

An Early English Imprint of the 'Crucifixus' of the *B minor Mass*¹ (BWV 232^{II}/5)

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While researching English church music repertoire of the early nineteenth century as represented in published anthologies, I came across an edition of the 'Crucifixus' from the *B minor Mass* that does not appear to have been discussed in Bach literature.² It is found in the second volume of *Sacred Minstrelsy* published in London in 1835, that is, a year or so after the publication of the *Clavierauszug* of the complete work by Simrock & Nägeli in Bonn and Zurich,³ but ten years before these publishers issued it in the second

¹ This paper was originally given at the Bach Colloquium at Harvard University, May 2003, and, slightly revised, at the 3rd Dialogue meeting of Bach Network UK meeting in Oxford, January 2008; it has been further revised for its inclusion here.

² There is no discussion or reference to it in the primary articles on early English Bach reception: F. G. E[dwards], 'Bach's Music in England', *Musical Times* 37 (1896), 585-87, 652-57, 722-26, 797-800; Hans F. Redlich, 'The Bach Revival in England (1750-1850): A Neglected Aspect of J. S. Bach', *Music Book: Volume VII of Hinrichsen's Musical Year Book*, ed. Max Hinrichsen (London: Hinrichsen, 1952), pp. 287-300; Stanley Godman, 'The Early Reception of Bach's Music in England', *Monthly Musical Record*, 82 (1952), 255-60; Stanley Godman, 'Bach's Music in England: 1835-1840', *Monthly Musical Record*, 83 (1953), 32-39, 69-71; Robert Pascall, 'Ein Überblick der frühen Bach-Rezeption in England bis ca. 1860', *Johann Sebastian Bach: Beiträge zur Wirkungsgeschichte*, ed. Ingrid Fuchs and Susanne Antonicek (Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1992), pp. 147-65.

³ *Die Hohe Messe in H-moll von Joh. Sebastian Bach für zwei Sopran, Alto, Tenor und Bass Im Clavierauszuge von Adolph Bernhard Marx* (Bonn: Simrock & Zurich: Nägeli, [1833]) [P.N. 3038] (RISM A/I/, B 432); see Adolf Hofmeister, *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht neuer Musikalien, musikalischer Schriften und Abbildungen* (Leipzig: Whistling & Hofmeister, 1834 [Jan-Feb]), p. 9; see also 'B-minor Mass - Select Bibliography', No. 44, *International Symposium Understanding Bach's B-minor Mass: Discussion Book Two*, ed. Yo Tomita and Tanja Kovačević (Belfast: School of Music & Sonic Arts, Queen's University Belfast, 2007), p. 494.

part of their edition of the full score of the Mass in 1845.⁴ The imprint is therefore a very early published version of the movement.

This paper presents a discussion of the English printed source in which the 'Crucifixus' occurs; the identity of the editor; the probability of which manuscript (rather than the published *Clavierauszug* of Simrock & Nägeli) was the most likely source from which it was transcribed; an evaluation of the accidental transcription error that occurred; a description of how the orchestral parts were reduced to form the keyboard accompaniment; together with a comment on a late-nineteenth-century author who owned a copy of the source.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth, the 'Crucifixus' movement from the *B minor Mass* was at least known by reputation, since Johann Philipp Kirnberger included the notation of its four-bar ostinato in his discussion of ostinato in the second section of the second part of his *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, published in Berlin in 1777.⁵ On 15 October 1810, Beethoven in Vienna wrote to Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig requesting a copy of the *B minor Mass* and quoted the ostinato from the 'Crucifixus', 'which' he wrote, 'it is said to contain'.⁶ Sometime around 1830 the composer-publisher Johann Anton André in Offenbach issued the five-voice setting of the 'Crucifixus' text which he had composed on the ostinato of Bach's 'Crucifixus' – a more extended composition that called for the repetition of the ostinato twenty times compared with Bach's thirteen times.⁷ Both Beethoven and André, either directly or indirectly, must have relied on Kirnberger for their knowledge of the ostinato. It is clear that neither composer had encountered the complete movement: only those who had access to manuscript copies of the complete Mass, or of its *Symbolum Nicenum*, would have had such knowledge at this time. In England from 1835 the movement became more readily accessible after appearing in print, although the transcription was less than perfect.

⁴ Part I, *Kyrie* and *Gloria*, had been published in 1833 [P.N.: 6] (RISM A/I/, B 430); Part II, *Credo* to *Dona nobis pacem* in 1845 [P.N. 4377]. (RISM A/I/, B 431); 'Select Bibliography', Nos. 43 & 45.

⁵ B Dok. III, p. 231 (no. 767).

⁶ B Dok. VI, pp. 373-4 (no. B99). See also George B. Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor (The Great Catholic Mass)* (New York: Schirmer, 1997), pp. 188-89. On Beethoven's knowledge of Kirnberger's *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, see Richard Kramer, 'Notes to Beethoven's Education', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), 72-101, esp. 86 and 97.

⁷ *Crucifixus* | a Canto *Imo* e 2^{do}, Alto, Tenore e Basso, | sopra il Basso continuo di G. S. Bach | da | [J.] A. André | Opera 58. | Edizione originale. | Partizione e Voci (Offenbach: Giovanni André, [s.d.]) [P.N. 5291]. I have been able to locate only two copies: one in the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, call no.: AMG XIV 867, and dated 1820 in the catalogue; the other in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, call no.: M2021 A555 C95+ Oversize, and dated in the catalogue as issued 'between 1829 and 1836'. 1830 would seem to be the most likely publication date, since it is recorded in Hofmeister, *Monatsbericht neuer Musikalien* (Leipzig: Whistling & Hofmeister, 1830 [May-June]), 45.

