

Bach Reception in Prague: An 1845 Performance of the Second Kyrie from the B minor Mass*

TANJA KOVAČEVIĆ

The abandonment of elaborate polyphony in favour of simpler textures and more modest technical demands, especially in sacred music, led to what the Bohemian musical elite at the beginning of the nineteenth century saw as a marked deterioration in artistic standards. Strong sentiments condemning ‘the insignificance of the purposes which the inferior art of our time pursues’, or ‘the ungrateful afterworld’s obfuscating fog of oblivion’ resulting in audiences being deprived of ‘a wealth of the most daring, noble and moving compositions’,¹ are not uncommon. This criticism was directed at fads such as the Freischütz Mass (*Freischützmesse*), based on favourite numbers from Weber’s opera *Der Freischütz*, and the ‘Posthornobligat – Solo’ of Kryšpín Taschke’s Christmas Mass, seen as an example of ‘ill-conceived virtuosity’ making its way into church music.²

In an effort to rescue sacred music from such creeping decadence, in 1826 a group of church music enthusiasts formed an association that came to be known

* I would like to extend my sincerest thanks to the Emily Sarah Montgomery Scholarship Fund and Queen’s University Belfast for enabling me to carry out the work in Prague in the spring and autumn of 2010. I would also like to extend special thanks to the staff of the Archive of the Prague Conservatoire for their generous assistance and advice, in particular director Michaela Hejlová, deputy director Miloslav Richter and Dr Markéta Hallová, as well as to Mgr Zuzana Petrášková of the Music Department of the National Library of the Czech Republic and Dr Markéta Kabelková of the Czech Museum of Music.

¹ ‘Wir würden bei einer sorgfältigen Exekutierung altitalienischer Vokalkompositionen erstaunen, welch’ ein Schatz der kühnsten, edelsten und rührendsten Tondichtungen uns durch die sonnenverfinsternden Nebel der Vergessenheit einer undankbaren Nachwelt entzogen worden ist. Wir würden zu unserem Bach, Gluck, Graun, Händl und Haydn in der alten Zeit Geistesverwandte finden, in deren Kreise wir uns erhoben fühlen würden über die Geringfügigkeit der Zwecke, welche die Afterkunst unserer Zeit verfolgt.’ [Anon], ‘Ueber die musikalische Akademie am 22. Dezember’, *Bohemia* 9/155 (24 December 1836), [4]. All translations in this article are the author’s, unless otherwise indicated.

² Emanuel Meliš, ‘Nynější stav hudby v Čechách vůbec a v Praze zvlášť’, VII. Světská a kostelní hudba na venkově’, *Lumír* 7/46 (12 November 1857), 1096; Karel Hoffmeister, ‘Sto let varhanické školy pražské’, *Hudební výchova* 12/6–7 (1931), 82.

as Verein der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik in Böhmen (the Verein).³ Initially, the Verein organised large-scale performances of what it considered good and respectable church music, and offered its support in the form of choir reinforcements for festive occasions to churches whose acoustic and spatial capacities could accommodate large performing forces. Soon, however, the Verein realised that these costly undertakings, often publicised as concert music (*Concertmusiken*), worked against its main purpose of restoring to churches music that would stir the senses towards religious contemplation, while doing little to counter the real problems posed by a dearth of competent church musicians. It therefore decided to pursue nobler and more universal goals, among which the education of organists and choristers assumed a pivotal role.⁴ The year 1830 saw the establishment of the Prague Organ School with its first intake of twenty-five trainee organists, whose schooling culminated in a public examination.⁵

Today, much of the material once used at the Organ School for teaching and examinations, along with the old Verein archive, forms part of the extensive music collection of the Prague Conservatoire, with which the Organ School was amalgamated in 1890. The older, historical part of the Conservatoire collection comprises a surprisingly large number of works by Johann Sebastian Bach, which have not been taken into account by modern scholars and therefore open up new opportunities for research into Czech Bach reception. However, this large group of sources is not discussed in the handful of studies on the reception of Bach's works in the Czech lands, most of which appeared in the year marking the tercentenary of his birth. In a footnote reference Bužga points to the existence of some nineteenth-century prints and manuscript copies of Bach's music at the Prague Conservatoire. As his source he quotes the *Souborný hudební katalog*, a central register of extant musical sources in the Czech Republic, maintained since 1965 at the Czech National Library and containing over 400,000 entries dating from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries.⁶ Pilková states that there are a

³ The Czech name of the organisation was Spolek pro pěstování hudby církevní v Čechách. For further information see *Jahresbericht des Vereins der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik in Böhmen* (Prague: Verein der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik in Böhmen) (ZDB-ID: 1269057-0). The only reports available at the time of this study relate to the years 1827–1833, 1838, 1840, 1857–1861 and can be accessed in the archive of the Prague Conservatoire (without shelfmark). See also Anton Müller, 'Ueber den Prager Verein der Kirchenmusik', *Monatschrift der Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen* 1 (December 1827), 76–79; [Anon], 'Die Orgelschule des Vereins der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik', *Bohemia* 4/97 (14 August 1831), [1–2]; 'Zprawa o gednotě k zvelebeni kostelni hudby w Čechách', *Česká wčela* 4/42 (17 October 1837), 332–33; Dobroslav Orel, 'Společnost přátel hudby duchovní', *Cyrrill* 43/7 (1917), 103–7.

⁴ In its annual report of 1828, the Verein acknowledges the need for a change in direction expressed by a number of interested parties but regrets that, due to insufficient resources, and because such a change would constitute a departure from its constitutional principles, its activities must for the time being remain limited to a small number of independent 'model productions' (*Musterproduktionen*) and collaborations with individual churches. In 1829 the Verein announced it would discontinue independent productions and establish two schools, for organists and choristers respectively. This plan was implemented in the following year. Its collaboration with churches eventually ceased in 1832. See *Jahresbericht des Vereins der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik* 2 (1828), [2]; 3 (1829), [1–2]; 6 (1832), [1].

⁵ *Jahresbericht des Vereins der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik* 4 (1830), [1].

⁶ Jaroslav Bužga, 'Bach, Zelenka a Česká hudba 19. století', *Hudební věda* 19/1 (1982), 55, fn. 37.

number of manuscript copies of Bach's music in the archive of the Prague Conservatoire, the provenance and dating of which could not be established at the time of writing 'for technical reasons', but comments that these are probably early nineteenth-century sources (the German version of her article leaves out these technical difficulties).⁷ Volek and Vraštilová do not mention the Conservatoire sources.⁸

This article demonstrates that the Conservatoire sources are a remarkable testament to the activities of one of the main protagonists of Bach reception in Prague during the first half of the nineteenth century – the Prague Organ School, which produced many a distinguished musician under the long leadership of Carl Franz Pitsch (1786–1858).⁹ By focusing on one particular manuscript, this paper illustrates how the clues it holds, taken in conjunction with historical and contextual evidence, its relationship to other sources, and some seemingly unimportant nuggets of information, gradually reveal a riveting story about the reception of one of Bach's monumental choral works.

The source

The source in question is a set of manuscript parts for the second Kyrie from Bach's B minor Mass (BWV 232/3), with the current shelfmark 108. The manuscript comprises fifty-four folios (one bifolio and fifty-two single leaves) measuring 32 x 26 cm. It is kept in a rigid black ribbon-tied cardboard folder, presumably dating from the mid-nineteenth century, with two partially torn original labels along the top and bottom of its spine. The original inscriptions on both labels have faded, but on the larger, top label it is possible to make out the text '[Kyrie (?) | aus d. (?) | h M (?) | von | Joh. Sebast. | Bach | No. | 2 (?)]', while the smaller label reads '86 (?)'. The part of the larger label extending onto the front cover bears a round dark blue stamp of the archive and a more recent inscription 'J. S. Bach. 108'. The oblong white label with the current shelfmark, which covers part of the older label on the front of the folder, appears to be a very recent addition. The manuscript is neither paginated nor foliated but the vocal parts bear serial numbers (Roman numerals) in the top right-hand corner, with subsequent revisions in pencil. The bifolio containing the title page (f. 1^r) and organ part (ff. 1^v–2^r) has been used as a wrapper for the remainder of the

⁷ Zdeňka Pilková 'Skladby J. S. Bacha, G. F. Händela a jejich severoněmeckých současníků v českých sbírkách 18. století', in *Händel a Bach. O dnešním pojetí jejich díla*, ed. R. Pečman (Brno: Masarykova U. Filozofická Fakulta, 1992), p. 134; Zdeňka Pilková, 'Werke von Bach, Händel und ihren norddeutschen Zeitgenossen in den Sammlungen der böhmischen Länder im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart: Bach, Händel, Schütz. Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlich Kongreß Stuttgart 1985*, eds. D. Berke and D. Hanemann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), p. 139.

⁸ Tomislav Volek, 'Bach a my', *Hudební rozhledy* 38/6 (1985), 276–80; Tamara Vraštilová, 'Bach a Händel v českém hudebním povědomí 19. Století', in *Händel a Bach. O dnešním pojetí jejich díla*, ed. R. Pečman (Brno: Masarykova U. Filozofická Fakulta, 1992), pp. 151–53.

⁹ The archive of the Prague Conservatoire also houses sources that can be linked to another key figure of early nineteenth-century Bach reception in Prague, Joseph Proksch (1794–1864), who produced curious eight-piano arrangements of Bach's works for student examinations at his music training institution. These will be explored further in my forthcoming doctoral thesis.

manuscript. The last page of this bifolio (f. 2^v) is blank. The remaining parts (violone, soprano x 13, alto x 13, tenor x 13, bass x 12) have been copied on single sheets.

Two hands appear to have been involved in the copying: the first, scribe A, copied the title page, organ and violone parts and five of each vocal part, totalling twenty-two parts. The remaining vocal parts (soprano x 8, alto x 8, tenor x 8, bass x 7) were copied by the second scribe. The watermark discernible throughout the manuscript is a crowned fleur-de-lis within a shield. Its countermark – letters ‘P A’ – appears less frequently. The shared watermark suggests that the copyists probably worked on their respective lots simultaneously or in close succession.

The title page reads as follows (see facsimile in Fig. 1):

Kyrie | aus der | hohen Messe | für | Sopran, Alt, Tenor und Bass; |
 Contrabass u[nd] Orgel. | von | Johan̄ Sebastian Bach. | Sopran 13 mal, |
 Alt -- 13 mal | Tenor -- 13 mal | Bass -- 12 mal.

