Credo: Beethoven’s Faith as Reflected in the Missa Solemnis

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Abstract

The *Credo* movement of a Mass is a musical setting of the words of the Christian Creed. By Beethoven’s time, the Mass as a musical form was no longer inextricably tied to the Church, but often performed in concert halls. In the spring of 1819, Beethoven began work on the *Missa Solemnis* which he originally intended for Archduke Rudolph’s enthronement in 1820, but did not complete until 1823.

By the 1820’s, Beethoven’s interest in Renaissance counterpoint and fugal and contrapuntal writing in the style of Bach was increasingly evident in his music. Indeed, in his diary for the year 1815, just before his last major period of composition, Beethoven wrote about his desire to conduct and compose for a small court or chapel orchestra, composing music to the glory of God much as Bach had. As revealed in his correspondence and other writings, Beethoven’s God was simultaneously a personal paternal figure and omnipotent. Oriental views of God influenced this belief. Beethoven looked to God for the love and support his own father had not provided. Jesus, on the other hand, Beethoven saw as a suffering human being much like himself.

Beethoven owned and presumably had read the writings of many Catholic and Protestant spiritual leaders, but he also had or read those of philosophers such as Kant, Hegel and Schlegel, and literary authors such as Vergil, Goethe, and Ovid. While the teachings of the Church partially affected his religious beliefs, as a man of the Enlightenment who conversed with other such men about philosophy, he was perhaps more influenced by the philosophers of the time.

All of these influences may be observed in the *Credo* through such musical techniques as word painting, harmonic structure, word changes, and the concluding double fugue. In a letter written in 1824, Beethoven wrote, “my chief aim [in writing the *Missa Solemnis*] was to awaken and permanently instill religious feelings not only into the singers but also into the listeners.” This project is an attempt to understand the beliefs of an aging Beethoven through a close analysis of the *Credo* of his last Mass.
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Introduction

The evolution of the Mass as a musical genre perfectly illustrates the adage “form follows function.” As church services became more structured through time, the format of the Mass developed, and certain parts became standardized. The order of the items of the Mass and the general format of each section have remained essentially the same since the Roman-Frankish Mass was codified around 700. The musical term Mass generally refers to a setting of the Mass Ordinary, which comprises the parts of the Mass text that are invariable at every service and consists of the following movements: Kyrie (three petitions for mercy), Gloria (hymn of praise to the glory of God), Credo (declaration of belief), Sanctus (hymn of praise to the holiness of the Lord), and Agnus Dei (three acclamations of Christ’s mercy and petitions for mercy and peace). Since these sections were so frequently performed, they became the standard movements of the Mass in its musical form.

The sections of the Ordinary were originally chanted. Polyphony evolved through the embellishment of plainchant in the service. Although the Council of Trent in 1562 decided that Mass music “must be purified from the secular spirit, from anything profane,” and that the words must be intelligible, composers such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and Orlando di Lasso continued composing music for use in church services, influenced but not entirely structured by the
decrees of the Catholic Church.¹ During the Renaissance, Mass compositions were used in church services, but by the time of Johann Sebastian Bach, this use of Mass compositions was beginning to fall out of style. Bach’s famous *B Minor Mass*, composed in the Catholic form by a Lutheran composer, demonstrates the use of Mass form as a musical expression of faith across denominations, even though it was still performed in Catholic services. His Mass “[juxtaposes] contrasting styles, making the Mass in B Minor a compendium of approaches to church music.”² This Mass is similar to Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis* in that it was written late in the composer’s life as an expression of his personal faith.

In the Baroque Era, two different types of Mass arose: the *missa brevis* and the *missa solemnis*. The *missa brevis* was a short, mostly syllabic setting of the Mass that uses fewer musical parts and omits some portions of the longer *Gloria* and *Credo* texts.³ The *missa solemnis*, on the other hand, included longer sections separated into multiple movements, utilizing more performers.⁴

In the Classical Era, Joseph Haydn wrote Masses that “blend traditional elements, including contrapuntal writing for solo voices and the customary choral fugues at the conclusion of the Gloria and the Credo, with a new prominence for

¹ Zoë Kendrick Pyne, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: His Life and Times*. (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd., 1922), 50.
⁴ Roche.
the orchestra and elements drawn from symphonic style and symphonic forms.\textsuperscript{5}

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart wrote masses in a similar style. Perhaps most famous among his compositions is the \textit{Requiem}, which is more in the style of a \textit{missa solemnis}, since it includes the \textit{Introitus}, \textit{Sequenz}, \textit{Offertorium}, \textit{Benedictus}, \textit{Communio}, as well as three of the five movements of the Mass Ordinary (omitting the \textit{Gloria} and \textit{Credo}). At this point in history, the Mass had become a musical genre that might be performed outside of a church service.

