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**Sacred Space and Sublime Sacramental Piety:
The Devotion of the Forty Hours and W.A. Mozart's two Sacramental Litanies
(Salzburg 1772 and 1776)**

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In this article, I shall discuss the musical response of the young W.A. Mozart (1756–91) to notions of sacredness in connection with Eucharistic piety of the late eighteenth century at the Cathedral of Salzburg, with which he was unofficially associated since early childhood through his father Leopold Mozart (1719–87) who was employed by the archbishop of Salzburg and where Wolfgang himself also became officially employed in the summer of 1772.

Eucharistic piety, of course, was a general phenomenon in the Latin Roman Church as a consequence of the developments in Eucharistic thought especially since the eleventh century where the foundations for the later doctrine of the transubstantiation (formally confirmed at the fourth Lateran Council in 1215) were laid leading to new forms of pious practices connected to the Eucharistic elements, not least the establishing of the Feast of Corpus Christi (gradually from a slow start in the thirteenth century).

In the sixteenth century new Eucharistic pious practices were introduced, especially the Devotion of the Forty Hours is relevant in this paper. Also Eucharistic litanies are known from about this time. In Salzburg, a special tradition for Eucharistic litanies prevailed in the late eighteenth century, a tradition into which the young Mozart was introduced as a church musician, composing two substantial litanies which were (also) performed at the Forty Hours Devotion in the Cathedral of Salzburg. What may be understood as a sublime dramaticity in these compositions, may more convincingly be seen as a response to the sacred space and actions in the church, received as they were through a long liturgical and musical tradition going back to the early Middle Ages.

I. The Devotion of the Forty Hours in Salzburg toward the End of the Eighteenth Century

In 1784, the *Hochfürstliche Consistorium* in Salzburg issued a decree on behalf of Prince Archbishop Hieronymus von Colloredo, who reigned the ecclesiastical principality of Salzburg (part of the Holy Roman Empire) from 1772 to 1803, concerning the Devotion of the Forty Hours and similar devotional prayers in which the host was ceremonially and solemnly exposed publicly. Colloredo is primarily known as a reform ruler; he curtailed and in many cases even abolished what in Enlightenment eyes appeared as superfluous processions and other church ceremonial in the very elaborate Baroque pious practices of his predecessor Prince Archbishop Sigismund von Schrattenbach and Catholic Baroque traditions altogether. Colloredo's reforms were to a high extent in accordance with the reforms of Joseph II in the Habsburg hereditary lands (where Joseph became the single ruler after the death of his mother, Maria Theresia in 1780 in addition to being Holy Roman Emperor since the death of his father Franz I in 1765). However, the Devotion of the Forty Hours was not abolished by Colloredo; on the contrary, its practice as well as its solemnity is highly emphasised in the mentioned decree, although it also contains a general warning that such ceremonies for the exposition of the host should not be overdone:

[...] but, on the other hand, such expositions should not be multiplied too much so that the warm zeal of the heart should not be transformed into half-heartedness over time because of repetitiveness.¹

The main message of the decree is to maintain order, solemnity, and to underline the sacredness and uniqueness of the experience of these ceremonies:

Where the Church publicly, with heart and mouth, confesses the continuous adoration of the sacrament of the altar through the presence of the Son of God under the visible forms of bread, where man publicly invokes his Creator as the giver of all good things, and brings Him thanks for the already received benefits, and publicly implores Him for further favour of divine assistance, there it is of the highest necessity that the mark of majesty, shivering quietness, pious humbleness, uniform ordering, genuine devotion, true zeal must be the decisive seal of such a most holy ceremony [...]²

The practice of the Devotion of the Forty Hours is first known (although a certain continuity with earlier medieval practices is obvious) in Milano in 1527. From there it spread to the major Italian cities of Rome and Florence during the following decades. It was approved by Pope Paul III in 1539 and adopted by the Jesuits and the Oratorians in the 1550s. Archbishop Borromeo of Milano issued a decree defining the general ceremonial framework of the devotion in 1577 and Pope Clement VIII's bull *Graves et diuturnae* (1592) ordered that the devotion was to be held consecutively in Roman churches so that at any time there would always be a church in which it was carried out.³ In

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¹ *Ordinariatsvorschrift welche in feyerlicher Begebung des 40. stündigen und zum Theil auch 7. stündigen Gebethes bey allen sowohl Säkular- als Regularkirchen des hohen Erzstiftes von nun an genau zu beobachten ist*. Diözesanarchiv Salzburg, shelfmark 22/52. Print containing 4 pages, the text is given from the Princely consistory of Salzburg 1 January 1784, "Gegeben Salzburg aus dem Hochfürstl. Consistorium den 1. Jenner 1784. Joseph Graf von Starhemberg, Präsident. Franz Xaver Hochbichler, Direktor. Anton Medard Krenner, Kanzler." (p. 4). The quotation is found on p. 4: "[...] dass im gegentheile aber auch derley Aussetzungen nie zu sehr vervielfältiget werden müssen, damit nicht bey gar zu oft wiederholten Gebrauch warmer Herzenseifer mit der Zeit in Lauigkeit übergehe." I consulted the *Ordinariatsvorschrift* during a visit to the Cathedral Archives in Salzburg in February 2010. I thank its director Dr. Ernst Hintermayer and his collaborators for generous help during my visit.

² *Ordinariatsvorschrift* (1784), p. 1: "Da, wo die Kirche die ununterbrochene Anbethung des Altarssakrament durch die Gegenwart des Gottes Sohn unter den sichtbaren Brodesgestalten mit Herz und Mund öffentlich bekennet, wo der Mensch seinen Schöpfer als den Geber alles Guten öffentlich anrufet, ihm für die schon empfangene Wohlthaten öffentlichen Dank bringet, und um fernere Gedeihung des göttlichen Beystandes öffentlich flehet, da soll und muss auszeichnende Majestät, schauernde Stille, fromme Eingezogenheit, gleichförmige Ordnung, unverfälschte Andacht, wahrer Eifer das entscheidende Siegel einer so heiligsten Handlung seyn [...]."

³ For general introductions to the Devotion of the Forty Hours, see Joseph Imorde, *Präsenz und Repräsentanz. Oder: Die Kunst Jesu Leib auszustellen*, Emsdetten und Berlin, 1997; Josef Andreas Jungmann, "Die Andacht der vierzig Stunden und das Heilige Grab", in: J.A. Jungmann, *Liturgisches Erbe und Pastorale Gegenwart. Studien und Vorträge*, Innsbruck, 1960, pp. 295–315, and Costanzo Cargnoni, "Quarante-heures" in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. XII, Paris 1986, col. 2702–2723. Although of considerable age, Herbert Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week. Chapters on Catholic Observance and Ritual*, New York and Bombay, 1904, pp. 110–48, is very useful to this day, containing excerpts in English translation of some relevant sources. Concerning art and music connected to these ceremonies, see Imorde's afore-mentioned book and Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, No. 37, 1974, pp. 218–48; Eyolf Østrem and Nils Holger Petersen, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: the Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in late-Renaissance Italy*, Turnhout, 2008, especially pp. 154–62, and Noel O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550–1650*, London, 1995, pp. 25–27.

1705 Pope Clement XI gave instructions for the carrying out of the devotion, instructions which were reissued by Pope Clement XII in 1731, the so-called Clementine Instruction.⁴ In spite of all these quite authoritative approvals, statements, and even instructions, the specific details of the contents of the devotion seem to have been locally decided within the officially sanctioned framework. Both Archbishop Borromeo's decree and the Clementine Instruction prescribe processions at the beginning of the devotion to bring the host to the altar where it is to be publicly exposed as well as at the end to bring it back again and mention also the singing of litanies after the first procession and before the final one.⁵ Such processions are also mentioned in the Salzburg decree of 1784:

The Forty or 7 Hours Devotion itself may, wherever this has been the tradition, begin every time with a solemn procession. [...] Finally, at the end of this several hour long devotion, and wherever it has been the case traditionally, a solemn procession should be formed again.⁶

Pope Clement VIII's bull had expressly mentioned the devotion as a means of prayer to uphold the church against the heresies as well as the threat of the turks.⁷ Joseph Imorde has argued that the Devotion of the Forty Hours in the aftermath of the Council of Trent was used as a tool against heretical views on the Eucharist as well as to strengthen the faithful in their proper Catholic beliefs. The theological question at the base of such a use was, of course, whether the real presence in the Eucharist was of such a character that an exposition of the host as the body of Christ (outside of the Eucharist itself) would be meaningful. The Protestants (including Martin Luther who adhered to a notion of real presence) denied this, and Luther, although not commenting on the Forty Hours Devotion itself, which he may not have known, polemicized against Catholic processions carrying around the host and altogether against the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi in the Roman Church.⁸

On this background, I have argued that the preserved musical settings of Eucharistic litanies from the later sixteenth century were originally connected to the Devotion of the Forty Hours since their texts contain very explicit formulations of a Divine presence in the host, to the extent that these litanies to a high extent consist of prayers directly addressed to the host in terms that strongly underlined theological ideas in accordance with the practise of exposing the host as alive and divine, formulations which would have been directly counter to even a moderate Lutheran view of real presence in the Eucharist: "Terrifying and life-giving sacrament, have mercy upon us" ("tremendum ac vivificum sacramentum, miserere nobis"); "Bread made flesh through the omnipotence of the Word" ("panis omnipotentia verbi caro factus, miserere nobis"); "O bread of

⁴ *The Clementine Instruction for the right ordering of the Forty Hours' Prayer*, translated and commented by J.B. O'Connell (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd, 1927), foreword, pp. vi–vii.