The main part of the title is written in dark brown ink, while the last four lines in black ink stand out as later addition. In terms of calligraphy, however, all twelve lines are in the hand of scribe A. Further entries added later in the blank area of the title page include:

1. ‘1845’ in pencil, centred along the top, possibly in the hand of scribe A, but the difference in the writing implement and inadequacy of the sample make this impossible to verify
2. ‘108’ in large script in black ink, in the hand of neither copyist A nor B, underneath the above-mentioned entry, slightly towards the right and accompanied by the library stamp in blue ink (the same as the one found on the folder)
3. ‘[corrected text?] Auflags- | stimen.’ in dark brown ink in small script, in the top right-hand corner, in the hand of scribe A.

With parts usually intended for a performance, the pencil mark ‘1845’ could represent the year in which the piece was performed, although the possibility that this may once have been a shelfmark (see below) cannot be ruled out.

The second entry was made when the source was catalogued. Its entry in the handwritten *Inventář sbírky historických hudebnin I.* (Historical music collection inventory) from 1934, containing shelfmarks 1–1691, reads: ‘108 | Bach, J. S. | Kyrie aus den [sic] hohen Messe’. The catalogue contains no additional remarks about the source.

Despite the confusion of lines in the third inscription, magnified in Fig. 2, one can decipher the original layer of ink, in the hand of scribe A, which looks like the Arabic numeral ‘22’ (or two reverse Ss, as scribe A writes it). This number matches the number of parts copied by scribe A, thus hinting that his set of parts was made first. If this is the case, then the corner inscription predates the pencil entry of the last four lines of the title page, which takes into account the thirty-one additional doublets made by scribe B. It further implies that the movement

may originally have been intended for twenty singers. Finally, the total part count helped to decipher the correction, which reads as Roman numeral LI, and refers to the fifty-one existing vocal parts (discounting the continuo parts).

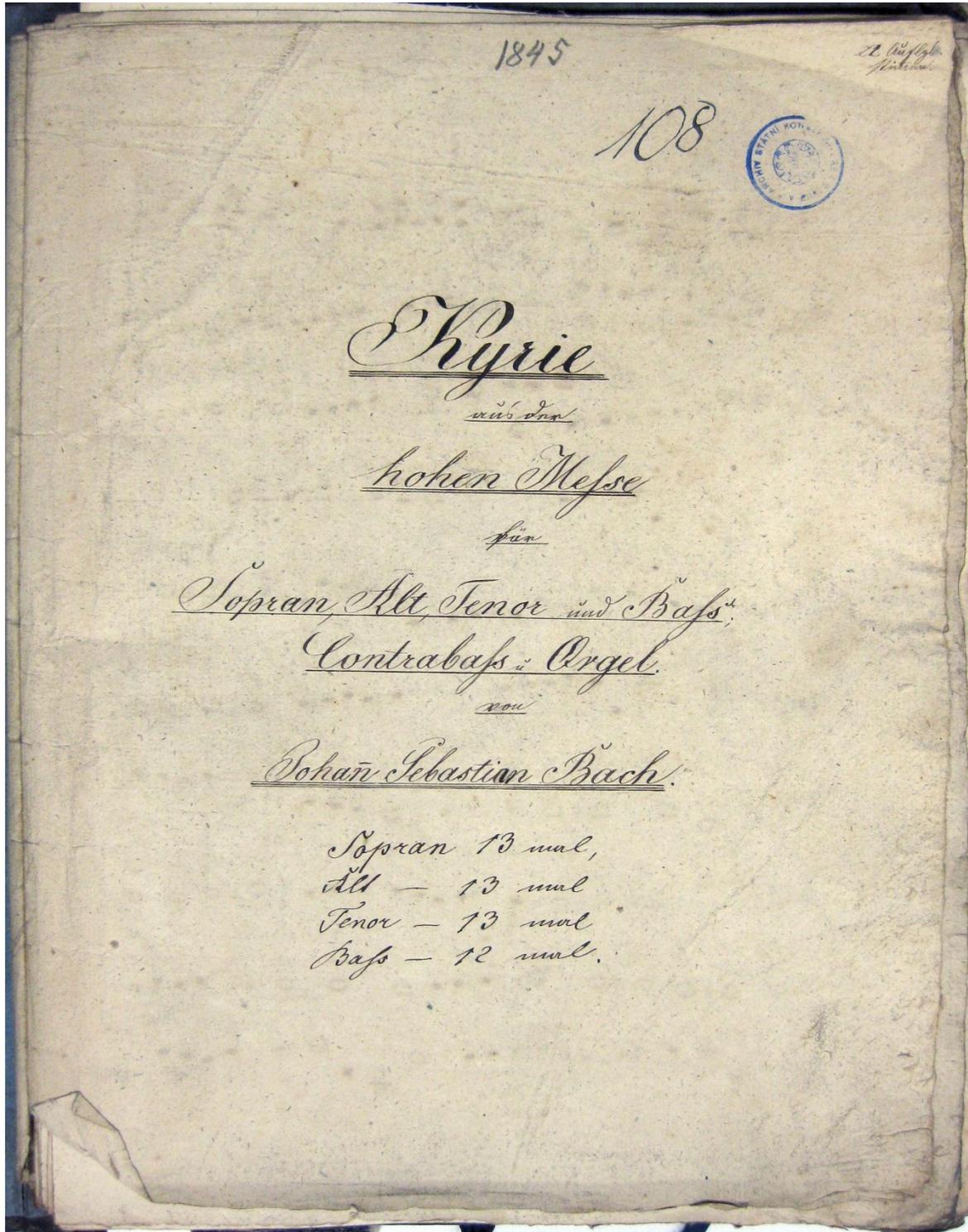


Figure 1: Kyrie II, title page (Library of the Prague Conservatoire, shelfmark 108)

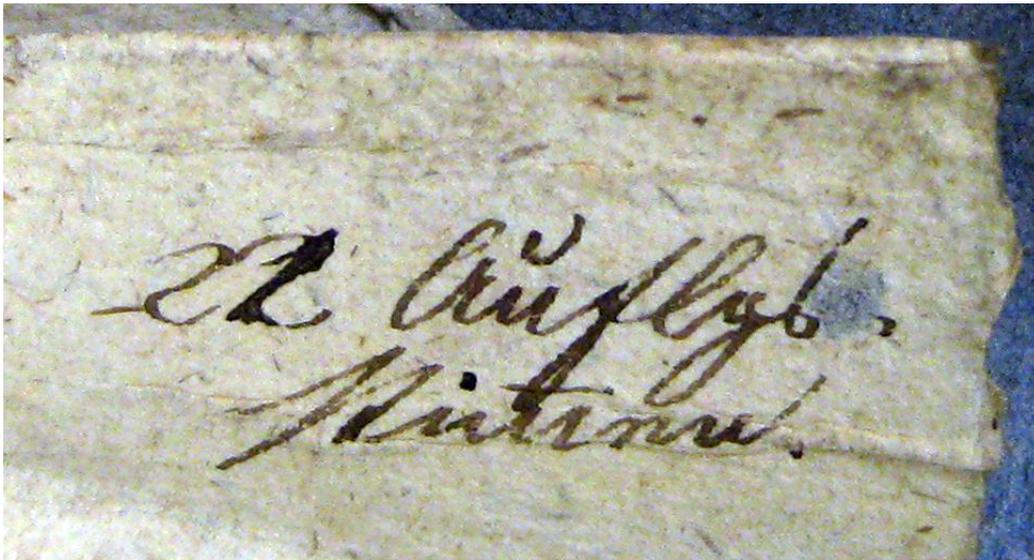


Figure 2: Kyrie II, title page inscription
(Library of the Prague Conservatoire, shelfmark 108)

The copyists

The study of counterpoint and fugue were firmly integrated into the Organ School's curriculum. The printed programmes of the institution's yearly examinations show that students were regularly assessed on simple and double counterpoint, imitation and fugue. Exam materials from the time, deposited among the Conservatoire's archival records, include questions such as: 'What is a fugue?'; 'What are the general rules for the treatment of a line in florid counterpoint?'; 'What is imitation and how many types are there?'; 'What is a stretto in a fugue?'; 'How should two voices in a contrapuntal texture be conceived to be interchangeable?', and so on.¹⁰ Moreover, the Organ School's director Pitsch greatly admired the works of the baroque masters¹¹ and cherished

¹⁰ 'Was ist die Fuge?'; 'Welche sind die Hauptregeln bei einer im verzierten Contrapuncte zu behandelnden Stimme?'; 'Was ist Nachahmung und wievielerlei ist sie?'; 'Was versteht man unter den Engführung in der Fuge?'; 'Wie müssen zwei kontrapunktierende Stimmen abgefaßt seyn, daß die Melodie der höhern um eine 8ve herab, u. die der untern um eine 8ve hinauf gerückt werden könnte?'; see archive box labelled VARHANICKÁ ŠKOLA 1. - UČEBNICE, PŘÍKLADI, APOD. - ŽÁKOVSKÉ ÚLOHY. For a wider overview of Czech music education between 1750 and 1850 see Jitka Ludvová, *Česká hudební teorie 1750–1850* (Prague: Academia, 1985).

¹¹ Emanuel Meliš, 'Nynější stav hudby v Čechách vůbec a v Praze zvlášt': IX. Seznam českých hudebníků, skladatelů, zpěváků a zpěvaček nyní žijících', *Lumír*, 7/51 (17 December 1857), 1216; A. Zs.–y, 'Nekrolog. Karl Franz Pitsch †. (Eine nekrologische Skizze)', *Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 7/30 (20 July 1858), 118; Josef Antonín Šrůtek, '† Karel Frant. Pič, ředitel varhanické školy v Praze (Karel Frant. Pič, director of the Prague Organ School)', *Školník pro učitelstvo diécese kralohradecké a ostatních diécesí v Čechách a na Moravě* 8 (1859), 53; Josef Leopold Zvonař, 'Pitsch', in *Slovník naučný*, eds. Ladislav František Rieger and Jakub Malý (Prague: I. L. Kober, 1867), vi, 403.

counterpoint 'with heart and soul'.¹² His own compositions bear witness to his great appreciation of Bach.¹³ Wondering to what extent Pitsch's appreciation of Bach touched his students, it seemed reasonable to explore the works of his students, also available in the Conservatoire's holdings. One of them – a manuscript entitled 'Kompositionen Versuche | in | Præludien | des | Joseph Zvonař Schüler des II. | Jahrganges der Orgelschule | im | Schuljahre | 1843' (shelfmark 1 C 85) – clearly resembles the Kyrie parts made by scribe A.