As expressed in the title, Beethoven adopted the form of the \textit{missa solemnis} for his second and final Mass. His \textit{Missa Solemnis} was never performed in a church service since it was too long and more suited to concert performance than to a service. Beethoven included all of the usual sections of the Mass Ordinary but omitted the extra movements usually added in a \textit{missa solemnis}, such as the \textit{Introit}, \textit{Gradual}, \textit{Alleluia}, \textit{Offertory}, and \textit{Communion}.

The \textit{Credo} of the Mass is a musical setting of the text of the Nicene Creed and therefore might be considered the heart of the Mass. The Creed states the fundamental tenets of Christianity as set forth by the Council of Nicaea and then subsequently used by both Catholic and Protestant churches. By extension, musical settings of the \textit{Credo} carry particular importance and, along with the \textit{Gloria}, form the core of musical settings of the Mass.

Although Beethoven was raised in the Catholic Church, because he came to maturity during the Enlightenment, his personal faith did not adhere rigidly to

\textsuperscript{5} Burkholder, 544.
the tenets of the Church. His faith seems rather to stem from a more deistic or pantheistic theology, especially influenced by the writings of the philosopher Immanuel Kant. As Thayer states, “the words of the Mass were simply a text on which he could lavish all the resources of his art in the expression of his religious feelings,” or perhaps more precisely his beliefs. ⁶ As Beethoven wrote in a letter in 1824, “my chief aim when I was composing this grand mass was to awaken and permanently instill religious feelings not only into the singers but also into the listeners.” ⁷

Despite the fact that he was composing within a genre constrained by a standardized text, Beethoven was able to mold his Missa Solemnis with his beliefs in mind. Throughout the Mass, and in particular in the Credo, the way in which his setting projects his faith is evident mostly in the music of the vocal parts. Beethoven is said to have stated that with only a few changes, the Missa Solemnis could be performed a cappella. ⁸ In general, since the beliefs stated in the Creed are fundamental to the Church, the orchestra tends to serve as an accompaniment rather than the main focus. Beethoven composed the Credo so that the words that are most significant to him are accentuated and emphasized.

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⁸ Cooper/Coldicott, 86.
Chapter One: Philosophical and Musical Influences

Many factors contributed to Beethoven’s personal faith. His experience as the child of an alcoholic and abusive father was a factor in leading him to associate the ideal image of an omnipotent, loving father with God.\(^9\) Despite his lack of a formal education, Beethoven was exposed to a wide variety of philosophical literature chiefly through the Breuning family’s extensive library, which informed his personal beliefs. In a letter he wrote that “I have tried since childhood to understand the meaning of the better and wiser people of every age.”\(^10\) His letters also reveal that he read not only German philosophers such as Kant, Hegel, Goethe, and Schiller, but also many authors of classical antiquity, including Homer, Vergil, Plutarch, Euripides, Ovid, Quintillian, Tacitus, Lucius, Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle.\(^11\) Whether or not he studied these authors intensely, he grappled with the same fundamental issues, concluding that God must be an omnipotent being.

Of the Enlightenment philosophies represented in Beethoven’s library, the philosophy of Kant seems to correspond most closely with that of Beethoven and was most often quoted by him. A copy of Kant’s *Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens* was among Beethoven’s books.\(^12\) This work was first published in 1755 and was widely known. In his writing, Kant combines

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\(^{10}\) Cooper/Coldicott, 142.