⁵ For Borromeo's decree, see *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis ab eius initiis usque ad nostrum aetatem*, ed. by Achilles Ratti, 3 vols (Milan. Ex Typographia Pontificia Sancti Iosephi, 1890–1900), II (1890), cols. 1927–1930 (col. 1928), see also the discussion in Østrem and Petersen, pp. 154–55, and in Nils Holger Petersen, "The *Quarant'Ore*: Early Modern Ritual and Performativity," in *Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome*, ed. by Peter Gillgren and Mårten Snickare (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 115–33 (116). In *The Clementine Instruction*, see § xx–xxiv and xxx.

⁶ *Ordinariatsvorschrift* (1784), pp. 2 and 4: "Das 40. oder 7. stündigen Gebeth selbst kann, wo immer es von jeher etwa schon üblich war, allemal mit einer feyerlichen Prozession angefangen werden. [...] Endlich zum Schluss dieses mehrstündigen Gebethes soll und kann, wo es bisher schon Observanz war, abermal, eine feyerliche Prozession nach der obigen Weisung [...] veranstaltet werden."

⁷ Thurston, pp. 116–21; see also Nils Holger Petersen, "Renaissance Rituals in a Florentine Lay Confraternity: Compagnia dell'arcangelo Raffaello," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* XXX (2004), 153–60 (155).

⁸ Imorde, pp. 25–43; Petersen (2012), pp. 117–18.

life, come down from heaven, have mercy upon us” (“panis vivus, qui de coelo descendisti, miserere nobis”, cf. John 6: 51).⁹

Obviously, the situation was no longer the same in Salzburg in the second half of the eighteenth century. The text of the Eucharistic litanies in the rich Salzburg tradition of such settings since the late seventeenth century is very constant and contains all the elements quoted, as opposed to the texts of the musical works of the earlier period, for instance Palestrina’s two late sixteenth-century Eucharistic litanies, *Litaniae 8* and *Litaniae 9* both entitled *litaniae sacrosanctae eucharistiae*, the texts of which are similar in structure and contents, but only have few sentences in common (the two first mentioned text examples above are found in his *Litaniae 8*, the last in *Litaniae 9*). The texts of the Eucharistic litanies (from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries) are not found in official liturgical books, but seem to have been locally dependent and only preserved in the scores of the settings.¹⁰

It is noteworthy that the Salzburg decree of 1784 explicitly plays down the doctrinal and controversial aspects of Eucharistic theology for the ceremony:

The sermons to be held during such solemn adorations should never last for more than a short half hour; their content should always in the best possible way be adapted to the level of the expected audience; therefore they should never be just dogmatic, especially in the countryside, or filled with learned polemics against deists, atheists, naturalists or the like, of whom (in the true sense) there are hardly any among the ordinary people. Neither should the sermons be built too much on refuting the principles of those who deny the presence of God’s Son under the forms of bread in order to prevent that some true believers thereby rather will be brought in doubt and led astray than edified. By contrast, these people are all to be reached by catechetical and moral-biblical teaching and also to be guided into the specifics in such a way that they will be convinced about the holiness, the grandeur and usefulness of this mystery of the altar which is most worthy of adoration. In this way, the infinite divine love of Jesus Christ for the whole of humanity may be made clear as much as this is possible for the limited intellect.¹¹

⁹ Petersen (2012), pp. 118–20; see also Nils Holger Petersen, “Introduction,” in *Resonances: Historical Essays on Continuity and Change*, ed. by Nils Holger Petersen, Eyolf Østrem, and Andreas Bücken (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 1–19 (9–11).

¹⁰ Walter Senn, “Vorwort,” in *Sakramentslitanei in D von Leopold Mozart*, ed. by Walter Senn. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke Serie X Supplement Werkgruppe 28, Abteilung 3–5, Band 1 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1973), vii–xii (ix); Karl Gustav Fellerer, *Die Kirchenmusik W.A. Mozarts* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1985), 109; Johannes Krutmann, “Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts Litaneien,” in *Mozarts Kirchenmusik*, ed. by Harald Schützeichel (Freiburg: Katholische Akademie der Erzdiözese Freiburg, 1991), pp. 52–72 (53–54); Magda Marx-Weber, “Litaneien,” in *Mozarts Kirchenmusik, Lieder und Chormusik. Das Handbuch*, ed. by Thomas Hochradner and Günther Massenkeil (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2006), pp. 201–220 (201); cf. also Joachim Roth, *Die mehrstimmigen lateinischen Litaneikompositionen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1959), pp. 20, 31 and 49. Roth claims original text to have comprised the textual parts in the various settings, as found in Caesar de Zacharius’ 1596 setting. See also Karl August Rosenthal and Arthur Mendel, “Mozart’s Sacramental Litanies and Their Forerunners,” *The Musical Quarterly* 27, 4 (1941), pp. 433–455; the authors of this article claim that “the litany of the altar sacrament [...] had never been accepted into the Roman liturgy” (p. 434) but also that “the text of the *Litaniae de venerabili altaris sacramento* was fixed by the Council of Trent” (p. 438); however, they only refer to the text as preserved in chorus books (note 11, p. 438). Concerning the Palestrina settings, see Petersen (2012), pp. 119–21.

¹¹ *Ordinariatsvorschrift* (1784), pp. 2–3: “Die wehrend solch feyerlicher Anbethung abzuhaltende Predigten sollen nie länger, als eine kurze halbe Stunde dauern; ihr Inhalt soll allemal bestens nach den Begriffen des zu erwarten habenden Auditoriums eingerichtet werden; und daher sollen dieselbe, vorzüglich auf dem Lande, niemals bloss dogmatisch, oder mit gelehrten Ausfällen auf Deisten, Atheisten, Naturalisten etc. deren es im wahren Verstand unter dem gemeinen Mann ohnehin kaum einige giebt, verbunden; noch auf Widerlegungen der Grundsätze dererjenigen, welche die Gegenwart des Sohn Gottes unter den Brodsgestalten ablängnen, zu sehr gebauet seyn, damit nicht mancher

In other words, the focus of the ecclesiastical authorities in Salzburg under Archbishop Colloredo was not the polemic against heresies, but much rather the concern with edifying the people, very much in agreement with general Enlightenment attitudes. However, in this case this was thought to be achieved not so much by way of rational argument and teaching in a traditional sense alone but also very much through religious experience: the terror-filled awe at the confrontation with the divine. The words majesty (*Majestät*), shivering quietness (*schaudernde Stille*), pious humbleness (*fromme Eingezogenheit*), holiness (*Heiligkeit*), and grandeur (*Grösse*) give very clear signals which are not always brought up in connection with Enlightenment Christianity.

II. The Eucharistic Litanies in Salzburg

The text for the Eucharistic litanies – as set in the Salzburg tradition including W.A. Mozart’s two settings, KV 125 in B flat major (1772) and KV 243 in E flat major (1776) – which contains (more than) the combined texts of the aforementioned Palestrina settings certainly gives weight to notions of mystery, of awe and grandeur, as well as human humility. Here follows the text in Latin and English. The divisions correspond to the musical division in 9 movements in the two works, except that in KV 125, the textual parts 6 and 7 form one movement, whereas in KV 243 the textual parts 5 and 6 form one movement. This change will be commented on below.

1.

Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison

Christe audi nos, Christe exaudi nos

Pater de coelis Deus miserere nobis

Fili redemptor mundi Deus m.n.

Spiritus Sancte Deus m.n.

Sancta Trinitas unus Deus m.n.

[Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy. Christ, hear us, Christ hear us. Father in heaven, God, have mercy upon us. Son, Saviour of the world, have mercy upon us. Holy Spirit, God, have mercy upon us. Holy Trinity, one God, have mercy upon us.]

2.

Panis vivus, qui de coelo descendisti, m.n.

Deus absconditus et Salvator m.n.

Fruentum electorum m.n.

Vinum germinans virgines m.n.

Panis pignis et deliciae regum m.n.

Juge sacrificium m.n.

Oblatio munda m.n.

Agnus absque macula m.n.

Mensa purissima m.n.

Angelorum esca m.n.

Gutgläubige hiedurch eher auf Zweifel gebracht, und irre gemacht als belehret werde. Dagegen aber wohl sind dieselben allemal in einem katechetisch- und moralisch-biblischen Unterricht zu fassen, auch ins besondere dahin einzuleiten, damit das Volk von der Heiligkeit, Grösse und Nutzbarkeit des anbethenswürdigsten Altarsgeheimniss überzeugt werde; damit es hieraus die unnennbare göttliche Liebe Jesu Christi für das ganze Menschengeschlecht nach seinen vollen Umfang, so weit es dem eingeschränkten Verstande möglich seyn wird.”

Manna absconditum m.n.

Memoria mirabilium Dei m.n.

Panis supersubstantialis m.n.

[O bread of life, come down from heaven, h.m.u.u. O hidden God and Saviour h.m.u.u. Nourishment of the chosen, h.m.u.u. O wine, which makes virgins fruitful h.m.u.u. O bread abounding, the delight of kings h.m.u.u. O ever-flowing sacrifice, h.m.u.u. Pure offering, h.m.u.u. O lamb unblemished h.m.u.u. Purest meal, h.m.u.u. Food for the angels, h.m.u.u. O hidden Manna, h.m.u.u. O token of miraculous works of God, O bread transcending all material substance, h.m.u.u.]