Josef Leopold Zvonař (1824–1865) is a relatively prominent figure in Czech music. A composer, contemporary of Bedřich Smetana and keen proponent of the Czech national movement, he is mostly remembered for his writings on music and pedagogical works.¹⁴ In 1842, Zvonař became a student at the Prague Organ School and, during his time there, supported himself by copying music – a piece of information that may prove of interest to this investigation.¹⁵ Despite a difficult first year, filled with financial hardship and academic disappointment, Zvonař's diligence gradually prevailed upon Pitsch, who took the poor lad under his wing. He gave Zvonař a small clavichord, allowed him to practise on the school organ outside teaching hours, lent him music, and even gave him his old clothes.¹⁶ Pitsch also sought out opportunities for Zvonař to supplement his income; on his recommendation, and through the intercession of Count Laurencin d'Armond, Zvonař became a private tutor at the palace of Prince Lobkowitz.¹⁷ A delightful anecdote penned by Zvonař's friend and first biographer Meliš tells of Pitsch's change of heart and at the same time speaks volumes about his great passion for Bach:

When Pitsch recognised in Zvonař willingness and a degree of talent, he became like a father to him; helped him wherever he could and encouraged him to study industriously; in accordance with his teaching method, he was first introduced to Bach's works. Pitsch was one of the greatest admirers of Sebastian Bach. Not a day would pass that he did not entertain himself with

¹² '...daß er mit Leib un Seele nur für den Kontrapunkt eingenommen sei...'; see Zs.--y, 'Nekrolog' (see fn. 9), 118.

¹³ For example, the countersubject of his *Alleluja Paschale* (Prague: Marco Berra, 1835) is remarkably close to the subject the Bach's Fugue in F# major of WTC II (BWV 882/2).

¹⁴ Emanuel Meliš, 'Josef Leopold Zvonař', *Dalibor* 4/1f (1861), 1f; Emil Axman, 'Josef Leopold Zvonař', *Časopis Moravského muzea zemského* 15/1 (1916), 8–23; 15/2 (1916), 184–207; Karel Kazda, ed., *Podbrdský (berounský) kraj. Vlastivědný sborník. Josef Leopold Zvonař*, 2/2 (1924), 29–60; 2/3 (1925), 61–141; Jan Evangelista Zelinka, 'Jos. Leop. Zvonař. K 100. výročí narozenin', *Cyril* 50/7–10 (1924), 63–67; Adolf, Cmíral, 'Josef Leopold Zvonař a církevní hudba', *Cyril* 47/1f (1941), 13f; Gracian Černušák, 'Zvonař, Josef Leopold', in *Československý hudební slovník*, eds. Gracian Černušák, Bohumír Štědroň and Zdenko Nováček (Prague: Státní hudební vydavatelství, 1963), ii, 1010–12.

¹⁵ 'Byl odkázan jen na to, co si vydělal opisováním not a explikac pro jiné, a to nebylo věru mnoho.' Describing Zvonař's first encounter with Beethoven's piano sonatas, Meliš recounts how a classmate brought one of them to school and asked Zvonař to copy it for him; see Emanuel Meliš, 'Josef Leopold Zvonař', *Dalibor* 4/6 (20 February 1861), 46; 4/7 (1 March 1861), 53. See also Fr. Kneidl, 'Josef Leopold Zvonař. Životopisný příspěvek', in Karel Kazda, ed., *Podbrdský (berounský) kraj. Vlastivědný sborník*, 2/2 (1924), 36.

¹⁶ Kazda, *Podbrdský (berounský) kraj. Vlastivědný sborník. Josef Leopold Zvonař* 2/2 (1924), 36–37.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

his fugues. Incidentally, he played masterfully, and his favourite after-dinner entertainment was to sit down at the piano and play pieces by Bach; many a time he did not even stop to take off his coat and hat; one could almost say he went from the pub straight to the piano. He passed his obsession with Bach, quite literally, on to his students; if someone did not have a sense for Bach, he did not care. His method boasted such a true teacher's genius that he gave the most perfect and most exemplary of compositions by this master even to the weakest of students; he would determine their potential according to how they practised them and the extent to which they managed to master them, and then decide in which direction to steer them. He never tortured his students with dull and pointless pieces. Likewise Pitsch introduced Zvonař to the temple of Bach's muse early on, and was not mistaken, for before long he desired only Bach's compositions.¹⁸

In 1844, shortly after completing his studies, Zvonař became Pitsch's assistant. He remained at the Organ School for the next sixteen years, advancing to the position of second organ teacher and, from 1855, teacher of choral singing. The fact that Zvonař was one of four people present at Pitsch's deathbed is evidence of their close friendship.¹⁹

It is quite possible that Zvonař – an eager and diligent youngster experienced in copying music, in awe and admiration of his teacher, and also deeply indebted to him – was involved in the preparation of this manuscript. Figures 1 and 3 show a clear, handsome and practised hand. Assuming our copyist identification holds, the biographical information just outlined supports the hypothesis that the Kyrie was copied or performed, or both, in 1845, Zvonař's second year in his new post. For the first time, it is also possible to link the source to the Organ School. The identity of the second copyist at present remains unknown.

In the absence of a definitive identifier, such as a name or signature on the manuscript, everything that has been said so far about the source remains speculation. However, this speculation led to further research in the Prague periodicals; a search limited to the year 1845. The quest yielded several references to Bach's second Kyrie: two in the German-language newspaper *Bohemia* and one in the Czech journal *Květy*. The first of the articles in *Bohemia*, dated 25 July 1845,

¹⁸ 'Od té doby, co Píč u Z. náklonnost a nějakou schopnost k hudbě poznal, stal se mu otcovským přítelem; podporoval jej, kde jen mohl i podněcoval jej k pilným studiím; podle svého způsobu vyučování, obeznámil jej nejprve s Bachovými skladbami. Píč byl jeden z největších ctitelů Šeb. Bacha. Neušel ani den, aby se nebyl jeho fugami obíral. Mimochodem budiž řečeno, že je hrál mistrovsky a že bývalo po dlouhý čas jeho nejmilejším pobavením po stole, zasednouti si k pianu a hráti Bachovy skladby; skoro se může říci, že šel z hostince rovnou cestou k pianu. Svou zaujatost pro Bacha, přenášel v pravém smyslu slova na své žáky; který z nich smysl pro Bacha neměl, ten neplatil u něj nic. Pravým geniálním tahem učitelským jeho byl způsob, že dal nejdokonalejší a nejvzornější skladby tohoto mistra i nejslabším žákům; dle toho jak se tito k nim chovali, t. jak se snažili v moc je dostat; soudil pak na jejich schopnosti a vytkl si cestu, níž je dále vedl. Suchopárnými a planými kusy nemučil žáky nikdy. Píč uvedl tedy také Z. záhy do chrámu Bachovy músy a nepřepočel se, neboť tento se sháněl brzy na to jen po samých Bachových skladbách.' Emanuel Meliš, 'Josef Leopold Zvonař', *Dalibor* 4/7 (1 March 1861), 53.

¹⁹ A. Zs. – y, 'Nekrolog. Karl Franz Pitsch †. (Schluß.)', *Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 7/31 (8 August 1858), 122.

was an announcement of the annual examination of the Prague Organ School, which took place on 8 August 1845.²⁰ The second, an extract of which follows, is a review of the event:

The end of the examination consisted of the performances of a number of vocal works by the immortal masters of antiquity Palestrina, Astorga, Lotti, Handel and Bach; the second Kyrie of the last-mentioned from his high Mass in B minor stood out head and shoulders from the rest.²¹

This particularly illuminating review in *Květy* states:

Director Pitsch, a faithful admirer of the classical musical spirit, never fails to engage us with some rarities, which we might not otherwise have experienced. On this occasion five hitherto unheard pieces with organ accompaniment were performed. The most remarkable was the second Kyrie by J. S. Bach. Moreover, we heard Palestrina's Adoramus; Handel's Halleluja from 'Athalia'; the first movement from Astorga's historical Stabat mater kindly offered by Mrs Podhorská, Mrs Řepková, Mr Emminger and Mr Kunz. At the end we heard Lotti's four-part choral work, after which students deserving of awards were honoured.²²

Astorga's *Stabat mater*,²³ another surviving source from the 1845 examination, exhibits properties rather similar to the manuscript of the Kyrie. It is a set of manuscript performance parts for SATB choir with organ and violone accompaniment. The bifolio title page with the organ part on ff. 1^v-2^r has been used as a wrapper for the parts (albeit fewer parts) and bears the pencil inscription '1845' on the front. The paper appears to have come from the same batch, and most importantly, has been copied by the same hand as that portion of the Kyrie ascribed to Josef Leopold Zvonař.²⁴

²⁰ The second Kyrie from Bach's B minor Mass features as the second item on the programme; the other vocal works performed on that occasion were Palestrina's *Adoramus*, Chorus of Israelites (listed in the programme as Halleluja) from Handel's oratorio *Athalia*, the first movement of Astorga's *Stabat mater* and Lotti's chorus *Domine si insurgent adversum nos castra*; [Anon], 'Telegraph von Prag', *Bohemia* 18/88 (25 July 1845), [4].

²¹ 'Den Schluß der Prüfung bildete die Ausführung mehrerer Gesangwerke der unsterblichen Altmeister Palestrina, Astorga, Lotti, Händel und Bach, worunter das zweite Kyrie des letzteren aus seiner hohen Messe in H-moll riesenmäßig hervorrage.' Wenzel Heinrich Veit, 'Prüfung der Zöglinge der Orgelschule', *Bohemia* 18/97 (15 August 1845), [4].

²² 'Dir. Píč, tento věrný ctitel klasického ducha hudebního, neopomine nikdy zjednati nám některé vzácnosti, jichžto bychom snad jinak ani se nedočkali. Tenkrát přednášelo se pět skladeb zde až posud neslychaných s průvodem warhan. Nejvýtečnější bylo: druhé Kyrie od J. S. Bacha; krom toho slyšeli jsme Adoramus od Palestriny; Halleluja od Haendla z "Athalie"; první sadu z pověstného Stabat mater od Astorgy, ku kteréž skladbě p. Podhorská, p. Řepková, pp. Emminger a Kunz laskawe propůjčili. Ku konci následoval čtverohlasový sbor od Lottiho, po němž zasloužili žáci odměnou byli poctěni.' [Anon], 'Denní kronika. Z Prahy. Zkouška učňů školy warhanické', *Květy* 12/96 (12 August 1845), 384.