\(^{12}\) Mellers, 14.
empiricism and rationalism, arguing that human existence is a combination of sense perception and understanding regulated by reason. While human reason is fundamentally important in Kant’s philosophy, and he employs scientific theories and Newtonian principles, he acknowledges the existence of an element in the universe that cannot be explained by science. He returns frequently to the idea of a Divine Being when no other explanation is apparent. As he states in the *Universal Natural History*, “I recognize the whole value of these proofs which one derives from the beauty and perfect disposition [ordering] of the world-edifice for a confirmation [of the existence] of the most wise Author.” He believes that behind scientific laws lies a “Primary Being” who inherently governs the laws of the operation of the universe.

Kant uses the rationale that “there is a God precisely because nature can proceed even in chaos in no other way than regularly and orderly.” Although he uses many different names for God, in neither description nor language does he identify his divine entity with a God associated with Christianity or any other religion. His God has a semi-pantheistic quality; as he describes it, “that being must at once be so rich [and] so complete that the development of their compositions in the flow of eternity may spread out over a plan which includes in itself all that can exist, which admits no measure [limit], in short, is infinite.”

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15 Kant, 86.
16 Kant, 151.
While he does not generally write of a personal relationship with the Highest Being in the way that Beethoven does, by writing that after death the immortal soul connects with the Highest Being, he illustrates a close bond between the Divine Being and humans.  

God guides the moral ideal of the highest good, which often conflicts with earthly realities, but it is impossible for humans truly to understand Him. Still, according to Kant, by employing the human faculty of reason, it is possible to understand what human morals should be. The quote that Beethoven famously transcribes into his February 1820 conversation book embodies this dichotomy: “the moral law within us and the starry heavens above us.”  

Similarly, Beethoven acknowledges and welcomes the new emphasis on reason and rationalism, while at the same time also admitting to a Higher Power.

Kant’s idea of an infinite God relates to the 19th-century idea that God exists in nature and in everything surrounding humans. Not only did Beethoven read about nature worship, as his heavily glossed copy of Christian Sturm’s Reflections on the Works of God in Nature suggests, but in connection with his walks in the countryside, he wrote of the inspiring, divine qualities of nature. In 1818 he copied two passages out of Sturm’s Reflections, the first dealing with the concept that nature is where people may know God, and the second stating that “I will humbly submit to all life’s chances and changes, and put my sole trust in Thy

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17 Kant, 196.
18 Kinderman, 6.
19 Kinderman, 8.
immutable goodness, O God!“\(^{20}\) This second quotation further explicates the two basic attributes already mentioned that Beethoven assigns to his God, omnipotence and paternal love.

Beethoven’s serious appreciation of God in nature began when he started to experience hearing loss around 1798, causing him to turn inward to God and religion.\(^{21}\) Soon thereafter, he secluded himself in the countryside around Vienna in the town of Heiligenstadt. Deafness wore away the pride of the chiefly extroverted composer and caused him to become more introspective in his later years, although he had always been rather introverted in his composing.\(^{22}\) Gottfried Fischer states that in his youth, “when [Beethoven] had to turn his mind to music or set to work by himself, he assumed quite another demeanor and insisted on due respect. His happiest hours were those when he was free of all company, when his parents were all away and he was left alone by himself.”\(^{23}\)

By the time Beethoven removed himself to Heiligenstadt, he was almost entirely deaf. The Heiligenstadt Testament of 1802 reflects his struggle with his malady and his newfound faith in both art and God. Incidents that revealed to friends that he was deaf, Beethoven states, “drove me almost to despair, a little more of that and I would have ended my life – it was only my art that held me back. Ah, it seemed to me impossible to leave the world until I had brought forth

\(^{20}\) Martin Cooper, 117.
\(^{21}\) Martin Cooper, 106
\(^{22}\) Martin Cooper, 115.
\(^{23}\) Thayer, 59.
all that I felt was within me.”24 He felt that he had been “forced to become a philosopher already in my 28th year, oh it was not easy[. …] Divine One, thou seest my inmost soul, thou knowest that therein dwells the love of mankind and the desire to do good.”25 His walks while in Heiligenstadt helped Beethoven to discover an understanding of the Divine Being and of his art that enabled him to return to Vienna and the world and to continue his work as a composer.