3.

Verbum caro factum, habitans in nobis, m.n.

[Word become flesh, living in us, h.m.u.u.].

4.

Hostia sancta m.n.

Calix benedictionis m.n.

Mysterium fidei m.n.

Praecelsum et venerabile Sacramentum m.n.

Sacrificium omnium sanctissimum m.n.

Vere propitiatorium pro vivis et defunctis m.n.

Coeleste antidotum quo a peccatis praeservamur m.n.

Stupendum supra omnia miracula m.n.

Sacratissima Dominicae passionis commemoratio m.n.

Donum transcendens omnem plenitudinem m.n.

Memoriale praecipuum divini amoris m.n.

Divinae affluentia largitatis m.n.

Sacrosanctum et augustissimum mysterium m.n.

Pharmacum immortalitatis m.n.

[Consecrated Host, h.m.u.u. Chalice of blessing, h.m.u.u. Mystery of faith, h.m.u.u. Excellent sacrament worthy of praise, h.m.u.u. Most holy of all sacrifices, h.m.u.u. True atonement for the living and the dead, h.m.u.u. Heavenly agent by whom we are delivered from sin, h.m.u.u. Astounding wonder above all, h.m.u.u. Most holy remembrance of the Lord's Passion, h.m.u.u. Gift transcending all measure, h.m.u.u. Most excellent memorial of divine love, h.m.u.u. Abundance of divine wealth, h.m.u.u. Most holy and majestic mystery, h.m.u.u. Means to immortality, h.m.u.u.]

5.

Tremendum ac vivificum sacramentum m.n.

[Terrifying and life-giving sacrament, h.m.u.u.]

6.

Panis omnipotentia verbi caro factus m.n.

Incruentum sacrificium, m.n.

Cibus et conviva, m.n.

[Bread made flesh through the omnipotence of the Word, h.m.u.u. Sacrifice without bloodshed, h.m.u.u. nourishment and fellow table guest, h.m.u.u.]

7.

Dulcissimum convivium, cui assistunt Angeli ministrantes, m.n.

Sacramentum pietatis, m.n.

Vinculum caritatis, m.n.

Offerens et oblatio, m.n.

Spiritualis dulcedo in proprio fonte degustata, m.n.

Refectio animarum sanctarum, m.n.

[Sweetest of feasts attended by ministrant angels, h.m.u.u. Sacrament of piety, h.m.u.u. Chain of love, h.m.u.u. Offering and sacrifice, h.m.u.u. Sweetness of the Spirit, partaken at its source, h.m.u.u. Recovery for sacred souls, h.m.u.u.]

8.

Viaticum in Domino morientium, m.n.

[Provision for those who die in Christ, h.m.u.u.]

9.

Pignus futurae gloriae, m.n.

[Pledge of future glory, h.m.u.u.]

10.

Agnus dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, parce nobis, Domine.

Agnus dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, exaudi nos, Domine.

Agnus dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

[Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, spare us, o Lord. Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, hear us, o Lord. Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.]

Litany compositions at this time would generally – like mass compositions and other grand church music with long texts – be divided up in movements, set for solo singers, chorus and orchestra, variously scored in different movements.¹² As pointed out by recent scholars, Leopold Mozart's Eucharistic Litany in D (1762) not only has exactly the same divisions of the text into movements as his son's first litany, KV 125, but actually in many ways served as a model for the young composer's work (written in March 1772 when Wolfgang was 16); even so all commentators agree that Mozart is not copying his father, but using his model as a framework for his own, astonishingly mature and independent music. In KV 243 (written in March 1776 when Wolfgang was 20), he was even more independent and, as mentioned, changed the divisions into movements in a way which

¹² For descriptions of such works, and especially of W.A. Mozart's two sacramental litanies (as well as his two other Lauretan litanies), see Hartmut Schick, "Die Geistliche Musik," in *Mozart Handbuch*, ed. by Silke Leopold with Jutta Schmoll-Barthel and Sara Jeffe (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2005), pp. 164–247, where the section "Litaneien" (pp. 214–18) gives detailed descriptions and comments to the Mozart-works. See further Manfred Hermann Schmid, *Mozart in Salzburg: Ein Ort für sein Talent* (Salzburg: Verlag Anton Pustet, 2006), esp. pp. 73–77, and Manfred Hermann Schmid (in collaboration with Petrus Eder), "Leopold Mozart – Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Michael Haydn," in *Salzburger Musikgeschichte: Vom Mittelalter bis ins 21. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Jürg Stenzl, Ernst Hintermaier and Gerhard Walterskirchen (Salzburg: Verlag Anton Pustet, 2005), 255–331, esp. 276–78. The two sacramental litanies are edited: W.A. Mozart, *Litaniae de venerabili altaris Sacramento* KV 125 Urtext of the New Mozart-Edition, Score BA 4763, ed. by Hellmut Federhofer and Renate Federhofer-Königs (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), and W.A. Mozart, *Litaniae de venerabili altaris Sacramento* KV 243 Urtext of the New Mozart-Edition, Score BA 4892, ed. by Hellmut Federhofer and Renate Federhofer-Königs (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969). See also the literature indicated in note 10 above.

will be discussed further below. His older friend and colleague (at St Peter's in Salzburg) Michael Haydn who, as many other Salzburg composers at the time, also wrote such works, chose quite a different division of the text in his Eucharistic litany in g minor (1776).¹³ It is known that in Salzburg, Eucharistic litanies were performed every day during the Forty Hours Devotion which in the cathedral was carried out from Palm Sunday until Wednesday in Holy Week. In 1776, Eucharistic litanies by W.A. Mozart, Anton Adlgasser and Michael Haydn were performed on the three first days of the devotion, as is known from various diaries of the time (among them Mozart's sister Nannerl's diary).¹⁴

The point of this article, as stated from the outset, is not a detailed discussion of Mozart's Eucharistic litanies as such, but to contextualise these compositions and their dramatic responses to the texts in a dual way: in relation to the rising importance of the notion of the sublime at this time, and in relation to the old traditions of the church. It must be underlined that Mozart's sacramental litanies, as also already suggested, are very much part of the Salzburg tradition at his time. Much of what can be said about them would be true also for other major compositions in this genre, by his father, by Michael Haydn (1737–1806), Anton Adlgasser (1729–77), and others. The most obvious difference to for instance the settings of Palestrina (from the very end of the sixteenth century) is common to all the Salzburg settings; indeed it is a stylistic change over time in the way to write church music altogether. Whereas Palestrina in no way emphasises individual words or depicts contrasting moods, responding more to the structure of the text with its repeated invocations than to the contents, the classical style of the eighteenth century with its divisions of the litanies into different movements in different tempos and keys, obviously constructs particular atmospheres for the individual movement, but even more so also changing moods within the movements according to the flow of the sentences and the words set to music, and indeed also very much according to the composer's individual response to individual words. Although certain things had become a (fairly) stable convention, for instance that the "Pignus futurae gloriae, miserere nobis" invocation was set as a fugue, other ways of setting textual parts were completely up to the composer within the overall stylistic and functional demands for such music.

III. Some Remarks concerning the Notion of the Sublime and Music, Before and Around 1800.

The most important contributions to the understanding of the new turn in the development of the term "the sublime" in the eighteenth century were undoubtedly due to Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant. Not many contemporary composers, and certainly not Mozart, would have read Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757, slightly extended in 1759), let alone Kant's third Critique (*Kritik der Urteilskraft*, 1790) as a background for their compositions, and to my knowledge Mozart cannot be found to have used the term "erhaben" ("sublime") or "das Erhabene" (the "sublime"). Still, there can be no doubt that much of what he wanted to achieve, and for many listeners, did achieve, could be labelled – and indeed was labelled few years after – by this term.

Let me briefly summarize some main points concerning the philosophical, literary and musical reception of the notion of the "sublime":

¹³ Michael Haydn's Litany in g minor was printed by Breitkopf in Leipzig in 1823 (see Schmid (2006), p. 74). A manuscript score is kept in the archives of the St Peter Monastery in Salzburg where I consulted it in February 2010. I thank the leader of the archives, Dr. Petrus Eder for the friendly and helpful reception.

¹⁴ Schmid (2006), pp. 73–74; see also Petrus Eder, "Litanei," in *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon*, ed. by Gerhard Ammerer and Rudolph Angermüller in collaboration with Andrea Blöchl-Köstner (Bad Honnef: Verlag Karl Heinrich Bock, 2005), pp. 262–64.

During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries the Greek language treatise *On the Sublime* (*Peri Hypsous*), written by an unknown, possibly first-century author who is nowadays commonly referred to as Pseudo-Longinus, was translated into Latin then to French and English with a huge influence not least on the literary criticism of the day.¹⁵ *On the Sublime* treats the idea of the elevated, or the sublime, as a branch of what in modern terms would be called the aesthetic or rhetorical: how does an author convey importance and loftiness to his readers? Summarizing in the briefest possible way, one might say that Pseudo-Longinus discusses literary techniques which he presents primarily by way of literary examples from Greek antiquity, as for instance Sophocles, as well as one biblical example, that of the creation of light in Genesis 1.