I The printed source and its editor

The 'Crucifixus' is found in: *Sacred | Minstrelsy: | A Collection of | Sacred Music | by the | Great Masters of All Ages and Nations; | consisting of | Anthems, Solos, Duets, Trios, &c., | and Choruses; | with | Accompaniments for the Piano-Forte or Organ. | . . . | Volume the Second. | London: | John William Parker, West Strand. | M.DCCC.XXXV*. The editor is not named on the title page but his initials are given as W. A. at the end of the introduction.⁸ W. A. was William Ayrton, the indefatigable editor of the monthly journal *The Harmonicon*, published by William Clowes and J. W. Parker in London, that had failed a year or two earlier.⁹ He was currently at work on its successor *The Musical Library* (1834–1837). Like *The Harmonicon* and *The Musical Library*, the *Sacred Minstrelsy* was issued in serial form, between 1834 and 1835.¹⁰

William Ayrton (1777–1858) was well-versed in sacred music. He was the youngest son of Edmund Ayrton (1734–1808), who studied with James Nares – one of the composers represented in the *Sacred Minstrelsy* – and then became successively, but simultaneously, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal (1764), a vicar-choral of St Paul's Cathedral (1767), lay vicar of Westminster Abbey, and Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal (both in 1780).¹¹ William Ayrton's early years were therefore marked by exposure to some of the finest sacred music heard in the English church. He was also the son-in-law of Dr Samuel Arnold (1740–1802), organist and composer to the Chapel Royal (1783), organist of Westminster Abbey (1793), who among other things compiled a multi-volume continuation of Boyce's *Cathedral Music* in 1790.¹²

William Ayrton was a writer, editor, collector¹³ and researcher of music rather than a performer, although in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century he was involved in producing Italian opera at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, London, his crowning achievement being the production of the first complete English performance of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (12 April 1817). Although he was an avid historical researcher, for example collecting materials for a dictionary of music that was never completed,¹⁴ he was no antiquarian who lived in the past. He was a passionate advocate of the

⁸ *Sacred Minstrelsy II*, p. xix.

⁹ See Leanne Langley, 'The Life and Death of the *Harmonicon*: an Analysis', *Research Chronicle RMA* 22 (1989), 137–163.

¹⁰ Leanne Langley, 'Ayrton, William', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (New York: Grove Dictionaries, 2001), 2, p. 266.

¹¹ See Watkins Shaw, 'Ayrton, Edmund', *New Grove*, 2nd edn (n. 10), 2: 265; Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c. 1538* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p. 277.

¹² See Leanne Langley, 'Arnold, Samuel', *New Grove*, 2nd edn (n. 10), 2: 53; Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 335.

¹³ 'Ayrton was one of the great collectors of the mid-nineteenth century'; A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music, c. 1600–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 53.

¹⁴ British Library Add. MS. 52334.

classical style, especially the music of Mozart. The two volumes of *Sacred Minstrelsy*, however, contain a balanced and wide-ranging repertory of sacred music representing almost every generation from the sixteenth century to his own time, with a significant number of Italian and German composers being represented alongside English composers. Much of the music of both volumes is excerpted, abbreviated or arranged. In the introduction to the first volume Ayrton explains the reasons for creating this anthology:

The exclusive nature of all our collections of Sacred Music first suggested the present work, and to the rapidly-increasing cultivation of vocal harmony, especially as a source of domestic amusement, which has created a very general demand for a publication of this kind, its publication is to be attributed.

The voluminous and excellent collections, edited by Drs Boyce and Arnold, are strictly confined to Cathedral-music. They are now become rare, and proportionately costly, and from the adoption of the C clef, the use of them is limited to very few persons. Those volumes reject, and properly, the purpose to which they are dedicated being considered, all Oratorio-music, as well as the compositions of every foreign school . . . and admit only that used in our own choirs, from the period of the Reformation down to about sixty years ago [ca. 1770]. It must be observed, that Boyce's has not the advantage of an organ or piano-forte part; and although Arnold's is accompanied by an adaptation, this is formed in a manner that renders it generally unavailable . . . they [the Boyce/ Arnold volumes] are, in fact, as sealed books to ninety-nine in every hundred.

On the other hand, the very numerous volumes of devotional music which have poured from the press within the last thirty years, most commonly, if not always, exclude the Anthems, &c., of even our greatest composers . . . And while the Masses and Motets of every Catholic country are to be found in the possession of most good amateurs, the ecclesiastical works of the celebrated British musicians are seldom met with, except in the libraries of the really studious professor, and the musical antiquary.