The idea of God in nature continues to appear in Beethoven’s notes and writings after his time in Heiligenstadt. He copied three sentences of Schiller’s “Die Sendung Moses” and kept them framed beneath the glass of his writing table: “I am that which is,” “I am all, what is, what was, what will be; no mortal man has ever lifted my veil,” and “He is only and solely of himself, and to this only one all things owe their existence.”26 The second of these sentences may also be found in a footnote in Kant’s Critique of Judgment and on an Egyptian monument.27 While these quotes come from a tradition very different from European philosophers and Christianity, Beethoven was interested in non-Western ideas of God that fit well with devotional Christian books such as the three he owned by Johann Michael Sailer, which illustrate an organic theory of the church.28

24 Thayer, 305.
25 Thayer, 305.
26 Thayer, 481-482.
27 Kinderman, 8.
28 Martin Cooper, 112.
His association of God with nature does not mean that Beethoven was simply a pantheist or deist, since his God was also personal. In frequent prayers written in his diaries and notebooks, “most noticeable is the feeling of dependence, of humility before a power inconceivably greater than himself and yet somehow intimately concerned with the smallest details of his life and personality.”

In none of his writings does Beethoven give evidence of belief “in the necessity of any mediator between the soul of man and the Divine Father.” Rather, he considered Jesus as a suffering fellow human being more than as divine, even equating him explicitly with humans in 1818 when he stated that “Socrates and Jesus were my models.” Yet while Beethoven did not consider Jesus to be the divine second aspect of the Trinity, he did think of him as an inspirational man who should be modeled and looked to for moral guidance.

While Beethoven somewhat redefined Christ, he seems to have completely disregarded the last member of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit. Beethoven read classic Catholic authors such as Thomas à Kempis along with devotional works by authors such as Sailer and Sturm. Despite the fact that he was not a practicing Catholic for most of his life, the last sacraments were administered to him on his deathbed. With the basic principles of Christianity as the foundation

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29 Martin Cooper, 115.
30 Thayer, 483.
31 Cooper/Coldicott, 142, 145.
32 Mellers, 3.
33 Martin Cooper, 119.
for his beliefs, Beethoven dispensed with strict Christian dogma and instead relied on rational thought. As he wrote in 1823 in a letter to Goethe, “I love truth more than anything.”34 By reading diverse authors and philosophers, he seems to have found his truth: almost all of the authors represented in his library and referenced in his letters acknowledge the existence of one Divine Being.

Aside from his faith, Beethoven’s music was naturally also affected by his familiarity with previous and contemporary composers. He had multiple teachers as a boy and was often pushed by his father to progress musically. Beethoven’s art remained both his outlet and his world. In his childhood, his teacher and mentor Christian Gottlob Neefe taught Beethoven keyboard and composition through J.S. Bach’s *Well-Tempered Clavier*, an experience that began Beethoven’s fascination with counterpoint and fugue.35 A later teacher, Johann Schenk, continued Beethoven’s counterpoint education by introducing him to Fux’s *Gradus ad Parnassum*.36

Despite his early exposure to Baroque counterpoint, Beethoven’s favorite composer during his early life was Mozart, with George Frideric Handel and Bach in second and third place. After hearing more of Handel’s music in the early 1800’s, he decided instead to place Handel first.37 While he recognized Bach’s genius by calling him “the immortal god of harmony,” Beethoven appreciated in

35 Cooper/Coldicott, 203.
36 Mellers, 8.
37 Cooper/Coldicott, 153-154.
Handel the “ability to build whole movements out of very simple ideas.”  

Musicologists William Kinderman and Martin Cooper both see evidence of stylistic similarities between the compositional techniques of these composers and those of Beethoven in the *Missa Solemnis*. While Handel’s influence may be heard in more majestic sections, the prayerful passages are reminiscent of the style of J.S. Bach.

As he commenced work on the Mass, Beethoven also studied music from the 16th and 17th centuries, in particular the “traditional rhetoric of Mass composition.” In 1815 Beethoven expressed his view of sacred music, writing in one of his notebooks:

> If possible, develop the ear instruments, then travel!
> This you owe to yourself, to men and to Him, the Almighty: only in this way may you be able to develop once more all that has remained latent within you. And a small Court, a small Chapel, the song of praise to be written in it by me, performed, to the glory of the Almighty, the Eternal, the Infinite! Thus may my last days pass – and for future humanity! Händel, Bach, Gluck, Mozart, Haydn’s portraits in my room, they can help me to deserve indulgence.