In the eighteenth-century literary and philosophical reception of the notion of the sublime, however, a very different approach came about, not least through Edmund Burke's as it seems highly original discussion of this concept in his youthful, aforementioned treatise. In this, Burke makes a fundamental distinction between the concepts of the beautiful and the sublime, as opposed to Pseudo-Longinus and his translators. The sublime, in Burke's understanding, is based on the encounter with *terror*. It is not possible to discuss Burke and his ideas in any detail in this context, but it is important to point out that Burke, in the end, refers to religious awe and points to biblical texts and ideas:

But the scripture alone can supply ideas answerable to the majesty of this subject [NB! The sublime]. In the scripture, wherever God is represented as appearing or speaking, every thing terrible in nature is called up to heighten the awe and solemnity of the divine presence. The psalms, and the prophetic books, are crowded with instances of this kind. *The earth shook* (says the psalmist [Psalm 68: 8 misquoted]) *the heavens also dropped at the presence of the Lord*. And what is remarkable, the painting preserves the same character, not only when he is supposed descending to take vengeance upon the wicked, but even when he exerts the like plenitude of power in acts of beneficence to mankind. *Tremble, thou earth! At the presence of the Lord; at the presence of the God of Jacob; which turned the rock into standing water, the flint into a fountain of waters!* [Psalm 114: 7–8 misquoted] [...] Thus we have traced power through its several gradations unto the highest of all, where our imagination is finally lost; and we find terror quite throughout the progress, its inseparable companion, and growing along with it, as far as we can possibly trace them. Now as power is undoubtedly a capital source of the sublime, this will point out evidently from whence its energy is derived, and to what class of ideas we ought to unite it.¹⁶

It is well known that Immanuel Kant, in his *Kritik der Urteilskraft* published in 1790, also based his understanding of the concept of the sublime (“das Erhabene”) on Burke's idea. This, in turn led to appropriations of the notion of the sublime also in music understanding which ultimately may not have had that much to do with Kant's strictly philosophical approach (which also departed radically from Burke's largely empiricist inspired understanding), not least in early Romantic literary discussions of music by Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, Ludwig Tieck, Jean Paul, E.T.A. Hoffmann and others.¹⁷

¹⁵ See Longinus, *On the Sublime. The Peri Hypsous in Translations by Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1674) and William Smith (1739) Facsimile Reproductions with an Introduction by William Bruce Johnson* (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1975). See especially the introduction, v–xxiv. See also Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), where the significance of the term especially for the librettos of Handel's oratorios is explored.

¹⁶ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757/59), ed. by Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 63–65.

¹⁷ See Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Idee der absoluten Musik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, ³1994, orig. 1978), esp. pp. 62–104

A not so well-known response, more or less informed by the philosophical development concerning the notion of the sublime, can be found in letters between some noble women in Denmark who held salons (much like the salon culture in for instance France and Germany). Two excerpts from letters by Countess Charlotte Schimmelmann (1757–1816), married to the influential politician and patron of the arts Ernst Schimmelmann (1747–1831), to Countess Louise Stolberg give insights into such a “new” understanding of the sublime as “awe” and “terror.” On 5 February 1792, the countess wrote prior to a concert to be given in her salon:

Yesterday, I attended a music rehearsal at Breuner’s which would have pleased you and which made me think of you and of past times. It is a concert which we will give on Monday, a superb music by Schulz, a Hymn of which the Danish words are so beautiful that Voss has made it his honour and pleasure to make a wonderful translation. This grandiose music needs a very full orchestra, and without Schulz it would have been impossible for us to manage this fully [...]

The day after the concert, 7 February, she gave the following comment in yet another letter to Countess Stolberg:

Yesterday evening we were all in heaven, what music!! That is heavenly sublimity – no, it is still necessary to love Schultz in a different way when one knows him like this – all were in ecstasy. Drake assured me that he felt as if hearing Handel in Westminster Hall. I have often wished to breathe my last at the first view of the high alps – in the agitation of a holy terror – in the same way, I would thus have wanted to fly up high and that my soul would leave the World in such a passion – it is the first time that music has had this effect on me.¹⁸

What matters in this context is the – at this time not so common – documentation of how the notion of the sublime, in a (as it may seem quasi-)Kantian perspective had become integrated into such cultured, but not academic circles. Another quotation from the letters of this circle of Danish noble women sheds further light on the relation to Kant (although “the sublime” seems used in a rather colloquial way here). The following is from a letter by Countess Sybille Reventlow to Countess Louise Stolberg, written 22 November 1793:

¹⁸ Louis Bobé, ed. *Efterladte Papirer fra den Reventlowske Familiekrede*, vol. IV (Copenhagen : Lehmann & Stages Forlag, 1900), pp. 130 and 132.

(5 February 1792): “Je fus hier matin à une répétition de musique chez la Breuner, qui vous eut fait plaisir et qui me fit bien penser à vous et aux temps passés. C’est un concert que nous donnons lundi, une musique superbe de Schulz, un hymne dont les paroles danoises son si belles que Voss s’est fait gloire et plaisir de les traduire à merveille. Cette grande musique demande un orchestre très plein, et sans Schulz il nous eut été impossible d’en venir à bout [...].”

(7 February 1792): “Hier au soir nous étions tous au ciel, quelle musique!! Das ist himmlische Erhabenheit – non, il faut encore aimer Schultz autrement, quand on le connoit ainsi – tout le monde étoit dans l’extase. Drake m’assura qu’il croyait entendre Händel au Westminster Hall. J’ai souvent souhaité rendre l’ame à la première vue des hautes alpes – dans l’agitation d’une terreur sainte – de même j’aurois ainsi voulu prendre l’essor, et que mon ame quitte la terre dans de tels transports – c’est la première fois que la musique m’a fait cet effet.”

These texts and contexts are discussed in Nils Holger Petersen, “Jens Baggesens poetiske teologi,” in *Jens Baggesens liv og værk*, ed. by Anna Sandberg and Svend Skriver (Copenhagen : Forlaget Spring, 2010), pp. 400–437, with further references. Concerning the notion of Hymn at the time in Northern Germany and Denmark, see Nils Holger Petersen and Heinrich W. Schwab, “The Devotional Genre of the Hymn Around 1800: *The Hallelujah of Creation*,” in *Signs of Change: Transformations of Christian Traditions and Their Representation in the Arts, 1000–2000*, ed. by Nils Holger Petersen, Nicolas Bell, and Claus Clüver (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), pp. 427–52.

Of Kant's works we have: *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Natur Wissenschaft* [1786], *Metaphysik der Sittenlehre* [probably: *Grundlegung der Metaphysik der Sitten*, 1785], *Critik der Urtheils Kraft* [*Critique of Judgment*, 1790] and his minor writings where there are some charming things which Ludwig reads to us. [...] The way in which Kant proves the existence of God à priori is sublime [...].¹⁹

Although I do not think that there are any direct connection between the ideas of Burke and Kant and medieval notions of liturgy and sacraments, it is my contention that – substantially – one may find strong similarities between medieval ideas about what liturgical ceremonies were to achieve for a congregation and what is described as sublime experiences, mainly of nature in Kant, and – in a sense even stronger – in Burke. A biblical text which Burke does not quote but which he could just as well have used in the context, is the very well-known statement of Jacob in Genesis 28:17 from the narrative of Jacob at Beth-El (the 'House of God') when he awakens and realizes that he is in a holy place. As quoted from the Vulgate, this is the beginning of the Introit for the Mass of the Dedication of a church, "terribilis est locus iste,"²⁰ exactly an expression of what Burke could have called the sublimity of man's encounter with God in the sacred place of a church.

Such a terror-struck awe was part of the liturgical confrontation with the divine in the Middle Ages as is brought out in the choice of text for the Introit for the Dedication mass, and was certainly also promoted in the Eucharist as a consequence of the developments mentioned at the outset of the article. The doctrine of the transubstantiation obviously emphasised the confrontation with the divine, man facing the resurrected Christ during the Eucharist; in the later Middle Ages, as is well known, this also led to a gradually diminishing lay participation in the actual partaking of the sacrament. The encounter with the divine is specifically emphasised in the Forty Hours Devotion, in the texts of the Eucharistic litanies, very much so in continuation with such representational rituals as the Adoration of the Cross (*adoratio crucis*) on Good Friday where the crucified Christ confronts the congregation (but only can do so because he is the Resurrected) and many other medieval rituals which, among other theological points, underline the terror of holiness. This can, for instance, be found expressed in the *Regularis Concordia*, the English monastic rule (to supplement the Rule of Benedict), agreed upon at the Winchester Council in the 970s, in connection with the so-called *tenebrae* ceremonies during Holy week, the practice of extinguishing all lights in the church on the nights before Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday; the ceremony ended with the singing of the antiphon *Christus Dominus factus est oboediens usque ad mortem* (cf. Phil. 2:8) in darkness:

This manner of arousing religious compunction was, I think, devised by Catholic men for the purpose of setting forth clearly both the terror of that darkness which, at our Lord's Passion, struck the tripartite world with unwonted fear, and the consolation of that apostolic preaching which revealed to the whole world Christ obedient to His Father even unto death for the salvation of the human race. Therefore it seemed good to us to insert these things so that if there be any to whose devotion they are pleasing, they may find therein the means of

¹⁹ Louis Bobé, ed. *Efterladte Papirer fra den Reventlowske Familiekreds*, vol. IX (Copenhagen : Lehmann & Stages Forlag, 1922), p. 91:

"Nous avons de Kant: *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Natur Wissenschaft*, *Metaphysik der Sittenlehre*, *Critik der Urtheils Kraft*, und seine *Kleine Schriften* où il y a des choses charmantes que Ludwig nous lit. [...] La manière dont Kant prouve à priori l'existence de Dieu est sublime [...]."