²³ CZ-Pk 46: *Stabat mater a quarto voci soli ... coll' Accompagnamento dell' Organo di Astorga* (1845).

²⁴ Lotti's *Domine si insurgent advestrum nos castra* is listed in the Conservatoire's Catalogue of Manuscripts and Rare Prints as score only. The entry does not specify whether it is a

The Verein catalogue

A source that deserves special mention is a cardboard-bound manuscript: 'Catalog | sämtlicher | Musikalien u[nd]. Lehrbücher | und anderauf Tonkunst Bezug habender | Werke | welche sich in dem Archive des Vereins der Kunstfreunde für Kirchen= | musik in Böhmen befinden'.²⁵ A relic from the early years of the Verein, witness not only to its monumental work but to Prague's cultural history in general, the catalogue comprises ninety-eight folios containing predominantly vocal church music entries ordered by genre and composer, for the most part complete with incipits. It records other information including the item number, key signature, parts and their number, score (with or without), print or manuscript, and special remarks. Smaller sections are devoted to opera, miscellaneous vocal works including songs and singing exercises, organ compositions, theoretical works and music periodicals.

The purpose of the catalogue can be deduced from the Verein's annual reports. The 1833 report announces a new plan to open the association's growing musical archive to its learned members and local choir directors, as well as offering copies of works from its holdings at the lowest possible cost on request. A catalogue of the archive compiled for this purpose was to be made available for perusal at all times.²⁶ The next surviving report dates from 1838 and confirms that the Verein's musical archive and library, which had again grown, were regularly used by

manuscript or a printed score and its connection to the 1845 performance is uncertain. The Souborný hudební katalog lists the following source in the collection of Pitsch's successor Josef Krejčí in the Sokolov District Archive (Státní okresní archiv Sokolov): 'Alleluja. Chor aus Athalia mit 4 Singstimmen und Orgelbegleitung von Georg Friedr. Haendel'. Described as a manuscript set of parts, bearing a pencil inscription '1845' above the title, with the organ part serving as the wrapper for the parts, it is probably another survivor from the 1845 Organ School examination programme. Several other manuscripts from the Conservatoire's collection with pencilled year inscriptions ranging from 1843 to 1849, which can be traced to the Organ School through the examination announcements in *Bohemia*, have been copied fully or partly by the same hand that copied the Kyrie. The copyist therefore had a longer connection with the School than the two years a student would have spent at the institution. See CZ-Pk 1131: Vierstimmiger Chor von Haendel mit Orgelbegleitung. [Venite exultemus] (1843, 1847); CZ-Pk 1895: GRADUALE Deus Salvator noster a 5 VOICI con Organo von Antonio Lotti (1843, 2 August 1849); CZ-Pk 1129: Vierstimmiger Chor mit Orgelbegleitung von Händel. [Dixit Dominus] (1843, 2 August 1849); CZ-Pk 112: Joh. Seb. Bach's Trippel Concerto. Partitura. (1844), CZ-Pk 1130: Vierstimmiger Chor mit Orgelbegleitung von G. Fr. Händl. [Et incarnatus est] (1843, 2 August 1849) Cz-Pk 89: Figurirter Choral v Joh. Seb. Bach (1846).

²⁵ The title printed on the spine of the manuscript is Musikalien Catalog (CZ-Pk, without shelfmark). I am grateful to Mr Miloslav Richter, deputy head of the Archive of the Prague Conservatoire for drawing my attention to this catalogue.

²⁶ 'Eine neue Erweiterung des nützlichen Wirkens des Instituts wird darin bestehen, daß es in diesem gegenwärtigen Jahre sein musikalisches Archiv, welches bereits eine nicht unbedeutende Sammlung klassischer Kirchenmusik=Kompositionen, Oratorien, u. dgl. umfaßt, unter Bedingungen, welche den Besitz, und die Erhaltung derselben sichern, dem Gebrauche hiesiger Chorregenten bei vorkommenden Kirchenfesten und für fachkundige Vereinsmitglieder eröffnet, auch nach Begehren Abschriften solcher Meisterwerke für das Land billigst besorgen zu lassen, über sich nimmt. Ein zu diesem Zwecke verfaßte Katalog dieses musikalisches Vereinsarchiv wird stets zur Einsicht bereit liegen.' *Jahresbericht des Vereins der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik* 7 (1833), [1].

members, friends of music and choir directors, and that 'correct copies' of selected masterpieces were procured for distribution to the provinces upon request.²⁷

The contents of this volume, particularly comments in the special remarks column such as 'correctly copied' (frequently shortened to 'corr' or 'correct'), 'especially suitable for provincial choirs', 'short and fitting', confirm that the catalogue was used exactly for this purpose. Furthermore, an announcement of a *concert spirituel* in *Bohemia* in 1840 reveals that the music for the choral pieces, including the opening movement of J. S. Bach's cantata *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* (BWV 80), had been provided by the Verein.²⁸ The piece is recorded in the 'Cantaten' section of the catalogue, while the printed score²⁹ and manuscript parts, bearing the stamp of the Verein, still exist in the Conservatoire archive (shelfmark 4341). The announced performance of this piece, however, did not materialise; perhaps the remark in the catalogue 'poorly copied' (*schlecht geschrieben*) may have had something to do with its last-minute removal from the programme.³⁰ Another source from the Conservatoire collection, Handel's 'Sieh das ist Gottes Lamm' from *Messiah* (shelfmark 1118), the stamp and ownership indication of which show that it originally belonged to the Verein, carries the remark on the title page: 'A simple manuscript copy was sent to the Prague Conservatoire at the end of year 1829 to be distributed among poorer churches'.³¹

The Verein catalogue is important to the present discussion because the original, extremely neat entries in ink appear to have been written by a single scribe, and the handwriting yet again appears to belong to Zvonař. In fact, of all the sources presumably copied by Zvonař, the catalogue is the closest to the handwriting of his signed and dated *Kompositionen Versuche*, which implies that it was compiled around 1843.³² A note relating to two arias by Franz Bixi reads: 'N.B. were not found during the audit of the archive on 14 August 843'.³³ As the entries appear at the very start of their section (*Arien*) and, based on calligraphy,

²⁷ 'Das musikalische Archiv und die Bibliothek des Vereines, welche zu der bereits recht zahlreichen Sammlung klassischer Kirchenkompositionen, Oratorien, Lehrbücher u. dgl. einen neuen Zuwachs erhielten, wurden von fachkundigen Vereinsmitgliedern, Kunstfreunden und Chorregenten fleißig benützt, und stehen auch noch ferner unter Bedingungen, welche Besitz und Erhaltung der Musikwerke sichern, zur Benützung offen. Es werden auch auf Verlangen korrekte Abschriften gewählter Meisterwerke zur Versendung auf das Land besorgt.' *Jahresbericht des Vereins der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik* 12 (1838), [1–2].

²⁸ A[nton] M[üller], 'Telegraph von Prag', *Bohemia* 13/43 (10 April 1840), [4].

²⁹ *Eine [sic] feste Burg ist unser Gott. CANTATE für 4 Singstimmen mit Begleitung des Orchesters in Musik gesetzt von Joh. Sebastian Bach. Partitur. Nach J.S.Bach's Original-Handschrift.* Leipzig, bey Breitkopf und Härtel. 1821. 34p. Pl.-Nr. 3513. [BWV 80].

³⁰ The programme change was announced in the next issue of *Bohemia*; [Anon] 'Berichtigung', *Bohemia* 13/44 (12 April 1840), [4].

³¹ 'Eine einfache Abschrift davon ist mit Jahresschluß 1829 an der Prager Conservatorium zur Vertheilung an ärmere Kirchen versendet worden.'

³² The catalogue also uses the old form of c-clef, with a middle section shaped like the number 3, a form found in two other sources bearing the date 1843: CZ-Pk 1895 and 1129. From 1844 this old form is replaced by a box-shaped c-clef; for example, in CZ-Pk 112 (see fn. 24).

³³ 'NB. waren bei der Revision des Archivs am 14. August 843 nicht vorfindig'; *Musikalien Catalog* (see fn. 25), f. [84^v].

belong to the oldest part of the catalogue, they were probably written during the first stage of its compilation. Thus the date in the adjacent note could well represent the exact date of the catalogue's inception. The missing pieces could still have been on loan at the time of the audit. Copying music and working on the Verein catalogue could have been more than just a means to get by for young Zvonař, and it is possible that the neatness and accuracy of his handwriting (as will be shown later) may have been the deciding factor in securing his future employment at the Organ School. The catalogue might even have been a trial assignment for the job.

The uniformity of handwriting in the ink-inscribed sections, as well as their careful planning and organisation, with blank fields at the end of each alphabetical subsection to allow for future expansion, indicates that the original catalogue was based on an earlier version, now lost. This earlier catalogue would have been started when the collection was smaller and gradually expanded as the collection grew, until it eventually needed updating. A number of titles have been entered in the spaces between each group of alphabetical entries, which were originally blank. The calligraphy of these entries is somewhat less meticulous and apparently more rushed. However, it still resembles that of the principal scribe, the implication being that Zvonař continued updating the catalogue in the years that followed.³⁴ This would suggest that the Organ School's musical archive and the Verein's library resided under the same roof.³⁵ However, as the two collections were created for distinctly different purposes, it is understandable that they needed to be kept separate. It therefore makes sense that no Organ School manuscripts have been recorded in the Verein catalogue, despite Zvonař's involvement with both institutions.

Further sections comprising various categories of mainly secular music (quartets, quintets, concertos, orchestral overtures, etc.) have been added in pencil in the unused space at the back of the catalogue by a different hand, presumably at a much later stage.

The origin of the Kyrie manuscript

The main reason for bringing the Verein catalogue into this discussion is that in the first section 'Messen', originally entered as number 2, is an entry of J. S. Bach's B minor Mass. According to the listing, this is a printed score without parts and

³⁴ The sources dated between 1843 and 1849 show a visible degeneration in handwriting in the parts that were presumably copied for the later performance; see CZ-Pk 1131, 1129 and 1895 (see fn. 22).