Using Kantian terms for his God here, he also demonstrates his affinity for the life of a church musician. By 1818 Beethoven was becoming even more interested in sacred music, writing, “in order to write true church music, look through all the

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38 Cooper/Coldicott, 154-155.
39 Kinderman, 279, 3.
40 Martin Cooper, 258-261.
41 Kinderman, 238.
church chorales of the monks, etc., to find out the most accurate translations of all the sections, also the perfect prosody of all the Christian and Catholic psalms and canticles generally.”⁴³ While the availability of music in published editions was limited, Beethoven had access to libraries of various wealthy patrons, where most of what was available could be found. Moreover, prior to his deafness, he had heard performances of Haydn, Mozart, and Handel. For example, Bach’s *Mass in B Minor* was not published until 1818 and was not well known in Vienna.⁴⁴ In a letter to Breitkopf and Härtel eight years before the publication, however, Beethoven wrote that he admired the *Crucifixus* from Bach’s Mass, saying that it was “very like ourselves.”⁴⁵

In the spring of 1819, Beethoven wrote that he wanted to compose “a whole symphony in the old modes,” and he began work on the *Missa Solemnis*, which he intended for Archduke Rudolph’s enthronement in March, 1820. From various letters, it seems that the Archduke did not commission the work, but rather that Beethoven offered to write a Mass for the occasion. In a letter dated June, 1819 Beethoven wrote to the Archduke, “the day when a High Mass of mine shall be performed at the ceremonies for Y.I.H. will be for me the most beautiful day of my life, and God will inspire me so that my weak powers may contribute to the glorification of this solemn day…”⁴⁶ The Mass was not completed in time for the Archduke’s enthronement, but finished in 1823. Beethoven took

⁴³ Beethoven/Hamburger, 164.
⁴⁴ Kinderman, 3.
⁴⁵ Mellers, 324.
⁴⁶ Thayer, 719.
longer than anticipated to complete the Mass partially because of personal problems in connection with the guardianship of his nephew Karl. More importantly, with his interest in church music and modal writing increasing just before he began to work on this Mass, it is not surprising that he required more time to create a composition that was deeply influenced by the previous history of the genre. He had particular trouble composing the fugal passages, as is evident in his sketchbooks.  

Modal writing in particular affected Beethoven’s concept of church music at this time. He considered Palestrina the best sacred music composer of all time and believed that modes and *a cappella* writing were “the only true church [styles.]”  

Beethoven knew the discussions of the allegorical meanings of church modes from Gioseffe Zarlino’s textbook *Istitutioni armoniche*, and drew on these to add another layer of meaning to his music.

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47 Martin Cooper, 418.
48 Cooper/Coldicott, 86.
Chapter Two: Formal Structure of the *Credo* and Trinitarian Imagery

Before undertaking an analysis of the ways in which Beethoven’s treatment and musical setting of the text of the *Credo* reflect his faith (see Chapter 3), it would be useful to discuss various theories of the formal structure of the movement. The text of the *Credo* is composed of four statements that denote the four fundamental beliefs of the Church: in God the Father, in Jesus Christ the Son, in the Holy Spirit, and in the holy catholic, or universal, church. As may be observed in Appendix 1, the four sections begin “credo in unum Deum patrem,” “et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum,” “et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum,” and “et in unam sanctam catholicam.” Since the forms of Classical music do not easily accommodate the format of a four-section text, Classical composers tended to divide the text into three sections instead of four, treating the text in a ternary style as a “statement of faith focussing on that portion concerned with the story of Jesus Christ, in particular the three lines describing his time on Earth.”