²⁰ See David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 45.

instructing those who are ignorant of this matter; no one, however, shall be forced to carry out this practice against his will.²¹

I do not claim that Burke took his ideas from medieval liturgy, but I suggest that one main reason why Mozart's music – not just the church music – could be received as sublime only few years after his death, in the light of the then fashionable notion of the sublime is that his music conveyed awe and terror, as also highlighted especially in some sections of his *Litaniae de venerabili altaris Sacramento* KV 243, as I shall point out below, as an emotional response and effectuation of the medieval awe and terror connected to the confrontation with the divine, not least in the Eucharist which was very much part of the liturgy and devotion in the Church from which he received early – and probably lasting – impressions.

Although Mozart, as already stated, probably did not concern himself with the notion of the sublime and probably did not read such philosophical discourses, he may quite likely have experienced this awe, terror and encounter with “the overwhelming” to which the notion of the sublime points. Such awe seems to penetrate a number of his most important church compositions, whether masses, the Requiem or as I focus on it in this article, the Eucharistic litanies. In the next and last section of this article, I shall point out in what way this seems to be so (*not* claiming, to be sure, that such features are not found in other composers' works). Since Mozart's relation to the Church has been a controversial question, it is of biographical interest to look into it; however, it is even more important to point out the influence of church rituals and thereby indirectly Christian theology on Mozart's music, since this also sheds light on his instrumental and operatic compositions as well as the music culture of his time.²²

Many examples of Mozart's music can be used to demonstrate this: his liturgical music, from all periods of his life, including, of course, the posthumous Requiem, as well as early masses, but also other parts of his music, operas, in some situations highly informed by techniques used in church music, notably the churchyard scene in *Don Giovanni*.²³ Mozart's settings of the Eucharistic litanies function as attempts at forceful and convincing musical representations of the Eucharistic text. Therefore, they also function “sacramentally,” in the old Augustinian (pre-twelfth-century)

²¹ *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement*, ed and trans. by Thomas Symons (London: Nelson, 1953), p. 37:

“Qui, ut reor, aecclesiastice conpunctionis usus a catholicis ideo repertus est ut tenebrarum terror, qui tripertitum mundum dominica passione timore perculit insolito, ac apostolicae predicationis consolatio, quae uniuersum mundum Christum patri usque ad mortem pro generis humani salute oboedientem reuelauerat, manifestissime designetur. Haec ergo inserenda censuimus ut, si quibus deuotionis gratia conplacuerint, habeant in his unde huius rei ignaros instruant. Qui autem noluerint, ad hoc agendum minime compellantur.”

Note: the freedom to carry out or not carry out the ceremony would have been a freedom for the abbot of a monastery, not for the individual monk.

For discussions of medieval representations, the adoratio crucis, see also Nils Holger Petersen, “Introduction,” in *Genre and Ritual: The Cultural Heritage of Medieval Rituals*, ed. by Eyolf Østrem, Mette Birkedal Bruun, Nils Holger Petersen, and Jens Fleischer (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2005), pp. 9–26 (21–24) and Nils Holger Petersen, “Truth and Representation: The Medieval Good Friday Reproaches and Modern Music” in *Negotiating Heritage: Memories of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mette B. Bruun and Stephanie Glaser. *Ritus et Artes* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 353–69 (360–65) with many more references.

²² See further Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Stimme aus der anderen Welt: Über die Darstellung des Numinosen in der Oper von Monteverdi bis Mozart* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1998), esp. Pp. 151–83; Nils Holger Petersen, “Time and Divine Providence in Mozart's Music” in: *Voicing the Ineffable*, ed. by Siglind Bruhn (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2002), pp. 265–86, and Nils Holger Petersen, “Seduction or Truth in Music? Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and Søren Kierkegaard's *Either/Or*,” in: *Kierkegaard Studies* (2008), ed. by Niels Jørgen Cappelørn and Hermann Deuser, Berlin 2008, 109–28.

²³ See also Nils Holger Petersen, “Religious Judgment or Ghost Story: Modern Productions of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*,” in: *Religion, Ritual, Theatre*, ed. by Bent Holm, Bent Fl. Nielsen and Karen Vedel (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2009, 159–78).

sense: as a sign pointing efficaciously toward the reality to which they refer. This, as stated before, is very different from the function of Palestrina's aforementioned music to his Eucharistic litanies: Palestrina's music supports the sacrament, the event, through its beauty, but it does not participate in interpreting it.

An interesting – and fairly controversial – anecdote, transmitted by Friedrich Rochlitz, the editor and founder of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, in one of its first issues apparently regards an event at which Rochlitz himself was present. He relates an episode during Mozart's visit to Leipzig in April 1789 which included Mozart improvising publicly on the organ of the famous Thomas Church for an hour on 22 April. According to Rochlitz, in the evening after the concert, where Mozart was invited to the home of Johann Friedrich Doles (1715-97), Thomas cantor in Leipzig since 1755, the conversation at some point came to concern composers and church music. According to Rochlitz' story, some critical statements about the artistic limitations of church music provoked Mozart to the following statement which, as Rochlitz underlines, is given in Rochlitz' rephrasing:

This is some more of the usual mindless chatter about the arts! Perhaps for you *enlightened* Protestants, as you call yourselves when you remember your religion, there may be some truth in such a statement; I cannot say. But for us, it is a different matter. You have no conception of what it means: *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem*, etc. But if someone like myself, who from earliest childhood was introduced into the mystical sanctuary of our religion; if someone, not yet knowing where to go with his dark yet urgent feelings, full of heartfelt inner passion, sits through the holy service without really knowing precisely what has happened to him; if you call blessed those who kneeled down to the touching sounds of the *Agnus Dei* and received communion, while the music at the same time spoke: *Benedictus qui venit* etc. Joyfully and softly from the hearts of those kneeling, then it is a different matter. Of course, this admittedly tends to get lost as one goes through life on this earth; but – at least in my case – if one looks once again at those words heard a thousand times over with the intent of setting them to music, all of this revives and stands before you, and moves your soul.²⁴

It seems to be the experience of awe and reverence which Mozart speaks about here. However, the historicity of this – as well as the many other anecdotes which Rochlitz transmitted in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* – has been disputed, also in Solomon's recent discussion. However, Solomon's arguments against the historicity are twofold: first the general observation that Rochlitz is not always reliable, and secondly the more precise point that the language of the passage

²⁴ English translation: Maynard Solomon, "The Rochlitz Anecdotes: Issues of Authenticity in early Mozart Biography," in *Mozart Studies* ed. by Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 1-59 (39). Original German text, *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 15. April 1801 (Friedrich Rochlitz), col. 494-95, from "Noch einige Kleinigkeiten aus Mozarts Leben":

"Das ist mir auch einmal wieder so ein Kunstgeschwätz! Bei Euch *aufgeklärten* Protestanten, wie ihr Euch nennt, wenn ihr eure Religion im Kopfe habt – kann etwas Wahres darin seyn; das weis ich nicht. Aber bey uns ist das anders. Ihr fühlt gar nicht, was das will: *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem*. u. dgl. Aber wenn man von frühester Kindheit, wie ich, in das mystische Heiligthum unsrer Religion eingeführt ist; wenn man da, als man noch nicht wusste, wo man mit seinen dunkeln, aber drängenden Gefühlen hinsolle, in voller Inbrunst des Herzens seinen Gottesdienst abwartete, ohne eigentlich zu wissen was man wollte; und leichter und erhoben daraus wegging, ohne eigentlich zu wissen was man gehabt habe; wenn man die glücklich pries, die unter dem rührenden *Agnus Dei* hinknieten und das Abendmal empfangen, und beym Empfang die Musik in sanfter Freude aus dem Herzen der Knieenden sprach: *Benedictus qui venit* etc. dann ist's anders. Nun ja, das gehet freylich dann durch das Leben in der Welt verlohren: aber – wenigstens ist's mir so – wenn man nun die tausendmal gehörten Worte nochmals vornimmt, sie in Musik zu setzen, so kommt das alles wieder, und steht vor Einem, und bewegt Einem die Seele."

seems to fit better with an early Romantic author like Rochlitz than with the way Mozart ordinarily expressed himself and that there are inaccuracies in the liturgical details (the *Benedictus qui venit* and the *Agnus Dei* are not sung during the actual communion in Roman liturgy).²⁵ The latter argument is invalid, however, as it is pointed out by Rochlitz himself that he is giving the statement in his own formulation, but – as he claims – true to the original basic intention and content. As remarked by Hans Küng, the contents of the remark actually fits very nicely into the picture of Mozart’s relationship to the Catholic faith as recorded in his letters, if they are taken seriously, and, moreover, and what must be the most important argument, that it seems to provide an understandable background to his church music as we can study and hear this music.²⁶

So my point is *not* that the anecdote is correct in any detail, although there seems to be no reason as such to dismiss it, but that it actually contextualises something which indisputably is by Mozart, his important liturgical musical compositions.