But every species of Sacred Music, whencesoever derived, contributes something that is masterly in design and construction, and pleasing in effect and to make known [and] to place within the reach of many, compositions of undisputed merit, of all countries that acknowledge the truths of the Christian Revelation – to select what is good and agreeable, to divest this of all unprofitable difficulty, and publish it at a price which can hardly be an obstacle to any one, of whose education music has formed a part, are the

main objects sought to be attained by the work now offered to the public . . .¹⁵

The primary purpose of these pieces of sacred music was to feed the contemporary need for such vocal music in domestic circles. However, since a good many of them are abbreviations of standard anthems sung in public worship, they could have been used in church services, although organs were a rarity in English parish churches of the early nineteenth century. Although Ayrton declares a domestic, extra-liturgical purpose for his anthology, the model he had for such singing was that of the worship of 'the King's Chapel' for which, he explains, 'all our best English church music was originally written, and there continues in use'.¹⁶

Ayrton's concern for the 'best . . . church music' is demonstrated in his comments on various pieces in the volume. On the one hand, he points out that his editing of Maurice Greene's anthem, *O God of my righteousness* (in *Sacred Minstrelsy II*), should not be taken as criticism of Greene's music: 'We have used the principal movements . . . omitting the recitatives and chorus: not, however, undervaluing the latter, which is a remarkably fine composition, but because, from the nature of our work, few long choruses are admissible'.¹⁷ On the other hand, bars excised from James Nares' duet, *By the waters of Babylon* [65], were undertaken in the interests of improvement: 'We have inserted nearly the whole of this most expressive composition, omitting only a part which is not set with the composer's usual judgment'.¹⁸

The first volume of *Sacred Minstrelsy* contains seventy-six pieces by forty-one composers. The final item is headed: 'CHORAL. | From Sebastian Bach's *Passion-Music*. | The words translated from the German, by J. Oxenford, Esq.: *Thus ne'er thy side forsaking*¹⁹ (= *Matthäus-Passion*, BWV 244/ 17).²⁰ In his introduction to the volume Ayrton comments: 'The music is a *Choral*, or Hymn, in SEBASTIAN BACH'S *Passionsmusik*, one of the great works of this master, and known to but few out of Germany. We shall have a better opportunity for noticing the composer in our second volume.'²¹ The second volume comprises eighty-one pieces by forty-eight composers, twenty-nine of whom appear for the first time in this anthology. Among the eighty-one unnumbered pieces of this second volume are thirteen by Handel,²² four by Maurice Greene,²³ and three each by Beethoven,²⁴ Boyce,²⁵ Dupuis,²⁶ Mozart,²⁷ and Nares.²⁸

¹⁵ [William Ayrton], *Sacred Minstrelsy . . . Volume the First* (London: Parker, 1834), [i].

¹⁶ *Sacred Minstrelsy II*, p. xix.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. xiv.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. xvi.

¹⁹ Ayrton's comment, 'Translated as literally from the German as the language and music would admit, by John Oxenford, Esq.', (*Sacred Minstrelsy I*, p. xxx) is somewhat overstated!

²⁰ *Sacred Minstrelsy I* (n. 15), p. 210.

²¹ *ibid.*, p. xxx. Note that the statement was made only about five years after Mendelssohn's first modern performance of the St Matthew Passion in Berlin.

²² Three arias each from *Judas Maccabaeus* [5], [11], [16] and *Joshua* [46], [55], [68]; two arias

An interesting feature is the small group of compositions with Italian texts:

- [15] *All' idea di quelle pene*, Duettino, by Nicolo Jomelli, from *La Passione*
 [45] *Qual, anelante, cervo che fugge* [Ps. 42], Duet, by Benedetto Marcello
 [72] *Risorga il mondo*, Air, by Handel, from *La Resurrezione*.

Given William Ayrton's enthusiasm for Italian opera, their inclusion is not surprising: they would obviously not have been sung during public worship in an English church. These pieces were intended for domestic use but could also have been sung in concerts of sacred music.

Similarly there are also a number of settings of Latin texts, including Bach's 'Crucifixus':

Mass Movements

- [29] *Et incarnatus est*, Trio, by Cherubini
 [69] *Et incarnatus est*, Quartet, by Haydn
 [38] *Crucifixus*, Quartet, by 'John Sebastian Bach'
 [60] *Benedictus qui venit*, Terzetto, by Antonio Caldara
 [81] *Benedictus qui venit*, Quartet, by Mozart, *Requiem*
 [33] *Agnus Dei*, Quartet, by Beethoven
 [71] *Agnus Dei*, Duet, by Antonio Caldara

Other

- [9] *Ave verum corpus*, Quartet, by Mozart
 [17] *Pater noster*, Trio, by Andreas Romberg
 [54] *Recordare Jesu pie*, Quartet, by Mozart, *Requiem* (from the *Dies Irae*)
 [63] *Amplius lava me* [Ps. 51: 3], Terzetto, by Guiseppe Sarti, from *Miserere*
 [75] *Laudate nomen Domini* (various Psalm verses), Motet, by Christopher Tye, 'originally set to English words'.²⁹

As with the Italian-text pieces, these Latin settings would not have been used in public worship. Church music with Latin texts was not entirely unknown in royal chapels, the collegiate chapels of Oxford and Cambridge, and a few other institutions, although it was rare:³⁰ even the combined Tractarian and

from *Samson* [28], [31]; one aria each from *Theodora* [40] and *La Resurrezione* [72]; a chorus from *Joseph* [50]; a solo from a Chandos Anthem [62]; and a quartet from the funeral anthem for Queen Caroline [73].

²³ Adaptations of his anthems: [12], [36], [57], [79].

²⁴ A song [6], a canon [19], and a quartet [33].

²⁵ Adaptations of anthems: [7], [42], [66].

²⁶ Adaptations of anthems: [18], [59], [80].

²⁷ Three vocal quartets: *Ave verum corpus* [9] and two movements from the *Requiem* [54], [81].

²⁸ Adaptations of anthems: [8], [37] 'from a MS. . . now for the first time appears in print,' [65].

²⁹ *Sacred Minstrelsy II*, p. xviii.