³⁵ The Organ School and the Verein's business office (*Bureau der Geschäftsleitung*) were initially located in the house of Johann Ritter von Rittersberg, who looked after the Verein's business affairs (*Geschäftsleiter*). At the beginning of the school year 1831–1832, sixteen of the thirty-six applicants were turned down due to lack of teaching space, and the Verein voiced the need to obtain larger premises for the school. Only in 1840 do we find the Organ School at its new address: Altstadt, Bartholomäigasse Nro. 311. Unfortunately, the report for 1839 does not survive, so it has not been possible to confirm whether the library moved with the School, as the catalogue seems to imply, or remained with the business office in the house of von Rittersberg. See *Jahresbericht des Vereins der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik* 6 (1832), [1] and 14 (1840), 2.

the additional remark states ‘Without organ accompaniment. Only the first instalment, the second is missing.’³⁶ Incidentally, entries that included both the score and parts were designated as ‘cmp’ or ‘comp’ (=complete). Corresponding to this entry is the 1833 Nägeli-Simrock edition of the score (Nägeli’s full score), bearing the stamp of the Verein, and at present kept in the archive of the Conservatoire (shelfmark 97/I). Its title reads ‘MESSE | VON | IOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH. | NACH DEM AUTOGRAPHUM GESTOCHEN. | Erste Lieferung’. The publisher’s note is printed below the title: ‘The second part will appear at Easter 1834 at the latest, complete with a main title, wrapper and list of subscribers.’³⁷ This presupposes the existence of a second part in 1834, when the score was presumably catalogued, hence the remark in the catalogue. In reality, for unknown reasons, the second part of the Mass did not appear in print until 1845.³⁸

Nägeli’s full score existed in the Verein library when the parts of the Kyrie II were being prepared, and the affiliation of the two institutions would undoubtedly have meant that the score was accessible to Zvonař. The question is whether the manuscript was based on this particular exemplar, and this question provides the starting point for our source-critical inquiry.

Another contender for the model for the Kyrie II is the vocal score with a piano reduction arranged by Adolph Bernhard Marx (Marx’s vocal score), published jointly by Simrock and Nägeli in 1834 (shelfmark 2 D 343).³⁹ This source bears

³⁶ ‘Ohne bezifferten Orgelbegleitung. Nur die erste Lieferung, die zweite fehlt’; *Musikalien Catalog* (see fn. 25), f. [4^v].

³⁷ ‘Die zweyte Lieferung wird spätestens zur Ostermesse 1834 sammt einem Haupttitel, Umschlag und Subscribenten-Verzeichniss geliefert.’ It is worth mentioning, since this curious detail is absent from relevant titles such as *Bach-Dokumente* vi, that the advertisement by Gustav Andre, Nägeli’s agent in London, in *The Musical World* 8/97 (New Series, 1/3) (19 January 1838), 47, gives the revised date of March 1838 for the forthcoming publication of the second instalment of Nägeli’s full score. The delay was presumably related to the death of Hans Georg Nägeli on 26 December 1836. Still more important is the next update in *The Musical World* 9/126 (New Series, 2/32) (9 August 1838), 268, which conveys the latest, newly revised, plan of publication: ‘the 2nd part of the *Full Score* [emphasis original] of the above Work [i.e. B minor Mass] is now in course of Publication by Subscriptions’. It further states: ‘The Third, and last Part of the Full Score will be Published in December’. However, when it finally appeared in spring 1845, the second instalment of the score was its last. See fn. 38. I am grateful to Professor Yo Tomita for drawing my attention to these advertisements.

³⁸ It was reported as ‘Bach (J. S.) Die hohe Messe in Hmoll (sic!), nach dem Autographum gestochen. Partitur. 2te Lief. Bonn, Simrock geh. 30 Fr.’ in ‘Kirchenmusik’, *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht über neue Musikalien, musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen*, 17/3 (Series IV, 2/3) (March 1845), 42. It was also advertised as ‘Bach, Joh. Seb., Die hohe Messe in H moll. Partitur. II Lieferung. à 30 Francs, complett 60 Fr.’ in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 47/14 (2 April 1845), col. 248; ‘Bach, Joh. Seb., Die hohe Messe in H-moll. Partitur. II Liefer. (à 30 Frs.) complett 60.-’, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 22, Intelligenz-Blatt 5 (May 1845), [2].

³⁹ Die Hohe Messe in H-moll von Joh. Seb. Bach für zwei Sopran, Alto, Tenor und Bass. Im Clavierauszug von Adolph Bernhard Marx (Bonn, bei N. Simrock; Zürich bei H. G. Nägeli, [1834]). 126pp. (Kirchen-Musik, Band 3.) Pl.-Nr. 3038. Its publication was reported in the January/February 1834 issue of the *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht*, only one issue after the full score of the first instalment was reported. See ‘Kirchenmusik’, *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht über neue Musikalien, musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen*, *Neue Folge* 1/1-2 (January/February 1834), 9.

none of the hallmarks of the Verein and does not appear in the manuscript catalogue. Its date of entry in the Conservatoire's catalogue of acquisitions (*Zuwachskatalog*) – 9 November 1967 (record no. 2507) – does not necessarily represent the actual date of its acquisition. The additional remark 'St. fond', which could stand for *starý fond* (old holdings), and the price referring to the cost of binding rather than purchase, suggest that the source may have been in the archive long before it was recorded in the *Zuwachskatalog*. However, it could have come from the Conservatoire's own holdings, rather than the Organ School or the Verein.

As the scoring of the Organ School's Kyrie is similar to Marx's vocal score, one would expect Marx's existing piano accompaniment to have been used in the preparation of the organ part of the Kyrie, especially since it can readily be played on the organ. However, this is not the case. While Marx's accompaniment is a fairly mechanical piano transcription created by combining the four vocal parts with the continuo, the manuscript organ part is much lighter in texture and primarily rests on figured bass notation (bars 1–4, 7–8 and 35 are the only fully-notated instances, as shown in Fig. 3). The art of accompaniment as an essential tool of the organist's trade played a vital part in the Organ School assessment.⁴⁰ The accompaniments in the surviving sources range from figured bass lines, fully written-out organ parts, to hybrid forms combining figured and written-out sections. The organ part of the Kyrie may have been specifically designed to assess a young organist's figured-bass playing skills, although it seems unlikely that anyone would go to the trouble of producing a brand new part when other compositions with originally figured bass parts were readily available. The vocal score and manuscript also differ in the use of clefs: while the manuscript follows the older practice of notating the upper parts in c-clefs (as does the 1833 edition), the vocal parts in Marx's vocal score are notated in treble and bass clefs only.⁴¹ Finally, the price of 'Chorstimmen' supplied on the title page of the Conservatoire copy of Marx's vocal score is a clear indicator that it was acquired after 1845, and therefore could not have served as the model for the Organ School

⁴⁰ Students were also assessed on their proficiency in playing from figured bass ('die Fertigkeit im Spiele des bezifferten Generalbasses'); *Jahresbericht des Vereins der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik* 6 (1832), [1]. The 1845 examination announcement in *Bohemia* relates that the choral pieces featured on the programme were to be accompanied from figured bass by second-year students; [Anon], 'Telegraph von Prag', *Bohemia* 18/88 (25 July 1845), [4]. Later examination programmes specify the names of the students who provided the organ accompaniment for this part of the programme. See, for example, *Einladung u. Programm zu der ... öffentlichen theoretisch-praktischen Jahres-Prüfung der Instituts-Zöglinge des 1. u. 2. Jahrganges / Pozvání a program ku veřejné theoreticko-praktické Zkoušce celoroční žáků varhanické školy obou roků ...* (30 July 1860), without shelfmark.

⁴¹ I am not aware of any surviving specimens of the 'Chorstimmen', which were sold separately at the time, as indicated on the title page of Marx's vocal score and in the pre-publication advertisement in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 35, *Intelligenz-Blatt* 2 (May 1833), [6]: 'Bach, J. S., Kirchenmusik. Dritter Band, enthaltend: die grosse H moll-Messe. Klavier-Auszug... 20 [Fr.] -- Herzu die 5 Chorstimmen allein.. 11 [Fr.] 75 [Ct.]'. Thus it can only be speculated that the vocal parts were notated in modern clefs, as they were in Marx's vocal score.

manuscript. The price, given as 12 Fr^s 50 C^s, is higher than the price of 11 Fr^s 75 C^s, quoted on both the first imprint and the 1845 report by Hofmeister.⁴²

A text-critical comparison of the Kyrie manuscript with the two printed editions provides compelling evidence that it was Nægeli's full score, rather than Marx's vocal score, that served as the model for the Kyrie. As far as the integrity of Nægeli's full score in relation to its model, Bach's autograph, is concerned, the readings of the Kyrie II generally concur. However, some of Nægeli's editorial revisions, dictated by nineteenth-century notational conventions, such as the introduction of essential or cautionary accidentals, omission of redundant accidentals, or the replacement of dots extending notes across the bar line with tied note-values, occasionally resulted in errors. Other discrepancies could only be attributed to oversight. The errors and inconsistencies of greatest consequence are those found exclusively in Nægeli's full score and the Organ School's manuscript.⁴³ Their absence from Marx's vocal score backs the premise that it did not serve as the model for the Kyrie parts.

It appears that the only real musical deviation from Nægeli's full score is the final cadence: while both editions, as well as Bach's autograph, end with a *Tierce de Picardie*, the manuscript concludes in a minor-mode cadence. If the omission of the sharp from both the tenor part and the figures of the organ part were accidental, this would point to the existence of an earlier manuscript score, now lost, in which the error first occurred and from which it was then transferred to the parts.⁴⁴ However, the omission could have been deliberate.

Some of the errors found in Nægeli's full score appear to have prompted future revisions in the Kyrie manuscript, especially in places where Nægeli's readings are ambiguous (although not erroneous).⁴⁵ The fact that in most of these cases the corrections occur only in Zvonař's portion of the vocal parts but do not match his handwriting, while the second copyist's parts give *post correcturam* readings, implies that the score was proofread, possibly by the second copyist himself, prior to copying the remaining parts. Furthermore, the *ante correcturam* reading in

⁴² See Adolph Hofmeister, ed., *C. F. Whistling's Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur: oder allgemeines systematisch geordnetes Verzeichniss der in Deutschland und in den angrenzenden Ländern gedruckten Musikalien auch musikalischer Schriften und Abbildungen mit Anzeige der Verleger und Preise. Dritte, bis zum Anfang des Jahres 1844 ergänzte Auflage. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Adolph Hofmeister* (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1845), iii, 38.

⁴³ See, for example, bars 21–22, continuo: missing tie over the barline; bar 37, continuo: the first minim is *e* instead of *g#*; bar 40, continuo: the omission of ♯ from the minim to cancel the accidental in the key signature results in *g#*; bar 47, alto: the omission of ♯ from the first minim results in *d''* instead of *d#''*; bar 55, bass: the first minim is *e* instead of *e#*; the note was presumably first written as *f#*, then erased from the plate along with its accidental and replaced with *e*, and the ♯ overlooked; bar 56, tenor: the fourth crotchet is *a'* instead of *g#*. A detailed list of errors and variant readings will be included in my forthcoming PhD thesis.