IV. Mozart’s Liturgical Music: Individual Mass Movements and the two Eucharistic Litanies KV 125 and KV 243

The early Romantic young German poet Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder (1773–98) is a source to the importance of the notion of the sublime and of religious fervour in and through music (not least instrumental music) in the 1790s.²⁷ Wackenroder was in close contact with his friend Ludwig Tieck who finished and edited his main works, *Herzenergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* and *Phantasien über die Kunst* (published 1799) after Wackenroder’s early death. In the latter of the two works, Wackenroder presents thoughts about art and music through essay-like texts by his fictive musician protagonist Joseph Berglinger. In this context Joseph’s deliberations concerning liturgical music in the section “Von den verschiedenen Gattungen in jeder Kunst, und insbesondere von verschiedenen Arten der Kirchenmusik” (“About different genres in each art form and especially about different types of church music” are of particular interest.²⁸

Joseph writes that the “geistliche Musik” (literally the “spiritual music,” but an expression which here, judged from the context, clearly denotes music for devotional or liturgical use) must be the most noble and “highest” because of its subject. However, God is praised in music in quite different ways, and Joseph finds that each of these ways is able to console the human heart if one understands its “true significance” (“wahre Bedeutung”). Although Wackenroder is an exponent of a new Romantic attitude, the descriptive side of his classification would seem to be based on what actually existed in church music in the 1790s, and hardly any church music at this point would have been much more radical than that of Mozart and the brothers Haydn, although certain developments in Northern Lutheran Europe can – with hindsight – be seen as a bridge to Romanticism.²⁹ Wackenroder indicates three kinds of church music:

1/ The first kind is simple, cheerful and lively and “praises God in no different way than children” (“lobt Gott nicht anders, als Kinder tun”). Joseph believes this to be the most common and most beloved kind of church music.

²⁵ Solomon, “The Rochlitz Anecdotes,” pp. 40–41 and 49.

²⁶ Hans Küng, *Mozart – Spuren der Transzendenz* (München: Piper, 1991); see especially pp. 19 and 33–34.

²⁷ See again Dahlhaus (1994), esp. pp. 83–87 and 92–94.

²⁸ Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, *Phantasien über die Kunst für Freunde der Kunst*, herausgegeben von Ludwig Tieck (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1799). The text is also available online, at <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Wackenroder,+Wilhelm+Heinrich/Schriften+und+Dichtungen/Phantasien+%C3%BCber+die+Kunst+f%C3%BCr+Freunde+der+Kunst>, consulted on 1 May 2012.

²⁹ Cf. Petersen and Schwab, “The Devotional Genre of the Hymn Around 1800” (see above n. 17).

2/ The second kind is characteristic for only few selected artists who “use masses of tones as marvellous colours in order to paint what is great, the sublime and the divine, for the ear” (“sie gebrauchen vielmehr grosse Massen von Tönen als wunderbare Farben um damit dem Ohre das Grosse, das Erhabene und Göttliche zu malen”). Joseph describes the music as evolving slowly in strong, proud tones bringing to the souls the tension which sublime thoughts create. It may also sound like a majestic thunder in the mountains. With admiration, but as it seems also a slight ironic distance, Joseph characterises such composers in the following way:

In the free ecstasy of delight they believe to have understood the essence and glory of God to the innermost; they teach all people to know Him and praise him by striving to reach up to Him by all their might, making a supreme effort to be like Him.³⁰

3/ The third kind is characterised in a completely different way:

But there are other quiet, humble, always penitent souls to whom it seems undevout to speak to God in the melody of earthly joyfulness, to whom it appears as bold and reckless to absorb audaciously the whole sublimity of Him in their own human nature [...]. To these belong the old choral church music that sounds like an eternal “Miserere mei Domine!”, and whose slow, deep tones steal away in deep valleys like pilgrims burdened by their sins. [...] the soft-advancing power of the tones makes us tremble with fearful shivers and exhausts the last breath of our anxious hearts. Often heart-crushing chords come in between, causing our soul to completely shrink before God; but then crystal-like, transparent sounds open up the barrier of our hearts, consoling and encouraging our mind.³¹

It is particularly noteworthy how much of Mozart’s church music combines all three kinds of music, as described by Joseph Berglinger or Wackenroder. There is plenty of straight-forward cheerful praising and even prayer, especially (unsurprisingly) in the young Mozart’s mass compositions (and other liturgical works). What is far more surprising is to find not only elements of what Wackenroder calls massive amounts of tones to paint the sublime for the ear, but quite often to find this juxtaposed with music that clearly belongs in category 3. To give a few examples from both Mozart’s early and late period:

³⁰ “Im freien Taumel des Entzückens glauben sie das Wesen und die Herrlichkeit Gottes bis ins Innerste begriffen zu haben; sie lehren ihn allen Völkern kennen, und loben ihn dadurch, daß sie mit aller Macht zu ihm hinaufstreben, und sich anstrengen, ihm ähnlich zu werden.” For quotations from and references to Joseph Berglinger’s essay, see: <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Wackenroder,+Wilhelm+Heinrich/Schriften+und+Dichtungen/Phantasien+%C3%BCber+die+Kunst+%C3%BCr+Freunde+der+Kunst/Zweiter+Abschnitt/3.+Von+den+verschiedenen+Gattungen+in+jeder+Kunst> (consulted 1 May 2012).

³¹ “Aber es gibt noch einige stille, demütige, allzeit büßende Seelen, denen es unheilig scheint, zu Gott in der Melodie irdischer Fröhlichkeit zu reden, denen es frech und verwegen vorkommt, seine ganze Erhabenheit kühn in ihr menschliches Wesen aufzunehmen [...] Diesen gehört jene alte, choralmäßige Kirchenmusik an, die wie ein ewiges ‘Miserere mei Domine!’ klingt, und deren langsame, tiefe Töne gleich sündenbeladenen Pilgrimen in tiefen Tälern dahinschleichen. [...] die leise-vordringende Gewalt der Töne durchzittert uns mit bangen Schauern, und erschöpft den letzten Atem unsers gespannten Herzens. Manchmal treten bittere, herzerknirschende Akkorde dazwischen, wobei unsre Seele ganz zusammenschumpft vor Gott; aber dann lösen kristallhelle, durchsichtige Klänge die Bande unsers Herzens wieder auf, und trösten und erheitern unser Inneres.”

1/ Consider the *Kyrie eleison* of the early C minor mass KV 139, probably composed as early as 1768 when Mozart was 12.³² The slow introduction of the Kyrie displays a forceful singing of the Kyrie text by the chorus and the full orchestra (including brass instruments) which all through the introduction (Adagio) alternates with quiet and slowly descending violin triads or tetrads. This introduction is followed by a joyful and fast continuation of the “Kyrie eleison” and “Christe eleison.” Already this beginning of the mass lends itself to all three descriptions in Wackenroder’s text. And very clearly the slowly descending violin figures have a soft and humble character contrasting the demanding forcefulness of the Kyrie outcry in the beginning.

2/ Also the Crucifixus part of the Credo movement has a similar doubleness as it begins with a slow, forceful, majestic and sombre, march-like figure in the timpani followed up by brass and strings to prepare what is almost a scream of a choral outburst on the “crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato” which immediately is followed by a completely calm and quiet “passus et sepultus est.” The Crucifixus movement may be thought of primarily as dramatic representation of the text; however, the effect is also one of terror balanced with humble resignation or contemplation.

3/ A very similar example is found in the free-standing Kyrie movement, Kyrie in D minor KV 341, now believed to have been written in Mozart’s late years, possibly even as late as 1791.³³ In a way very similar to the slow introduction in the KV 139, although much more refined and elaborate in terms of melodic and harmonic structure, the orchestra begins with forceful chords for the full orchestra (including brass) alternating with contrasting quiet mainly descending melodic figures played by the strings. The tempo is calm, Andante maestoso; when the chorus enters with its “Kyrie” shouts they seem to elaborate the orchestral chords (which support the chorus) whereas the strings continue their soft descending melodic voice and the sopranos finally use the last phrase of the violin figure to join in with a meek and humble “eleison.” The contrasts between the majestic terror-filled outbursts and the soft supplicating sopranos are fundamental for the whole movement although it gradually builds up to more of a musical flow (still in the indicated moderate tempo); however, the described contrast-filled episodes come back in the middle of the movement and again, in a transformed way, at the very end. There is more to say, of course, about the setting, but for the point I want to make, this must suffice. Again, as in the KV 139, the music partly exhibits a strong demanding character, seemingly representing the terror in praying for mercy to the overwhelmingly present God and partly the soft, anxious and humble voice of this prayer. These two contrasting moods are not in conflict with each other, it seems; they rather supplement each other, representing, as it were, two sides of the same coin.

4/ Structurally very similar, although in musical substance quite different, especially the movement “Confutatis maledictis”, but also the “Rex tremendae majestatis” of the *Dies irae* sequence from Mozart’s famous *Requiem* left incomplete at his death on 5 December 1791, constitute two more examples. These two movements – as the whole of the *Dies irae* (except the for the “Lacrimosa” which was incomplete at Mozart’s death) – were completed by him for the chorus and in terms of the structure also for the orchestra, although the instrumental parts were not finished except for indications of the overall course of the musical plan.³⁴ In these movements, the contrasts

³² W.A. Mozart, *Missa in C minor KV 139 (47a)*, ed. by Walter Senn. Urtext of the New Mozart Edition. Score BA 4858 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968); see Preface, pp. iv–v and the Kyrie movement, pp. 1–20. But see also the more recent dating in Ulrich Konrad, *Mozart-Werkverzeichnis* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2005), pp. 18–19.

