate 1.4).
10. 437–end	B	violin figurations in the fugal sections again rely on the trill motive, this time combined with a triplet (plate 1.5). Wn 31.246 (mm. 479–515) has an extensive soprano solo which, in later scores, is largely given over to oboes and flutes. What survived in the voice part (mm. 509–514) is less chromatic and less virtuosic.
Benedictus		
11. 52, beat 4	C	violin 2 is b ^{b1} quarter note.

10 Paul Hawkshaw

mentioned by Göllicher–Auer as being in Bruckner’s *Nachlass* but are now lost.¹⁸ Bruckner wrote the remaining alterations, including the additional Gloria fugue doublings (table 1.2, no. 7), directly into the autograph score as illustrated in plate 1.3 where new flute parts cover the original measure rests.

Precisely when Bruckner made each of these changes is difficult to determine. That they were not all made at the same time is illustrated by the manuscript parts which, with the exception of four later additions – altos 2 and 5, second violin part 3, and cello – were prepared for the first rehearsal of 20 November 1868.¹⁹ The two alterations designated by the letter “A” in table 1.2 (nos. 1 and 8) had been made by then because the new readings were copied directly into their respective parts.²⁰ All remaining alterations came later because the original parts had to be pasted over or otherwise corrected in the affected measures. Plate 1.6 illustrates a page of the second trombone part which had to be changed in order to accommodate the additional doubling in the Gloria fugue and the rehearsal letters (Plate 1.6, lines 2 and 9) absent from Wn Mus. Hs. 31.246.

Some assistance in differentiating chronological layers among the later changes listed in table 1.2 is provided by the four additions to the original set of parts. Their copyists omitted the nine measures (table 1.2, no. 5) which had to be crossed out of the Gloria in the other parts (see plate 1.6, lines 3–4). Yet both new alto parts had to be emended in order to accommodate the change from chorus to solo, Gloria mm. 157–59 (table 1.2, no. 4); this revision must have post-dated the Gloria cut. A Viennese copyist, Tenschert, added the second violin part 3 and cello.²¹ He was able to copy all changes affecting these parts except the Gloria trill clarifications and the adjustment from a quarter to two eighths in the Benedictus (table 1.2, nos. 3 and 11).²² Another relatively late change occurred in the first oboe, Gloria mm. 301–03 (table 1.2, no. 6); the new reading was

¹⁸ Göllicher–Auer III/1, pp. 468, provides an example of the violin trill motive which permeated the original version at this point.

¹⁹ Wn Mus. Hs. 6075 (table 1.1, no. 8). See note 8.

²⁰ In the autograph Wn Mus. Hs. 2106, fol. 62r., the new horn parts, Credo mm. 186–89 (table 1.2, no. 8), are added in pencil. Haas was mistaken in his assertion that this change was made in 1881 (*Bruckner Sämtliche Werke A*, XIV, 93). Nowak failed to correct this misconception in his edition, *Bruckner Sämtliche Werke B*, XVIII, 93. The other alteration copied directly into the parts occurred in the soprano and bass solos in the Kyrie, mm. 66–71 (table 1.2, no. 1). (Wn Mus. Hs. 6075, fol. 2r., for example.)

Bruckner also made this change in pencil in the autograph, Wn Mus. Hs. 2106, fol. 7r. Robert Haas incorrectly included the earliest reading in his edition, *Bruckner Sämtliche Werke A*, XIV, 13–14; Nowak has the later version, *Bruckner Sämtliche Werke B*, XVIII, 13–14. Because its third bifolio is missing, it is impossible to know whether this alteration predated the preparation of Wn Mus. Hs. 31.246.

²¹ Hawkshaw, “Manuscript Sources,” pp. 330–31.

²² The original reading of the second violin part, which would have clashed with the second soprano, was almost certainly an error on Bruckner’s part in the autograph score. Why it took so long to correct is a mystery.