³⁰ The use of Latin was permissible in the Church of England in royal foundations and

Anglo-Catholic movements did not bring about a significant ecclesiastical use of Latin texts until after 1900. Thus these Latin pieces in the second volume of *Sacred Minstrelsy* would have been performed in a domestic setting or at sacred concerts rather than at regular public worship.³¹ What is clear is that Ayrton's earlier reservations about Bach's music³² had been dispelled by this time and he now considered the composer of the 'Crucifixus' as one of 'the Great Masters of All Ages and Nations' as stated on the title page.

In his introduction Ayrton assigns to Bach the longest entry of any composer in the second volume:

QUARTET

Crucifixus etiam pro nobis, sub Pontio Pilato; passus et sepultus est:
From the Latin version of the Apostles' [sic] Creed. The music is part of a MS.
Mass, by

JOHN SEBASTIAN BACH

This celebrated composer, whose four ancestors were musicians, was born at Eisenach, in Saxony, in 1685. 'In the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* for 1823, is a curious genealogical tree of the Bach family, John Sebastian appearing in the fifth degree.' Losing his father before he had attained his tenth year, he put himself under the protection of an elder brother, organist at Ordruff, who instructed him; but soon also losing this relation[!], he entered as a soprano singer in the choir of St. Michael's, at Lunenburgh. When his voice changed, he was again thrown on the world; but in 1703 was appointed court-musician at Weimar, and the year following became organist of the new church at Arnstadt. In 1708,

university chapels; see the footnoted comment, Edmund H. Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music*, rev. J. A. Westrup (London: Methuen, 1969), p. 9. Examples of Latin music that had some currency include Thomas Morley's full anthem that begins *Nolo mortem peccatoris* before continuing in English, and the canon *Non nobis Domine*, attributed to William Byrd.

³¹ The settings of *Benedictus qui venit* would be appropriate for sacred concerts in Advent, those of *Et incarnatus est* in the Christmas season, and *Crucifixus* and *Agnus Dei* in Holy Week.

³² 'What he knew of J. S. Bach, he found uncongenial'; Langley, 'Ayrton, William', *New Grove*, 2nd edn (n. 10), 2, p. 267. This statement appears to be based on an undated letter from Samuel Wesley to Vincent Novello in which is reported a conversation between Wesley and Ayrton that took place at the auction of J. B. Cramer's library at Chappell's Music Shop in London, 27 May 1816 (and not 21 May as reported by Edwards). The subject was Bach manuscripts that had been sold at recent auctions. Wesley had stated: 'Every note of this author [Bach] is valuable'. To which Ayrton replied: 'To *you* they may be so; but very few are of your opinion'. See Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England [2]', 657, and Philip Olleson, *The Letters of Samuel Wesley: Professional and Social Correspondence, 1797-1837* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 278-79. Over the following two decades Ayton apparently changed his opinion, but see the observation in n. 62 below.

the reigning duke of Weimar named him court-organist, and in 1717, the same prince promoted him to the situation of Kapellmeister[!]. Subsequently he entered the service of the prince of Anhalt-Cöthen. In 1723, he was appointed director of music and chanter to St Thomas's School, at Leipzig, and shortly after accepted two situations of an honorary kind – Kapellmeister to the duke of Weisenfels, and composer to the king of Poland. Later in life he was presented to Frederic the Great, of Prussia, who received him cordially. On this occasion the monarch, who was an accomplished musician, furnished Bach with the subject of a fugue, which he worked out in three and six parts, then published it, under the title of *Musikalisches Opfer*, (musical offering,) and dedicated it to the royal inventor.

In the later part of his life, John Sebastian suffered from disease in his eyes, for which he underwent an unsuccessful operation, and became quite blind. It is said, that ten days before his decease he was enabled again to see, but was almost immediately attacked by apoplexy, lingered for some time, and expired in July, 1750. He was so great an organ-player that he had but one rival, – Handel. 'His compositions, in almost every class, are very numerous; of these, scarcely any are known out of Germany, except his *Clavecin bien tempéré*, or Preludes and Fugues, in all keys, major and minor, composed as exercises for his sons. His vocal works are much more likely to convey his name to distant ages than those of the instrumental kind. Among the former are a *Funeral Cantata*, a *Magnificat*, a *Motet*, several *Choráls*, and, above all, his *Passionsmusik*, which show he possessed genius as well as science.³³

The material that Ayrton gives within inverted commas in his first sentence has not been identified, but given the reference to the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, the likelihood is that he cited the material from the German journal, as transmitted in the *Harmonicon*.³⁴ Many of the articles he edited in *The Harmonicon* were translations from the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*. The remainder of the entry on Bach in *Sacred Minstrelsy* appears to have been extracted from the 'Memoir of John Sebastian Bach', published in *The Harmonicon* in 1823.³⁵ The statement given at the end of Ayrton's entry on Bach – enclosed within inverted commas and therefore maybe a translation of a passage in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* – has a certain resonance: 'His [Bach's] vocal works are much more likely to convey his name to distant ages than those of the instrumental kind . . . which [the vocal works] show he

³³ *Sacred Minstrelsy II*, p. ix.

³⁴ Another source might have been Forkel's biography in either its original German or English translation.