³³ W.A. Mozart, *Kyrie D minor KV 341*, ed. by Walter Senn. Urtext of the New Mozart Edition. Score BA 4702 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955), see Preface, p. iv, but also the more recent dating in Konrad, *Mozart-Werkverzeichnis*, pp. 22–23.

³⁴ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Requiem Teilband 2: Mozarts Fragment mit den Ergänzungen von Eybler und Süßmayr*, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Geistliche Gesangswerke, Werkgruppe 1, Abteilung 2: Requiem, BA 4538, ed. by Leopold Nowak (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1979). See Vorwort, pp. vii–xxi, and the two movements, the “Rex tremendae,”

are almost prescribed by the text: in the *Rex tremendae*, the terror-filled encounter with the grandeur of God the judge, is expressed in forceful and sharply rhythmical chords, later turned into a more complex contrapuntal web where also the text on God's freedom to save whom he wants comes into play. The end of the movement, however, at "salva me, fons pietatis" transforms the melody and rhythm into an intimate pious prayer. In the *Confutatis*, the sharp contrast between the damned given over to the fire, sung forcefully in a strict rhythmical setting by the male voices, and the prayer for salvation, "voca me cum benedictis," "call me among the blessed," sung "sotto voce," is reinforced by being repeated (in a varied version). The prayer for salvation, sung by the women accompanied by violin figures (indicated by Mozart) has an ethereal quality, also through the high register of the music. In the following stanza, the singers pray for God's mercy at the end of their lives ("mei finis") with a heart full of contrition like ashes ("cor contritum quasi cinis"); it is sung by the full chorus, but with a humble softness and with modulations that at every turn underline a fearful shivering, as the tonality is destabilised for a moment, to put it in Wackenroder's above quoted term.

I believe that it is the use of this broad register of representations of terror, power, grandeur, and meekness, the experience of humility and contrition, always in semantic agreement with the texts, as well as (often) childish or simply spontaneous joyfulness that characterises Mozart's church music altogether. In his instrumental music – and very often so also in church music and operas – Mozart's music is able to change mood (usually through modulations or a melodic twist hinting at a possible modulation) without preparation, thus relating to the world in all its aspects with a kind of factual accept, at times in dramatic ways, but not trying to achieve a specific outcome of the world, not overcoming the world as much as living in it the way it is. I have interpreted this as a sign of Mozart's music belonging to an age where belief in God's providence freed humans from having to create their own happiness and thus to be able to be at peace with the world, even in hard times.³⁵ What I have here described as characteristics of Mozart's church music supplements this picture. Thus, when Mozart's *Requiem* was understood as "sublime" only few years after his death (for instance by his first biographer Franz Niemetschek in 1798 and by E.T.A. Hoffmann in his *Alte und Neue Kirchenmusik* in 1814), this is very understandable through the meanwhile development of the notion of the sublime, but historically would seem rather to have to do with Mozart being firmly based in "Old Europe," Europe before the modern crises of religion. The point is not that these crises did not exist at Mozart's time; they certainly did. The point is that in spite of them and of being aware of such shaking of the foundations (at least to some extent), Wolfgang seems to have been firmly rooted in a world view that upheld the basic outlook of the Catholic Church believing it to be compatible with the human ideals of the Enlightenment. The most convincing argument for this is his music, but many expressions in his letters and circumstances of his life also confirm it.³⁶

5/ The litany KV 125.

pp. 15–17, and the "Confutatis," pp. 28–32. Concerning the historical circumstances of the commission and composition of the *Requiem*, see Christoph Wolff, *Mozarts Requiem: Geschichte – Musik – Dokumente. Partitur des Fragments* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991).

³⁵ I have discussed these aspects of Mozart's instrumental music in my article "Time and Divine Providence in Mozart's Music" (see above n. 21).

³⁶ Cf. the discussion of Mozart's choice of lodge when he became a freemason in 1784. Although he had been in contact with Ignaz von Born's more radical "free thinking" *Zur wahren Eintracht*, he chose Baron von Gemmingen's *Zur Wohltätigkeit*, a meeting place "for those who believed in a Catholic Enlightenment in Vienna." See Nicholas Till, *Mozart and the Enlightenment: Truth, Virtue and Beauty in Mozart's Operas* (London: Faber & Faber, 1992), esp. pp. 117–29 (quotation pp. 124–25). Concerning Mozart's basic relationship to a Catholic worldview, I also refer to Hans Küng's *Mozart – Spuren der Transzendenz* (above n. 26).

The first two movements of the early litany from 1772, “Kyrie” and “Panis vivus,” are generally quite cheerful but also involve passages of greater complexity and subtle nuances and thus cannot quite be understood within Wackenroder’s category 1. In the Kyrie, mainly set for the chorus but with short passages for the soprano and alto soloists, the contrasts are limited and the atmosphere is generally one of solemn joyfulness in a fast tempo (*allegro molto*) with only glimpses of a worried undertone as at the setting of “fili redemptor mundi deus, miserere nobis” beginning in bar 77. The “Panis vivus” movement, an aria for the soprano, has the same kind of stability of mood; in a moderate pace (*andante*) it seems to contemplate the various formulations of the litany, more than underlining the supplications. The mystery of the sacrament, by contrast, comes to the fore in the short homophonic setting of the “Verbum caro” movement in D minor by slowly progressing chords (*adagio*) accompanied by the full orchestra (including the trombones) and with the violins playing fast triads and tetrads, masses of tones to paint the great and divine for the ear to use Wackenroder’s formulation from his category 2.

The “Hostia sancta” movement begins as an aria for the soprano in B flat major; in a fast tempo (*molto allegro*), the setting still emphasises the solemnity of the “mysterium fidei,” and leads into a sharp contrast with the choral homophonic setting of the “praeclsum et venerabile sacramentum” with pointed rhythm and gradually moving toward a progression of longer chords which in the “miserere nobis” turn into long sustained whole note chords sung *forte-piano* (i.e. with a sharp emphasis on the attack and then quiet for the rest of the duration) over 10 bars (bar 23–32). After this, from “sacrificium omnium sanctissimum” onwards, soloists sing the following lines individually, much as the soprano in the beginning, but with numerous nuances and refinements in the accompaniment. At “Stupendum” the full chorus takes over again in homophony in a similar way as earlier, this time leading into sustained half note chords on the “miserere,” with a cadence in D minor. The four soloists then take over singing 2 or 3 at a time, mainly in counterpoint. The movement moves via a modulation from B major to G minor directly into the next movement, the “Tremendum” which gives Mozart occasion to a sharply contrasted section (*adagio*) on the word “tremendum”, beginning with a choral setting with sharp rhythmical attacks and sharp dynamic contrast between short subsections (bars 1–9).³⁷ Thereafter, the “ac vivificum sacramentum” is set in *allegro* with individual choral voices almost competing in ascending movements, but then joining together for a gradually more homophonic setting of the “miserere” toward the end (bars 10–19).

The “Panis omnipotentia” movement, which combines sections 6 and 7 of the text divisions (as organised in this article), is a tenor aria (*andante*) which in character has much in common with the setting of “Panis vivus,” also in terms of its contemplative relation to the sentences as a whole. Here, as in the “Panis vivus,” the musical material and form determines a general atmosphere in relation to the text, but much less attention is paid to the individual statements than in movements based on one prayer or, for instance, the “Hostia sancta” where the setting changes along with the different prayers of the text.

The same independence in text music relation is also normal in a fugue. The “Pignus” movement was traditionally set as a fugue in the Salzburg tradition, and Mozart follows the tradition with a huge fugue (180 bars) with a theme which fits well to the triumphant expression of the epithet for the host in this prayer, so also here the *miserere* part is not given any expression of its own, the focus is clearly on the future glory. The final movement, the “Agnus dei” is a lyrical soprano aria in F major (*un poco Adagio*) covering the first two prayers; for the third prayer a choral setting in B flat major brings the whole litany to a close with a homophonic setting of a repeated *miserere nobis*.

³⁷ In the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, dynamic signs are editorial when italicised.

Altogether, the early Eucharistic litany displays many of the factors emphasised before concerning integrating contrasts of mood, the different types as set up by Wackenroder, but also has a number of movements which are less occupied with either the supplication or the textual nuances. This was quite common in contemporary church music, this is so also in many of Mozart's mass compositions, and certainly in those of his contemporaries. For a relatively long piece as a litany it would have been difficult to keep up such contrasts without creating a new kind of monotony.

6/ The litany KV 243.

The Kyrie movement is strikingly more differentiated in its treatment of the text than the Kyrie of KV 125. In *Andante moderato*, a complex web of soloists, chorus (and, of course, the orchestra) give varied attention to the different formulations of the *miserere* invocations without upsetting the unity of the musical structure. This is done through a calm, warm and solemn E flat major frame, setting the Kyrie *eleison* invocations in the beginning; it is resumed toward the end of the movement for the final "*miserere*" after all other prayers of the section. These are set variously in a flow of small scale modulations and varieties of texture between choral and solo singing, various rhythmic configurations and an intricate interplay between figures of accompanying instruments and the singers. What is opened through the Kyrie movement is not the full scale of contrasts which are met with later in the work but a universe of humble but trustful praying in many shades, some slightly more anxious and intense, others warmly confident, some breaking out individually by solo singing, others more communal in choral homophony.