⁴⁴ The existence of other sources linked to the Organ School and preserved in this state, for example CZ-Pk 1895 (see fn. 22), supports this theory.

⁴⁵ For example, the missing ♯ in bar 47 has been added in all the alto parts copied by Zvonař, first in pencil, then retraced in ink. In the soprano parts Zvonař corrected the accidental of the second crotchet of bar 52 from ♯ to ♯# in the first copy, and continued copying the remaining parts with the correction. In the same bar, in the alto part, the penultimate crotchet had ♯, because of Nægeli's ambiguous reading, which was then changed to ♯, first in pencil, then ink. The correction again appears only in Zvonař's portion of the manuscript.

Kyrie *Organo.* *J. Bach.*

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for an organ part. The title 'Kyrie' is written in a cursive hand on the left, and 'Organo.' is written in the center. The composer's name 'J. Bach.' is written in the top right corner. The music is written on ten staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes notes, rests, and a large number of figured bass notations (fingerings and ornaments) written above the notes. The paper is aged and shows some staining.

Figure 3: Kyrie II, organ part, folio 1^v
(Library of the Prague Conservatoire, shelfmark 108)

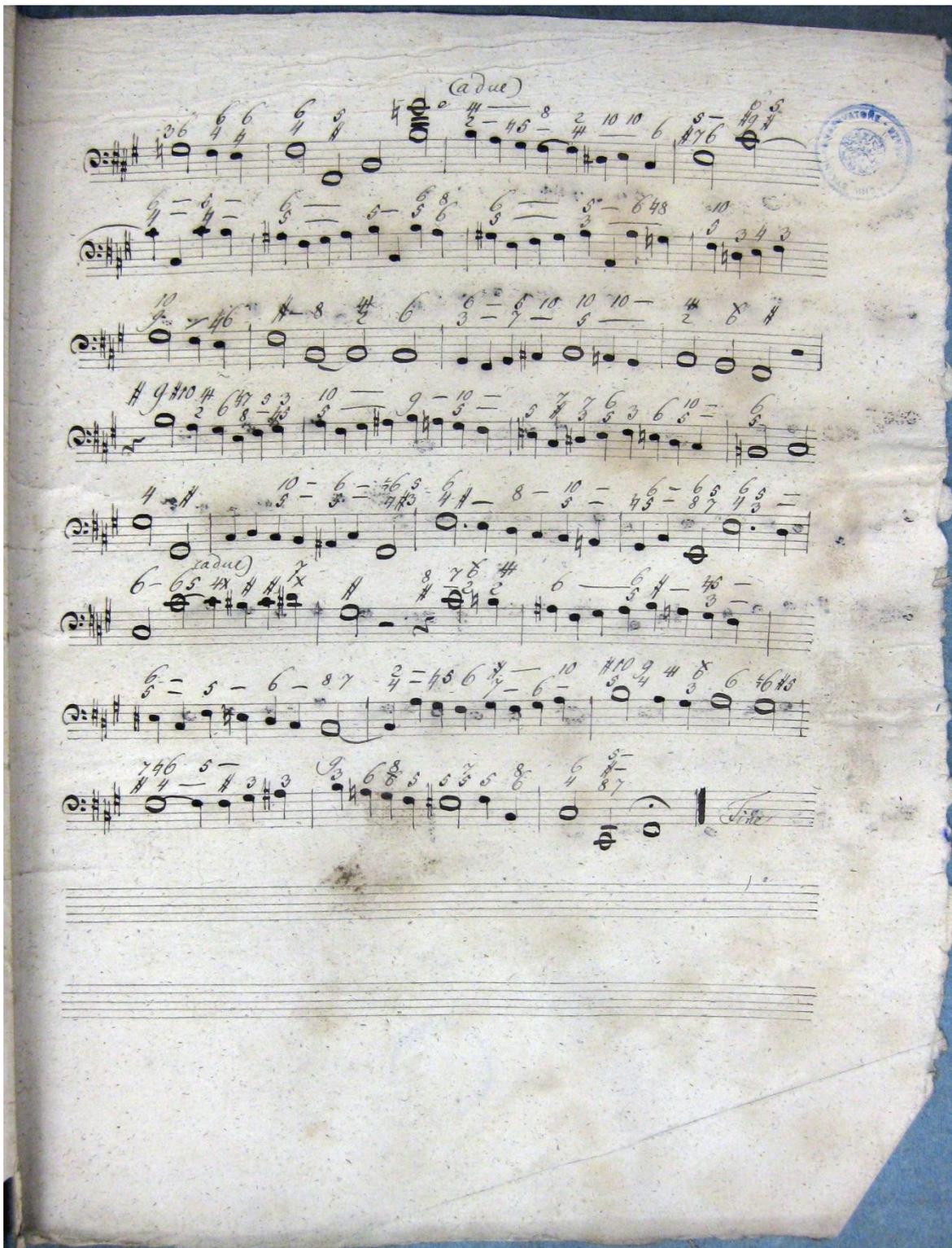


Figure 3 (continued): Kyrie II, organ part, folio 2^r
(Library of the Prague Conservatoire, shelfmark 108)

the manuscript's organ part of Nägeli's erroneous bass minim in bar 55,⁴⁶ while all the vocal parts give the correct pitch, suggests that the organ part was made before the manuscript score was proofread.

As there is no evidence of a later performance of the movement, and the number of students who took part in the 1845 performance⁴⁷ roughly corresponds to the total number of parts, it may be assumed that, despite the many *post correcturam* readings in the second copyist's portion of the manuscript, all the parts were copied for the same occasion. This hypothesis is corroborated by the paper and watermarks evidence. It is possible that the intention may have been to share the initial assortment of twenty vocal parts among the singers, even if only as a trial-set for the first rehearsal; three singers could have sung from the same copy.⁴⁸ The first run-through would have brought to light errors in the manuscript; the proposed changes would have been pencilled in by the students themselves, and then made permanent by the second copyist as he made up the remainder of the parts for the next rehearsal.

Some of the corrections found in the Verein's copy of Nägeli's full score are not reproduced in the Kyrie manuscript.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the independent character of the revisions does not necessarily imply that the manuscript was not based on this particular exemplar; it merely suggests that they were not corrected together. After all, any number of the Verein's library users could have made the corrections. It should also be pointed out that the manuscript is generally more precise in slurring than Nägeli's full score, and even, in some instances, more precise than Bach's autograph. Many of the slurs were presumably added at the proofreading stage. Since neither the revisions nor slurring correspond to Marx's vocal score, the only other printed score available at the time, the assumption must be that they were arrived at independently.

⁴⁶ See fn. 42.

⁴⁷ According to Branberger, twenty-eight students graduated in 1845. As it was a two-year course, the twenty-six first-year students would also have been assessed. Therefore the total number of students taking part in the examination was fifty-four. See Johann Branberger, 'III. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Absolventen des Prager Konservatoriums für Musik und der Alten Orgelschule', in *Das Konservatorium für Musik in Prag. Zur 100-Jahrfeier der Gründung im Auftrage des Vereines zur Beförderung der Tonkunst in Böhmen* (Prague: Verlag des Vereines zur Beförderung der Tonkunst in Böhmen, 1911), pp. 323–63.

⁴⁸ The idea was proposed by Arnold Schering in relation to Bach's own choir. See Arnold Schering, 'Die Besetzung Bachscher Chöre', *Bach-Jahrbuch* 17 (1920), 77–89. A further study of the extensive Organ School manuscript collection may provide an answer to this specific question of performance practice.

⁴⁹ For instance, the missing ♯ pencilled in beside the minim in bar 40 of the continuo, has been added at a later stage in the violone part of the Organ School manuscript, but the organ part remains erroneous. The now faded addition of ♯ in brown ink or pencil in the bass part of Nägeli's full score, at bar 55, is also found in the bass parts of the Kyrie manuscript, and was copied originally rather than added at a later stage. Again, the figures in the organ part do not reflect this addition. This would imply either that the score was amended later, or that the manuscript organ part was made from a different source. Finally, at bar 56, the erroneous reading of the tenor's fourth crotchet is amended to the correct g♯ in the Verein's copy of Nägeli's full score, but no correction appears in the manuscript tenor parts; the figures of the manuscript organ part were originally unaffected by this error.

The organ part

Unlike the other parts of the Kyrie manuscript, which were copied straight from the score, the organ part was conceived independently, without reference to a ready-made organ or figured-bass accompaniment. It has already been established that the piano reduction in Marx's vocal score could not have served as its model, and Nägeli's full score was published without figuration.⁵⁰ A comparison with Bach's own figured organ part provides ample evidence that it was not consulted either.⁵¹ The Kyrie manuscript thus offers valuable insights into how the transcriber worked: which elements of the musical content he deemed important, his degree of understanding of Bach's harmony and contrapuntal texture, and his preferred style of figuring. These insights may deepen our understanding of the Czech early music revival in general and the standard of music education in Prague in the first half of the nineteenth century in particular.

Perhaps the most important difference between Bach's figuration and that of the Kyrie manuscript is in the role of the organ itself. While Bach's figures are characteristic of an accompaniment woven into the texture as an additional, autonomous element, the figures of the Organ School manuscript return an almost verbatim transcription of the vocal lines. Instead of supplying figures from the beginning of the exposition, as Bach does, the Prague arranger commences with a fully written-out section in two parts comprising the subject in the bass and the continuo part without figures. Figures are added continuously from the third subject entry (alto, bar 9). Later reductions of texture to two parts are marked by '(a due)'.⁵² The temporary digression into figured bass in the fully written-out introductory section (bars 5–6) can be explained by the high register of both the bass and tenor parts, which would have necessitated using the limited space above the staff.

As the continuo was the only accompaniment used in the 1845 performance, the arranger was quite possibly guided by the *colla parte* instruction 'Istromenti in unisuono' given at the beginning of the movement in Nägeli's full score.⁵³ In an effort to reproduce the vocal parts on the organ in figured-bass notation he resorted to numerous, at times unorthodox, voice-leading cues. The figuring of unison⁵⁴ and the persistent use of the figure '10' to delineate the top line of the right-hand melody are both evidence of an attempt to follow the fugal texture. The curious addition of the note ♯g' above the bass on the fourth beat of bar 35 denotes a change in hand position at the start of the next section. As a rule, the figures are arranged to reflect a specific ordering of chord tones, whereby the

⁵⁰ The autograph score, which Nägeli acquired from C. P. E. Bach's estate in 1818, and on which his 1833 edition was based, contains no figuration either. The 1856 Bach-Gesellschaft edition is the first published with a figured continuo part.