³⁵ *The Harmonicon*, 1/6 (June 1823), 75–77.

possessed genius as well as science.' A number of writers have referred to a statement made at a Cambridge lecture in the 1840s by Thomas Attwood Walmisley and regarded as pioneering in England at that time:³⁶ a view probably based on a passage from Bumpas's *History of English Cathedral Music*, written towards the end of the nineteenth century. Walmisley 'spoke of Bach's Mass in B minor as the greatest composition in the world, and prophesied that the publication of the Cantatas (then in MS.) would show his assertion of Bach's supremacy was no paradox.'³⁷ This is very similar to the statement towards the end of Ayrton's account of Bach in the *Sacred Minstrelsy*. Thus, although Walmisley received the publicity, the concept was adopted somewhat earlier by Ayrton, who in turn was almost certainly influenced by Hans Georg Nägeli's announcement in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of his intention to publish the first edition of the *B minor Mass*, which he described as the 'größtes musikalisches Kunstwerk aller Zeiten und Völker'.³⁸

II The possible manuscript source from which the 'Crucifixus' was transcribed

The 'Crucifixus' appears as the thirty-eighth item in the second volume of *Sacred Minstrelsy* and is headed: 'QUARTET, - 'Crucifixus.' | FROM A MS. MASS BY JOHN SEBASTIAN BACH.'³⁹ The question is: which manuscript was used to transcribe the movement?

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was what has been termed a 'Credo cult' in England, on the basis of ten or eleven manuscript scores of the *Symbolum Nicenum* that are known to have been in the possession of various people in the country, together with Samuel Wesley's declared but unfulfilled intention to publish Bach's 'Credo'.⁴⁰ Some have claimed that there was a public performance in England of movements from the *Symbolum Nicenum*, given by the Choral Harmonists' Society of London in May 1838.⁴¹ However, this appears to be based on a misreading of the information. At the Ancient Concert in London on 23 May 1838, movements from the *B minor Mass*

³⁶ See Nicholas Temperley, Peter Wollny, 'Bach Revival', *New Grove*, 2nd edn (n. 10), 2, p. 441; Pascall, 'Frühen Bach-Rezeption in England', 164.

³⁷ John S. Bumpas, *A History of English Cathedral Music 1549-1889* (London: Laurie, [1908]), p. 468.

³⁸ *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 21 (1818), 347; see NBA 2/1, KB, 215 and *The New Bach Reader*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, revised Christoph Wolff (New York: Norton, 1998), p. 506.

³⁹ *Sacred Minstrelsy II*, pp. 90-92.

⁴⁰ The intention was first expressed in a letter to William Schield, 13 September 1815 (not February 1816 as given in Stauffer, *The Mass in B Minor*, p. 190); see Olleson, *The Letters of Samuel Wesley*, 248-49; Michael Kassler, ed., *The English Bach Awakening: Knowledge of J. S. Bach and His Music in England 1750-1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 27 and 308.

⁴¹ For example, Smend, NBA 2/1, KB, p. 43, and Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor* (n. 6), p. 197.

were performed, but from the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, not the *Symbolum Nicenum*: 'A Selection from the High Mass in B minor [was performed] for the first time in England.' This 'Selection from a Service', as the Mass was designated in the programme, consisted of the 'Gloria', 'Qui sedes', and 'Quoniam tu solus'.⁴² The earliest public performance of the complete *Credo* in England appears to have been conducted by John Hullah in London on 19 March 1851.⁴³

Four *Symbolum Nicenum* manuscript scores with English connections are extant (Smend explored the content of only two⁴⁴) and there is evidence that between five and seven other manuscripts must be presumed lost.⁴⁵ One manuscript score (probably A1 – see below) was owned by Charles Burney, as he reports in his *General History of Music*:

Sebastian Bach set innumerable cantatas for the church, besides the *Sanctus* three times, with accompaniments, excellent in harmony and expression; *Kyrie cum Gloria* six times, all for four voices with instruments; with a *Credo* for five voices with accompaniments, of which I am in possession of the score, which is one of the most clear, correct, and masterly, I have ever seen.⁴⁶

The four extant English manuscript scores, which must ultimately derive from the original manuscript (P180), are:⁴⁷

A1 D: SBB = D: B, Mus. ms. Bach P1212. Pagination 1–98; Crucifixus 34–37

Title: 'Symbolum Nicenum [another hand:] da G. S. Bach'

Flyleaf: 'Nicene Creed | by | Sebastian Bach'⁴⁸

Location: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Date: second half of the eighteenth century.

References: NBA 2/1, KB 17, 22–23. BC E1 Partituraschrift 8

⁴² Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England [3]' (n. 2), 725. Edwards adds the comment, 'The performance ... seems to have been execrable', and follows it with an extended quotation from the review of the incompetent performance that appeared in the *Musical World*.

⁴³ Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England [4]' (n. 2), 800.

⁴⁴ NBA 2/1, KB, pp. 17–18.

⁴⁵ See Yo Tomita, 'Bach's *Credo* in England: An Early History', *Irish Musical Studies 8: Bach Studies from Dublin*, ed. Anne Leahy and Yo Tomita (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 205–27.

⁴⁶ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (London: 'Printed for the Author'), 4: 592; Tomita, 'Bach's *Credo* in England' (n. 45), pp. 222–26, for identification of the sources that Burney drew on to make this statement.

⁴⁷ Information based on Table 12.1 in Tomita, 'Bach's *Credo* in England' (n. 45), pp. 210–11.

⁴⁸ This English inscription has been identified as having been written by Charles Burney; see Joshua Rifkin, 'Eine schwierige Stelle in der h-Moll-Messe', *Bach in Leipzig – Bach und Leipzig: Konferenzbericht Leipzig 2000*, ed. Ulrich Leisinger [Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung 5] (Hildesheim, Olms, 2002), p. 324; Tomita, 'Bach's *Credo* in England' (n. 45), p. 215.