The "*Panis vivus*" movement is a solo aria also in the KV 243, now for tenor. It is a virtuoso piece (*Allegro aperto*) in B flat major; its musical substance (the theme of the aria) is flexible enough that although the same considerations as for the KV 125 are relevant, i.e. the different expressions are generally subordinated to the musical structure and flow, and sometimes the "*miserere nobis*" is set in virtuoso *coloratura*, the general atmosphere of the prayer may mostly fit into Wackenroder's first category of the spontaneously cheerful church music. Still, there are many nuances along the way, and the music does not neglect the aspect of humble prayer completely as it is evident in the brief passage on "*agnus absque macula miserere nobis*" (bar 81–87) where the music seamlessly flows into a typically Mozartian melodic/harmonic twist which adds a touch of tension and anxiety to the otherwise confident and joyful prayer setting.

As in KV 125, also here the "*Verbum caro factum*" creates a marked contrast to the previous movement. A *largo* beginning in G minor but modulating sequentially from the very beginning, the chorus moving in a sharply pointed quavers doubled by wind instruments (including the trombones) and further accompanied by the violins in semiquaver figures create a sombre atmosphere which underlines the mysteries of the incarnation expressed in the brief epithet of the host, the incarnation of Christ which underlies the second "*incarnation*," that of the bread transformed into the body of Christ. A second contrast appears already in bar 3 after the setting of the words of the epithet. The "*miserere*" that follows it is set in *piano*, still in the flow of quavers, but now homophonically and with only the trombones playing along in *piano*. A very quiet prayer after a forceful outburst in the first bars. This is again followed by a return to the epithet, first introduced by violin chords, and now in F minor. Again the following "*miserere*" is set in *piano* as the first time, but then the violin chords (leading into C minor) introduce a continued "*miserere*" in long sustained half tone chords for the chorus (homophonically set) in *forte-piano* and violin semiquavers that now provide descending triads which have an almost similar effect as the violin figures in the slow introduction to the Kyrie movement in the C minor mass KV 139 mentioned above. They seem to come between the chords because of the *forte-piano* effect. After two bars of this one "*miserere*," yet another "*miserere*" follows, now in a descending quiet choral movement, first the sopranos and altos then the tenors join and finally also the basses, all doubled quietly by the winds in quavers and the strings in semiquavers. The movement concludes on the dominant of C minor, to make a smooth

transition to the following “Hostia sancta” in C major. All the described contrasts are managed within 12 (slow) bars.

Like its counterpart in KV 125, the “Hostia sancta” movement in KV 243 (*Allegro comodo*) combines solo singing in various combinations, choral passages and interplay with instrumental figures in a complex web which makes it possible for Mozart to set the text with a large amount of attention to individual text expression, also by way of modulations and melodic and harmonic twists. Thus, for instance the “*praeelsum*” is set in homophony for the chorus in sharply pointed rhythmic patterns (somewhat resembling the setting in KV 125) but in a faster pace. The changing texture (one accompanied solo singer, two, three, four solo singers, the chorus) and various combinations of homophonic or polyphonic singing as well as different uses of instruments make sure that texts get different emphases and atmospheres although it is not always possible to explain these different nuances through the (fairly often) rather abstract formulations in the text. Altogether, as in the opening Kyrie, an impression of various atmospheres of prayer comes to the fore which may in the end (as also in other parts of this work as well as in the KV 125) be more a response to the situation of the prayer at the exposed host than to the abstract theological formulations in themselves. The movement leads directly into the “*Tremendum*.”

Here is a very marked difference to the KV 125 because the setting is much more complex. This is partly due to the different textual division that Mozart has chosen here. The “*Tremendum*” movement contains the sections 5 and 6 in the above ordering of the text of the litany, thus giving a larger textual structure which Mozart uses to create a musical form where he returns to the word “*tremendum*” several times (every time in the same setting). The “*tremendum*” thus becomes much more musically important leaving its mark on the whole movement. But even the setting of the word “*tremendum*” is quite different from the KV 125. Mozart begins the movement with a transition from the movement before. In *adagio*, a sombre stretched out C minor cadence in the orchestra with sharply but quiet pointed violin quavers (in *piano* and accompanied by semiquavers for violin II and viola) between similarly sharp chords played *piano* by the trombones and with long sustained tones for the woodwinds leads into a slow, almost menacing, deep choral unison “*tremendum*” in quavers leading again into outbursts of the “*tremendum*,” homophonically and in a sharp fanfare-like rhythm, supported by the trombones and with fast moving accompanying strings. This is another example of how Mozart responds to the medieval (and clearly at this time still alive) idea of holy terror (as discussed above). This outburst is followed by the “*ac vivificum sacramentum*” which in this setting is taken more as the continuation than as a contrast to the “*tremendum*,” although the choral setting comes to a halt during this. A quiet “*miserere nobis*” follows (with syncopation between sopranos/tenors against altos/basses). Altogether, the movement is built up by using these elements (with certain variations and nuances) through the various prayers, but so that the sharp sombre fanfare-like “*tremendum*” is brought up in between, and finally, toward the end, the first version of “*tremendum*” with the unison choral beginning comes back leading again into the sombre “*tremendum*” fanfare, but then with a new twist for the “*vivificum sacramentum*” followed by a final meek and pleading “*miserere nobis*” in F minor with a cadence on the dominant, providing the transition to the following “*Dulcissimum convivium*” movement in F major (*Andantino*).

This again gives a completely new contrast, a soprano aria with soft and meek sound and melody, illustrating the epithet of the heavenly meal attended to by angels, an atmosphere extended to the whole movement in a humble but confident tone for all the invocations. The “*Vaticum*” provides a yet new kind of contrast. Here the prayer is sung in unison by the chorus to a medieval hymn melody, the melody of the famous Corpus Christi hymn, “*Pange lingua gloriosi*,”³⁸ while the

³⁸ See for instance Schick, p. 217.

violins accompany with pizzicato quavers and the other instruments give harmonic support, basically in quarter-note movements. This creates an atmosphere of something from a different world, corresponding, undoubtedly to the epithet of the prayer as food for mankind's final journey to the eternal beyond.

Also in KV 243, the "Pignus" is a fugue, but here this fugue is an immensely complicated construction which may be understood as a double-fugue or even a triple-fugue because of the systematic structures integrated into it. Hartmut Schick describes it as the most daring and most unusual fugue Mozart ever wrote.³⁹ What matters in the present context is primarily that Mozart after his sharply pointed fugue theme (first sung by the basses) for the epithet immediately integrates another theme or figure for the ensuing "miserere nobis," a musical figure which stands in a sharp contrast to the fugue theme and gives a quiet supplicating tone to the prayer for mercy before the tenors come in with another "pignus" on the fugue theme; meanwhile the basses continue the "miserere," and all the voices join together repeating the quiet "miserere" as the tenors finish the fugue theme. This goes on in a similar way creating a very complex structure for the fugue, and an atmosphere quite different from what most (baroque or baroque inspired) fugues normally have. Whereas most fugues have a unity in the consistent employment of the same theme, and even double fugues rarely have themes so radically opposed to each other in expression, this fugue integrates and makes a point of integrating two completely different moods. A contrast, in other words, systematically built into the musical structure, based on the musical response to the two parts of the prayer formulation, the epithet and the actual prayer for mercy.

The final "Agnus dei" movement is structurally built in the same way as in KV 125. A soprano aria that sets the two first invocations (Andantino) has the same overall lyrical atmosphere as in the earlier work. However, the final section (Andante moderato as at the beginning of the work) in E flat major resumes the music from the frame of the Kyrie movement as already mentioned. First the four soloists together then the chorus all accompanied by the orchestra as in the very beginning bring the Agnus dei but also the whole litany to an end, giving it a rounded shape.

Altogether, what was said about the KV 125 also applies to the KV 243 in terms of the differences in the attention to the textual details of the litany. However, in terms of the devotional engagement, it should now be clear in what way Mozart in 1776 was able to respond to the devotional situation in the sacred space where the host was exposed while his litany was to be played. The contrasts involved, the application of what is even much more rich in nuances and differentiation than the typology of Wackenroder, shows that Mozart was well aware of the human possibilities for relating to such a situation and able to formulate them in a coherent and convincing way in his music thereby constituting also a relevant background for the anecdote about the later episode in Leipzig in 1789.

The Salzburg decree, discussed in the beginning of the article, was written in 1784. Mozart's last litany in 1776, eight years earlier. The devotional impact of the Devotion of the Forty Hours would hardly have been less at that time, although the orderliness and strictness imposed in 1784 may have been less so.⁴⁰ Altogether, however, the decree appears to be rather conservative in view of the reforms that were otherwise taking place in the early 1780s, in Salzburg as well as in Vienna.⁴¹

³⁹ Schick, pp. 217–18.

⁴⁰ This seems likely in view of two points made in the decree: 1/ majestic propriety, order and cleanliness is demanded in the church room. 2/ The people must never be allowed too close to the main altar to avoid crowds and unorderliness. See *Ordinariatsvorschrift* (1784), pp. 2 and 3–4.

⁴¹ Concerning church music and liturgical reforms in the Habsburg hereditary lands and Salzburg, see Hans Hollerweger, *Die Reform des Gottesdienstes zur Zeit des Josephinismus in Österreich* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1976).