⁵¹ Bach's continuo part is included in the set of parts dedicated to Friedrich August II in July 1733, now in D-DI, Mus. T-2405 D21.

⁵² See bars 36 and 51.

⁵³ Nägeli's instruction originates from Bach's autograph score P 180 which stipulates 'Istromenti in unisuono'.

⁵⁴ For instance, in bar 28, beat 3, or bar 34, beat 2 (second crotchet).

conventional hierarchy, i.e. ordering the figures from highest to lowest, is disregarded. However, the four vocal lines have been thinned out into a predominantly three-part texture,⁵⁵ which is likely to have been conditioned by the movement's fugal disposition. Thus some apparent errors in figuration are in fact just the consequence of omitting a part.⁵⁶

On the other hand, there are some genuine errors, such as misaligned or ambiguously placed figures⁵⁷ and omitted figures or accidentals,⁵⁸ which could be attributed to careless copying from a no longer extant draft part or score. The presence of accidentals rendered redundant by their appearance in the key signature, where the context does not call for their restatement,⁵⁹ coupled with the precise positioning of chords and voice leading reflected in the figures, gives the impression that these additional reminders were necessary for the young organist's sake.

A number of small, almost imperceptible markings appear among the figures above the staff. These curious symbols are in fact lower-case letters that coincide with structurally important points in the movement:

- 'a' end of bar 8, immediately preceding the alto subject entry
- 'b' middle of bar 11, immediately preceding the soprano subject entry
- 'c' middle of bar 14, at the start of the first episode
- 'd' end of bar 27, at the start of the codetta, which modulates back to F# minor
- 'e' end of bar 35, at the beginning of a stretto in two-part texture (marked by 'a due').

Too unevenly distributed to be rehearsal marks, these symbols would appear to denote registration changes and, while they could have been added by the organist himself during rehearsal, the handwriting is very similar to that of the

⁵⁵ Such a practice is also observed in the organ part of Handel's 'Et incarnatus est' (CZ-Pk 1130), where the figures in bars 22–26 have been scratched out and a treble-clef staff with only two parts inserted over the bass. According to the pencil inscription on the title page, the piece was performed in 1844. It was also mentioned in the examination announcement and review in *Bohemia. A., 'Telegraph von Prag', Bohemia 17/89 (26 July 1844), [4]*; H., 'Prüfung der Zöglinge der Orgelschule', *Bohemia 17/93 (4 August 1844), [4]*. Incidentally, the movement is an arrangement of Air No. 7 'The righteous Lord will righteous deeds with signal favour' from Handel's Chandos Anthem II, *In the Lord put I my trust* (HWV 247), originally written for tenor solo. Its English text has been replaced with text from the Latin Mass.

⁵⁶ Some of these include: bar 13, single appoggiatura 4 #, the appoggiatura 6 5+ in the soprano is omitted; bar 19, the last note is figured as -/3 over d#, the alto part is omitted (Bach has 5#); bar 29, figure 8/6 held through beats 3–4 over B, the tenor's subject entry is omitted (Bach's figure over the last beat is 6#).

⁵⁷ For instance, in bar 12, beat 3, the ambiguously placed figure 4+/2 should be aligned with the second half of the beat. In bar 33, the figure 8/3 should occur on the second half of beat 3, followed by the figure 9/4 aligned with beat 4.

⁵⁸ In bar 9, beat 3, # has been omitted in front of the figure 6, while in bar 12, beat 1, the figure 10 should have #.

⁵⁹ In bar 23, beat 2, the second crotchet should have the figure 8/6; in bar 30, beat 4 and bar 31, beat 1, the + is not required with figure 4.

autograph score of Pitsch's *Missa Solennis* (sic!).⁶⁰ The registration changes were probably supplied to create the effect of terraced dynamics, and they highlight Pitsch's care in delivering an effective performance.

According to the review in *Bohemia*, the organ was brought in for the occasion from the Organ School.⁶¹ A few more clues about the instrument can be gathered from a controversy that arose when an unidentified critic attacked Pitsch for teaching the art of organ playing 'on a measly positive without pedals'.⁶² Defending Pitsch in the *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung*, Count Laurencin affirms that the instrument used at the time at the Organ School for both teaching and examinations was a 'positive with an 8-foot principal and pedals'.⁶³ A more recent source describes the instrument as 'the small organ with a chromatic pedal' (replacing the short octave pedal until then customary in Bohemia) that Pitsch commissioned shortly after his appointment as the school's director.⁶⁴

Despite the makeshift nature of this organ part, which, as demonstrated, appears to have emanated from the nature of the musical material itself, rather than a lack of understanding of figured-bass practices, it is clear that great care went into its creation. It is very likely to be a fair copy produced for the student entrusted with accompanying the piece, who was possibly assessed on his playing. The absence of performance indications from the organ part suggests that the accompanist was not also the conductor. Unfortunately, what the part does not tell us is who supplied its figures. Was it Zvonař, who copied it, or perhaps director Pitsch himself? In any case, if the two reviewers are to be trusted, the ultimate acoustic experience appears not to have suffered from the part's apparent shortcomings and even banality.

The remaining parts

Despite their homogeneity, the performance indications, which are marked in all the parts except the one for organ and none of which have originated from the manuscript's model, reveal yet more intriguing pieces of evidence about the manuscript's evolution as well as its practical use. Dynamics are limited to 'for' or 'fo' (forte) at each part's subject entry, including the initial entry,⁶⁵ and 'fz' at the

⁶⁰ The autograph of Pitsch's *Missa Solennis* is housed in the Prague Conservatoire, shelfmark 1 C 21.

⁶¹ [Anon], 'Prüfung der Zöglinge der Orgelschule', *Bohemia* 18/96 (12 August 1845), [4].

⁶² See Philokales [Ferdinand Peter Graf von Laurencin], 'Musikalische Briefe aus Prag (Fortsetzung.)', *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 3/112 (19 September 1843), 471. Unfortunately, the newspaper that published the initial affront and the identity of its author remain unknown.

⁶³ Ibid. See also August Schmidt, 'Reise=momente von August Schmidt: I. Prag (Fortsetzung.)', *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 4/124 (13 October 1844), [493].

⁶⁴ See Jan Hora, 'Die Prager Orgelschule ("Organistenschule") 1830-1890, in *De arte organistica: Festschrift Hans Haselböck zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hemma Kronsteiner (Wien: Doblinger, 1998), p. 77.

⁶⁵ Soprano: bars 11, 40, 55; alto: bars 9, 35; tenor: bars 3, 29, 36; bass: bars 1, 25, 41; violone: bars 1, 25. The mark 'f' in bar 22 of the violone does not relate to a subject entry, and the note with which it occurs is placed directly above the actual subject entry. It is most likely an accidentally started 'for', which the copyist abandoned when he realised his mistake.

syncopated descending figure.⁶⁶ In the parts in which the performance markings were originally written, some inconsistencies can be observed in the use of 'for', 'f', 'fz' and, in two places, the accent hairpin '>'. This suggests that initially there was no definitive policy with regard to the systematic application of these instructions, but rather that the system had crystallised during the process. The significance of these markings is that for two of the fifty vocal parts (one soprano and one alto) they were originally pencilled in, then made permanent in ink. With the pencil traces indiscernible in the remaining parts, the solution proposed in relation to the *post correcturam* entries of accidentals in Zvonař's parts,⁶⁷ that students were advised of corrections during rehearsal, does not apply here.

The only tempo indication, 'Moderato' marked in pencil, occurs in the violone in place of the 'Allabreve' of Bach's autograph. It should be noted that 'Allabreve' appears in every modern edition, but has been omitted (probably by error) from Nägeli's full score, which accounts for its omission from the Organ School manuscript. As it happens, the pencilled 'Moderato' appears to be Pitsch's addition.⁶⁸ So after Zvonař had copied his portion of the manuscript, he passed it to the conductor who pencilled in the tempo indication and, most probably, the dynamics in the two vocal parts, as an instruction to the copyist on how to finalise the manuscript.⁶⁹ We can now deduce that it was Pitsch who led the ensemble. It also means that the hypothetical manuscript score contained no performance indications at the time the parts were copied from it.⁷⁰

All the parts (except the one for organ) occupy a single sheet and make use of both its sides, thus requiring a page turn. While this would not pose a problem for the singers, the violone player would be required to interrupt his playing at the page turn following bar 34 or to seek assistance, perhaps from one of the singers. The inconsistent layout of the individual parts⁷¹ could suggest that this was not important to the two scribes. It could equally be interpreted as quite the opposite: that the scribes deliberately varied the layout to avoid a simultaneous page-turn that could have interrupted the performance.

Two of the soprano parts contain enharmonically transposed music of bars 51–52 in the unused staff at the bottom of the second page (see Ex. 1). The use of pencil suggests that these were noted by singers who were struggling with intonation in this particular passage. As the two readings bear different key

⁶⁶ Soprano: bars 33, 43, 51; alto: bars 32, 43, 51; tenor: bars 22, 32, 44, 52; bass: bars 31, 33, 44, 52; violone: bars 11, 31, 33.

⁶⁷ See fn. 45.

⁶⁸ It matches the 'Moderato' indication in the autograph of Pitsch's *Missa Solennis* (see fn. 60), f. [22^v].

⁶⁹ Pitsch assigned and appended the erroneous indication of 'fz' (instead of 'for') to the first subject entry of the alto. Surprisingly, the error has not been copied into the remaining alto parts, which suggests that Pitsch accompanied his written instruction with a verbal one or that Zvonař had based his correct marking on the logic employed in the soprano part.

⁷⁰ Bach supplied similar isolated instructions to his performance parts of the B minor Mass [D-D1 Mus.2405-D2]: in the opening Kyrie, the cello part is given 'molt' adagio', as opposed to simply 'adagio' found in the parts of other instruments (except oboes). His score [D-B, Mus.ms. Bach P 180], on the other hand, does not contain the indication 'adagio'.

⁷¹ For example, the recto pages of the soprano parts are laid out as follows: 8 x 40 ½ bars, 3 x 40 bars; 1 x 42 bars; 1 x 41 bars.

signatures, although both offer the same reading notationally, the hint to conceptualise the problematic second half of bar 51 as if it were notated in E_b, would appear to have been made by Pitsch during a rehearsal; the students then made a note of his suggestion, each in their own way.