A2 GB: Ob Tenbury MS. 1230. Pagination 1–98; Crucifixus 34–37
 Title: 'Symbolum Nicenum da G. S. Bach'
 Annotation: 'Frederick Gore Ouseley | 1868'
 Location: Formerly Tenbury, St Michael's College Library; currently Oxford, Bodleian Library
 Date: late eighteenth century.
 References: NBA 2/1, KB --. BC E1 Partiturabschrift 11 [reported as 'verschollen' - lost]

B1 GB: Lbl R. M. 21. e. 27. Pagination 2–170; Crucifixus 62–73
 Title: 'Symbolum Nicenum da G. S. Bach'
 Location: London. British Library. Royal Music Library 49
 Date: ca. 1789
 References: NBA 2/1, KB, 18. BC E1 Partiturabschrift 10

B2 GB: Cu, Add. 9484. Pagination 1–170; Crucifixus 62–73
 Title: [none]
 Colophon: 'J Barber | Music Amenuensis | To Her Royal Highness The Princess Charlotte⁵⁰ of Wales | & Duke of Sussex, | William Street | Tottenham Court Road | June | 1811' (p. 170)
 Location: Cambridge. University Library
 Date: 1811
 References: not noted in either NBA 2/1, KB, or BC E1.

A1 predates A2, and since both have the same pagination and layout, A2 must have been copied from A1. Similarly, B2 post-dates B1 and both have the same pagination and layout, establishing that B2 was copied from B1.⁵¹ There is also the mother-daughter connection between the two manuscripts: B1 appears to have been acquired by the queen, and B2 was possibly created for her daughter, although the colophon at the end of the Ms. states no more than that it was done by the princess's 'Music Amenuensis' and therefore not necessarily for her. The relationship between A1 and B1 appears to be that A1 belonged to Burney, which he loaned to the queen and from which B1 was made for the Royal Music Library.⁵²

Manuscript B2 also contains brief annotations by S. W., perhaps Samuel Wesley. If so, then this may have been the manuscript Wesley had in mind in 1815 when he declared his intention of publishing the *Symbolum Nicenum*. These annotations would have dated from much later, since the entry at the

⁴⁹ On the Royal Music Library, see A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music* (n. 13), pp. 103–29.

⁵⁰ Charlotte Augusta Matilda, only daughter of George III and Queen Charlotte, the Princess Royal who later married Frederick I of Wurttemberg.

⁵¹ See the detailed examination of text-critical information that confirms these conclusions in Tomita, 'Bach's *Credo* in England' (n. 45), pp. 213–21.

⁵² *ibid.*, pp. 218–19.

end of the Ms. (p. 170) is 'Saml Wesley 1833', but there is some doubt that the 'S.W.' annotations are in Wesley's hand.⁵³ B2 also includes brief comments by W.C. The identity of the person with these initials is not entirely clear. It could have been William Croft who 'became a Bachist, doubtless owing to Wesley's converting zeal',⁵⁴ or William Chappell, the son of Samuel Chappell, who in 1811 co-published with Robert Birchall Wesley Horn's edition of *The Well-tempered Clavier*. Another possibility is William Carnaby (1772–1839), a Cambridge Mus. D. (1808), former chorister of the Chapel Royal and a successive student of James Nares and Edmund Ayrton,⁵⁵ the father of William Ayrton, the editor of *Sacred Minstrelsy*. The S.W./W.C. comments in B2 were presumably added a little before or around the time that William Ayrton was editing pieces for his *Sacred Minstrelsy*, and thus W.C. (Carnaby?) may have had some influence on the inclusion of the 'Crucifixus'. One might further speculate that Carnaby's later interest in the *Symbolum Nicenum* could have been sparked by his involvement in a possible rehearsal/performance by the Chapel Royal under Ayrton senior when he was a chorister, as the pencilled performance-related markings in B1 (see further below) perhaps suggest, although there is no record of such a performance. However, if one did take place under Ayrton senior, it would have provided another reason for Ayrton junior to include the 'Crucifixus' in his *Sacred Minstrelsy*.

The layout of the two groups of manuscripts of the full score is different. Those of group A have two systems per page, covering between thirteen and fifteen bars, giving two double-page openings for the 'Crucifixus', that is, one page turn. The manuscripts of group B are more expansive with only one system per page, covering between three and four bars, giving five page turns:

	Page numbers	left page bars	right page bars
A1/A2	34 – 35	1 – 13	14 – 28
	36 – 37	29 – 42	43 – 53
B1/B2	62 – 63	1 – 3	4 – 7
	64 – 65	8 – 11	12 – 15
	66 – 67	24 – 26	27 – 30
	68 – 69	31 – 34	35 – 38
	70 – 71	39 – 42	43 – 46
	72 – 73	47 – 50	51 – 53

⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 221, n. 53.

⁵⁴ Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England [3]' (n. 2), 723.

⁵⁵ According to Robin Langley ('Carnaby, William', *New Grove*, 2nd edn (n. 10), 5: 158) Carnaby was 'a pupil of James Nares and William Ayrton'. This is incorrect. William's father Edmund studied with Nares, which would mean, if Langley is correct, that Carnaby skipped a generation, studying with Nares, then with Edmund Ayrton's son William who was Carnaby's contemporary. While this is possible it is hardly likely and Langley has thus confused the father and son; instead of *William* Ayrton, Carnaby studied with *Edmund*, as is stated by William Barclay Squire in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (3: 1041): Carnaby was 'a chorister under Dr Nares and Dr Ayrton', that is, Ayrton senior.

This difference in layout is of particular assistance in establishing to which group of manuscripts, A or B, Ayrton's source manuscript belonged. It is significant that a major transcription error occurred in the *Sacred Minstrelsy* version at bars 7-8, i.e. exactly at the first page turn of the manuscripts in group B. There is direct and indirect evidence that would point to B1 as the manuscript most likely to have been used to create the version in *Sacred Minstrelsy*. The direct evidence is that B1 has a number of pencilled markings, in another hand, that reflect performance issues: at the bottom of page 62, the first page of the 'Crucifixus', there is the addition of 'Andante'.⁵⁶ The 'Crucifixus' in *Sacred Minstrelsy* is similarly marked 'Andante', with the added metronome indication of a minim=63. While every piece in *Sacred Minstrelsy* is assigned tempo (and metronome marking),⁵⁷ it is striking that here it agrees with the pencilled addition in B1. The indirect evidence concerns the biography of the editor. As has been noted, both his father and father-in-law were closely connected with the Chapel Royal, which would have given William Ayrton easy access to court circles during his early years. Also as noted above, the Chapel Royal remained his model for the finest performances of church music.⁵⁸ As a young man, he also had direct access to the Royal Music Library through the close relationship he developed with German-born Frederick Nicolay,⁵⁹ principal page to Queen Charlotte, who was also born in Germany, the daughter of Charles Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Nicolay was an antiquarian with musical sensibilities, who, as Alec Hyatt King revealed, played an important role in expanding the queen's musical library.⁶⁰ The queen also had strong musical sensibilities: Bach's son, Johann [known as John in England] Christian, was her music teacher, and on his death in 1782 she paid the funeral expenses and arranged for his widow to receive a pension.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Who wrote these pencilled additions, and when, is unclear. It is unlikely that the young Ayrton would have added them (see the argument later in this paragraph), so it would seem that he copied what he found in the manuscript. If the conjecture that he did so before 1809 is correct, it means that someone was planning, and may have actually given, a performance of the *Symbolum Nicenum* in England in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

⁵⁷ In the introduction to the first volume Ayrton includes the following: 'to afford performers some assistance in fixing the time . . . and movement of every composition, expressed in the numbers of that most useful instrument, Maelzel's Metronome, without the aid of which . . . no sensible musician, it may be foretold, will, a few years hence commence the performance of any work of importance'; *Sacred Minstrelsy I* (n. 15), p. ii.

⁵⁸ See the citation in the text at n. 16.

⁵⁹ Born in Saxe-Gotha in 1728 or 1729.

⁶⁰ See Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music* (n. 13), pp. 115-29.

⁶¹ Charlotte Louis Henrietta Papendiek, *Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte: Being the Journals of Mrs. Papendiek, Assistant Keeper of the Wardrobe and Reader to Her Majesty*, ed. Mrs Vernon Delves Broughton (London: Bentley, 1887), 1, pp. 151-53. 'John Christian, called Bach of Milan, and afterwards of London, being the youngest son of the second marriage, had not the good fortune to receive instructions from his father. The original spirit of the Bachs is, therefore, not to be found in any of his works. He became a popular composer, and was universally admired in his day. He was master to Queen Charlotte of

Nicolay was around eighty when he died in 1809; William Ayrton was then twenty-two. This might suggest that Ayrton made his copy of the 'Crucifixus' some time before Nicolay's death, when he would, perhaps, have had easier access to the Royal Music Library than would later have been the case.⁶² Certainly, the somewhat basic transcription error (see below) is one that someone inexperienced in such copying might make. It suggests that Ayrton may have copied the 'Crucifixus' from B1 at an early stage of his career and later utilised this copy while compiling the *Sacred Minstrelsy*, without checking his copy against the original he had used all those years before.⁶³

III The transcription error and keyboard reduction

Two things become obvious when the 'Crucifixus' in the *Sacred Minstrelsy* is examined. First, the piece is four bars shorter than the version found in any of the manuscripts with English associations: as with the original manuscript score (P180), the 'Crucifixus' in A1, A2, B1, and B2, is fifty-three bars long; in the *Sacred Minstrelsy* it is only forty-nine bars. Secondly, when the initial voice-entries are scrutinised, instead of the sequence S, A, T, B, T, S, B, A, S, etc., the *Sacred Minstrelsy* has S, A, T, A, S etc., that is, four voice-entries have been omitted (given here within square brackets): S, A, T, [B, T, S, B,] A, S, etc. The likelihood is that Ayrton copied the full score and then made the keyboard reduction at a later date, probably when compiling the *Sacred Minstrelsy*. It would seem that he entered the repeated, four-bar bass ostinato first, then began copying the voice entries in bars 5-7⁶⁴ (S, A, T), which brought him to the page turn in B1. He turned the page and copied the bar 8 tenor, but when he returned to the B1 manuscript, instead of looking at the tenor stave in the first bar (bar 8) of page 64, his eye went to the bass stave of the first measure on page 65 (m. 12) – the bass of bar 12 is identical to the tenor of bar 8 (although with a different clef). Having located what he thought was the continuation of the tenor line, Ayrton then copied the alto entry at bar 12, the soprano entry at

England, and composed some operas for the King's Theatre in London, as well as oratorios, sinfonies, quartetts, &c.; *The Harmonicon*, 1/6 (June 1823), 77.