The image displays three staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'Original' and 'notation:'. It shows two measures, 51 and 52, in a key signature of two sharps (D major). Measure 51 contains a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, and F5. Measure 52 contains quarter notes G5, A5, B5, C6, D6, E6, and F6. The middle staff is labeled 'Transposed: a)' and shows the same passage transposed to a key signature of two flats (B-flat major). The notes are: G4, A4, B-flat4, C5, D5, E5, and F5. The bottom staff is labeled 'b)' and shows the passage transposed to a key signature of one flat (C major). The notes are: G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, and F5. The notation uses a soprano clef for the top two staves and a soprano clef with a bass line for the bottom staff.

Example 1: Enharmonic transcription found in two soprano parts

If the instruction did come from Pitsch, the fact that both fragments have been notated in 4/4 time, although evidently arrived at independently, begs the question whether Pitsch, unaware of Bach's 'Allabreve' indication, took the crotchet as the unit of beat for his performance. The answer may well lie in his own tempo indication, 'Moderato', if the speed at which it was executed could be established. Since nineteenth-century reference books offer only vague descriptions of the tempo as 'moderately fast' ('mäßig schnell')⁷² or simply 'moderately' ('mäßig'; 'gemäßigt'),⁷³ a hypothetical reference to the speed of Pitsch's moderato could perhaps be derived from the metronome markings Czerny supplied together with tempo indications in his edition of *The Well-Tempered Clavier* (1837).⁷⁴ This edition was widely publicised at the time of publication and it seems reasonable to assume that Pitsch as a Bach enthusiast

⁷² A. W. Gottschalg, *Kleines Handlexikon der Tonkunst für alle diejenigen, welche sich mit der Musik gründlich beschäftigen wollen, insbesondere für Deutschlands Lehrerseminarien, Organisten, Cantoren etc. von. I. Bändchen. Erklärung der hauptsächlichsten musikalischen Fremdwörter, Kunstausdrücke und Abkürzungen* (Erfurt und Leipzig: G. Wilh. Körner [1863]), p. 64.

⁷³ Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main: August Hermann Jr., 1802), p. 972; Hermann Mendel, ed., *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon. Eine Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften. Für Gebildete aller Stände ...* (Berlin: Robert Oppenheim, 1877), p. 161.

⁷⁴ LE CLAVECIN BIEN TEMPÉRÉ ou Préludes et Fugues dans tous les tons et demitons sur les Modes majeurs et mineurs PAR JEAN SEBASTIEN BACH. Edition nouvelle, soigneusement revue, corrigée et doigtée, ainsi que pourvue de notifications sur l'exécution et sur les mesures des temps (d'après le Métronome de Maelzel) et accompagnée d'une préface par CHARLES CZERNY. Leipzig, au Bureau de Musique de C. F. Peters. [1837]. Oeuvres complets Liv. I. Pl.-Nr. 2635.

would have known it. If we consider the two aspects that governed Czerny's choice of tempo for each prelude and fugue – the texture and character of the movement – the fugue closest to the Kyrie II is Fugue No. 4 in C# minor from Book I (BWV 849/2). It is grounded in the *stile antico* tradition, as is the Kyrie, has the same time signature (♩ [=2/2]) and similar predominant note values. In his edition, Czerny replaced Bach's time signature with c [=4/4] and proposed the tempo ♩=112 *Moderato e Maestoso*. Another comparable fugue, albeit not strictly in *stile antico* but largely influenced by it, is Fugue No. 1 in C major (BWV 846/2). Here Czerny left Bach's common time (c) unchanged but reinterpreted it as 8/8, as can be inferred from the recommendation ♩=116 *Moderato e Maestoso*. If Pitsch performed the Kyrie at the proposed speed, with a minim as the beat unit, it would have been an extraordinarily fast rendition, even by today's standards, perhaps even unrealisable. However, Czerny's interference with the basic time units of these fugues allow us to surmise that the nineteenth-century notion of a *stile antico* movement was one that was very broad and slow. Thus the Kyrie performed at the approximate speed of ♩=112–116 may not have sounded as sluggish and laboured to nineteenth-century ears as it would to ours.

Conclusion

The one remaining unanswered question to complete the story of the Prague Kyrie concerns Pitsch's motives for choosing this particular movement for the 1845 public examination. Apart from a personal predilection for Bach, which translated into his educational practices, his primary concerns would have been the practicality of a performance and the stylistic appeal of the work, taken in the wider context of current attitudes to musical style and taste.

At a time when concerted efforts were being made to raise the overall standards of church music, the old came to be synonymous with the good and works 'in the strict style' came to be viewed as paragons of compositional excellence. At the conservatoires and conservatoire-style training institutions that were emerging throughout Europe, strict counterpoint and the study of fugue became an integral part of the curriculum, a trend fuelled by a surge in printed editions, some of which were specifically designated for use at conservatoires.⁷⁵ This, of course, was a direct result of the renewed interest in the music of antiquity, epitomised by the ventures of the Berlin Sing-Akademie, which culminated in Mendelssohn's acclaimed centenary revival of Bach's *St Matthew Passion* in 1829.

However, performances of a complete large-scale work, such as Mendelssohn's *St Matthew* performance, were not typical of nineteenth-century concert life. The concert-goer of the time was more accustomed to a collage of concise individual works or movements extracted from a larger cyclical work. Consequently, the event regarded as the first known public performance of the B minor Mass in the nineteenth century featured only a single movement from the work, the 'Et

⁷⁵ One such edition was Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* published by N. Simrock (Bonn, 1801): 'Preludes et fugues pour le Forte-Piano dans tous les tons, tant majeurs que mineurs par J. Seb. Bach dédiés Au Conservatoire de Musique par l'Editeur'.

incarnatus'. This took place in the Marienkirche in Berlin in December 1827, and was conducted by August Wilhelm Bach.⁷⁶ The next performance, conducted by Gaspare Spontini in April 1828, contained only the first six movements of the Credo.⁷⁷ The first complete performance had to wait until 1856.⁷⁸ Pitsch's choice of a single movement from the Mass in 1845 conformed to European concert culture of the time.

In the context of the Organ School's 1845 public examination, Bach's Kyrie II was chosen alongside Palestrina's *Adoramus te*, the Chorus of Israelites from Handel's *Athalia*, the first movement of Astorga's *Stabat Mater* and Lotti's *Domine si insurgent adversum nos castra*. This selection of well-known vocal works by the great masters of periods from the Renaissance to high baroque echoes the view expressed in reviews of the Viennese *Concerts spirituel* in 1845, one of which featured 'Et incarnatus' and 'Crucifixus' from the Credo of Bach's B minor Mass. The reviewer, Count Laurencin, is of the opinion that the old Italian masters and Bach, together with Beethoven, are the only dignified representatives of the true *musica sacra*. The Italian masters represent the foundation of all church music, in which the religious feeling proceeds from the original source untarnished by any secular idea.⁷⁹ Bach's music is described as a reflection upon words, text and the church brought to life through sound and fully aware of its purpose; he calls it 'conceptual church music' or 'the church music of pure thought'.⁸⁰ Finally, Beethoven is hailed as 'the great musical prophet of modern times',⁸¹ in whose music both earlier moments find completion and a true artistic reconciliation.⁸² It is very likely that Pitsch, who knew Laurencin personally, was influenced by this view.

Pitsch's choice of the Kyrie II over the other movements of the B minor Mass may have hinged on practical considerations. Orchestral accompaniment plays an integral part in the contrapuntal texture of most of the work's other choral numbers – that is, their texture is not complete without the orchestra. However, the five-stave scoring of the Kyrie II could easily have been arranged for singers and organ accompaniment from the Organ School's ranks. 'Gratias'/'Dona nobis', 'Credo in unum Deum' and, of course, the opening Kyrie all require an

⁷⁶ For further details see M. [Adolph Bernhard Marx], 'Kirchenmusik in Berlin', *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 4/52 (26 December 1827), 423.

⁷⁷ Various works of Beethoven completed the programme; for details see the review of the concert by A. B. Marx in *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 5/18 (30 April 1828), 146.

⁷⁸ For a summary of performances of movements from the B minor Mass see Hiromi Hoshino, 'J. S. Bach's Mass in B minor: A Study of its Reception History in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century especially regarding the Activities of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy', in *International Symposium: Understanding Bach's B-minor Mass. Discussion Book 2. Resource Book*, eds. Yo Tomita and Tanja Kovačević (Belfast: Queen's University Belfast, 2007), pp. 462–63.

⁷⁹ Philokales [Ferdinand Peter Graf von Laurencin], 'Viertes und letztes Concert spirituel. Donnerstag am 3. April im großen Redoutensaale', *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 5/43 (10 April 1845), 171.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Philokales [Ferdinand Peter Graf von Laurencin], 'Konzert=Salon. Erstes Concert spirituel. Donnerstag am 6. Februar im Musikvereinsaale', *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 5/17 (8 February 1845), 67.

⁸² Philokales, 'Viertes und letztes Concert spirituel' (see fn. 78), 171.

orchestra, so would not have been suitable. The other alternative, 'Confiteor', would have been ruled out by its musical connection to the following movement, 'Et exspecto', in which orchestral accompaniment is of vital importance. Also, the Credo section of the B minor Mass, to which the 'Confiteor' belongs, was published for the first time as the second instalment of the Nägeli-Simrock full score edition in spring 1845.⁸³ Although the Verein did own a copy of this edition,⁸⁴ even if it had been acquired immediately after publication, there would probably not have been enough time before the performance to prepare the parts, arrange the organ part and rehearse the piece. Therefore, if Pitsch wanted to perform a movement from the B minor Mass, the Kyrie II was his only choice.

In the wider context of nineteenth-century interest in the past in which the Organ School Kyrie came to be, Pitsch was a person who, thanks to his long teaching career, passed his personal sentiments and affinities for Bach's music to his students and was largely responsible for popularising Bach in Prague. One could even consider him Prague's own Mendelssohn. On the other hand, the study of the source itself has brought to light an astonishing degree of detail that tells the story of how carefully the manuscript was prepared and annotated, how the parts were used in rehearsals, and how the performance was directed. The remarkably rich material preserved in the Prague archives offers huge scope for future research in this area and may yet reveal many more stories worth telling.

⁸³ See fn. 36.

⁸⁴ The copy in the archive of the Prague Conservatoire, shelfmark 97/II, carries the ink inscription 'Eigenthum des Vereins der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik in Böhmen'.