- ⁶² Note 32 refers to a verbal exchange between Wesley and Ayrton in 1816 that suggests that Ayrton did not at that time share Wesley's enthusiasm for Bach's music. However, the nature of the exchange makes it difficult to determine whether Ayrton was really cool towards Bach's music or was more concerned to put down Wesley, who had a low opinion of Ayrton and his father, dismissing them as either 'vermin' or 'blockheads'. See Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England [2]' (n. 2), 657.
- ⁶³ The previous item, *Have mercy upon me!* [37] by James Nares was edited 'from a MS. . . now for the first time appears in print' (*Sacred Minstrelsy II*, p. ix). Thus there are two adjacent pieces edited from manuscript sources. If the Nares manuscript was also in the Royal Music Library, it would reinforce the argument that B1 was the manuscript used by Ayrton for the 'Crucifixus'. There is a Nares manuscript of a *Have mercy upon me!* in the British Library, but not in the Royal Music Library (BL Add. MS 19570, fol. 20f.), indicating that it came from another source – perhaps from Ayrton himself, if it came to him from his father.
- ⁶⁴ Bar numbers in this paragraph refer to those of the original score of the 'Crucifixus' rather than Ayrton's abbreviated version.

bar 13, and so forth. The error was not apparent since the four bars of the vocal parts that were missing exactly equalled the four-bar ostinato, so that what he had transcribed appeared to be correct. Presumably he then entered the upper strings and flute parts and adjusted them to suit. Since we do not have Ayrton's presumed full score it is not known how he adjusted the strings. His adjustment of the two traverso parts, however, is known since he used them to create the keyboard reduction: as with the vocal parts, four bars were omitted. Thus Ayrton's score comprises the following:

Soprano	bars 1-7, 12-53
Alto	bars 1-7, 12-53
Tenor	bars 1-8, 13-53
Bass	bars 1-7, 13-53
Flutes	bars 1-6, 11-53 [= right hand of keyboard reduction]
Continuo	bars 1-49

The continuo became the bass-line of the keyboard accompaniment, with the right-hand part being mainly taken from the flute parts of the full score, with some adjustments and borrowings from the upper string parts.⁶⁵ For the last five bars, where the voices in the original form of the 'Crucifixus' are only accompanied by the continuo, Ayrton simply doubled the voice parts for the accompaniment.⁶⁶ A feature not present in B1 (or any other manuscript for that matter) is the staccato markings for the ostinato bass line.

IV An association copy of *Sacred Minstrelsy II*

I have in my possession a copy of the second volume of *Sacred Minstrelsy* that was formerly owned by John Bumpus, as attested by his bookplate - 'Ex libris Johannis Bumpus' - and signature 'John S. Bumpus' on the flyleaf. John Bumpus, the author of *A History of English Cathedral Music*,⁶⁷ was, as noted on the title page of this work, 'Hon. Librarian, S. Michael's College, Tenbury'. This was the institution founded by Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, who died in 1889, the last date of Bumpus's *History*. As indicated above, Ouseley obtained the A2 manuscript in 1868. As librarian of St Michael's, Tenbury, Bumpus must have known about the manuscript. It is therefore something of a surprise that, while mentioning Walmisley's view of the *B minor Mass* in his *History*, Bumpus makes no mention of the Ouseley manuscript of the *Symbolum Nicenum* nor of Ayrton's version of the 'Crucifixus' which was in his possession.

⁶⁵ This contrasts with the keyboard reduction of Adolph Bernhard Marx in the 1833 Simrock & Nägeli *Clavierauszüge* (pp. 75-77) in which the harmony of the upper stave is generally three-part which contrasts with Ayrton's simpler two-part version.

⁶⁶ Again in contrast to the 1833 Simrock & Nägeli *Clavierauszüge* (p. 77) which only has rests in the upper stave above the single line of the continuo.

⁶⁷ See n 37.

90

QUARTET,—'Crucifixus.'

FROM A MS. MASS, BY JOHN SEBASTIAN BACH.

1st SOPRANO. Cru - ci - fix - us,

2nd SOPRANO, or ALTO. Cru-ci-

ANDANTE. *sempre.*

63 = ♩

Cru - ci - fix - us e - ti - am pro - no - bis,

fix - us, Cru - ci - fix - us, Cru - ci - fix - us e - ti - am

TENOR. Cru - ci - fix - us, Cru - ci -

BASE. Cru - ci - fix - us

Example 1: First page of the 'Crucifixus' from *Sacred Minstrelsy*

The inclusion of the 'Crucifixus' in the *Sacred Minstrelsy*, although it was in a somewhat garbled version, was the earliest published manifestation of the English 'Credo cult', and possibly the earliest example of the modern one-to-a-part performances of Bach's vocal music in that it is described as a 'Quartet', pre-dating Joshua Rifkin by approaching 150 years!⁶⁸ One might have expected Wilhelm Ehmann, in his 1960 discussion of *concertisten* and *ripienisten* in the *B minor Mass*, to have indicated solo voices for the 'Crucifixus', but he instead directs 'alle Stimmen den ganzen Satz' (all voices for the whole movement).⁶⁹ In his 1985 recording of the Mass, John Eliot Gardiner, while using five or six voices per part for other choruses, nevertheless uses just four solo voices for the 'Crucifixus'.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Joshua Rifkin's one-to-a-part recording was first issued in 1982: Nonesuch 9 79036-2.

⁶⁹ Wilhelm Ehmann, *Voce et tuba: Gesammelte Reden und Aufsätze 1934-1974*, ed. Dietrich Berke, et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), p. 177.

⁷⁰ Archiv 415514-2.