The following three lines were the central text:

Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine,

Et homo factus est;

Crucifixus etiam pro nobis; sub Pontio Pilato passus et sepultus est;

(And he became incarnate by the Holy Spirit from the Virgin Mary, and he was made as a man; also having been

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crucified for us; under Pontius Pilate he suffered and was buried.\textsuperscript{50} Focusing on this portion of the text emphasizes the historical aspect of Christ’s time on earth rather than Church doctrine. Changes in tonality, tempo, and texture differentiate the musical setting of these three lines of text as the B section of ternary form. The text before these lines from the beginning through “descendit de coelis” constituted the first A section and the text after these the three lines from “et resurrexit” to the end constituted the concluding A section.\textsuperscript{51} Beethoven somewhat acknowledges this ternary tradition by changing the key and tempo for what would be the B section. On the other hand, the sections that would be considered A do not conform to traditional ternary structure, since the music before what would be the B section is not the same, or even similar to the music following it.

Instead of adhering to ternary structure, Beethoven composes the \textit{Credo} in four main musical sections based on differences in key areas, which are subdivided by ten different tempo markings. Although each section contains more than one tempo indication, they differ only slightly from the general indication at the beginning of each section and therefore support the four-part musical structure.

A separate musically and textually defining element is Beethoven’s treatment of the word “credo” as a quasi-ritornello that is stated four times

\textsuperscript{50} All translations translated by the author.
\textsuperscript{51} Drabkin, 53.
throughout the movement. Instead of using the usual connective “et” to begin the last three statements of belief, Beethoven repeats the word “credo” each time, emphasizing the fact that this movement is a statement of belief (Appendix 2). The three edited lines now read:

Credo in unum Dominum Jesum Christum.

Credo in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum et vivificantem.

Credo in unum sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam.

This “credo” theme begins each of the four statements of belief, but these four statements do not coincide with the beginnings of the four musical sections and are therefore a separate structural element.

The Credo movement as a whole is in B-flat major. The first musical section is in B-flat major with the tempo marking Allegro ma non troppo and lasts until m. 124 with the introduction of the text “et incarnatus.” It includes the first two “credo” statements. After modulating through the subdominant E-flat major, D minor (anticipating the second section), C major, and D-flat major, the tonic B-flat major returns and closes the section.

The second main section has an overarching tonal center of D and proceeds in much slower tempi, beginning with an Adagio in D Dorian mode (mm. 124-143). For the setting of “et homo factus est” (mm. 144-155), the tempo changes to Andante and the mode to D major. To end the D tonal section (mm. 156-187), the tempo changes to Adagio espressivo and the key moves to D minor.
These last three tempo and key changes of the second section comprise the three statements that were considered the central text of the Mass in the Classical Era.

For the beginning of the third section in G Mixolydian mode, the tempo shifts to *Allegro* (mm. 188-193) at the words “et resurrexit.” At m. 194 with the words “et ascendit,” the tempo changes again, only slightly, to *Allegro molto*, lasting until m. 263, and except for brief shifts here and there, this section is in F major.

The next tempo change within the third section comes with the third “credo” theme, which begins the statement of belief in the Holy Spirit (mm. 264-305). At m. 264 both the tempo change to *Allegro ma non troppo un poco maestoso* and the continuation of F major remain constant through the statement of belief in the catholic church. The last line, “et vitam venturi saeculi, Amen,” then repeats in B-flat major, beginning the double fugue which constitutes the fourth section (mm. 306-438), and continues to be the text until the end of the movement. The first part of the fugue (mm. 306-371) has the tempo marking *Allegretto ma non troppo*, and the second half (mm. 372-432) a faster *Allegro con moto* indication. The second part of the double fugue ends with the tempo marking *Grave* (mm. 433-472), drastically slowing down the movement. Finally, the movement finishes with a relatively brief Coda also in the *Grave* tempo (mm. 439-472).

In his book, *Beethoven: Missa solemnis*, musicologist William Drabkin provides a basic outline of the form of the double fugue, which may be found in
table format in Appendix 3. The simple theme essentially comprises a subject in half notes for the text “et vitam venturi saeculi,” accompanied by a countersubject in quarter notes setting “Amen.”\textsuperscript{52} Often, the subject and countersubject last for four-measure phrases; however, the last measure is usually modified “to accommodate the entries of new voices or the direction of the harmony.”\textsuperscript{53} The first part of the double fugue is itself in ternary form, preceded in the orchestra by a fifths progression with a sustained dominant pedal tone. After this introduction there is a complete fugal exposition, followed by a middle section that inverts the fugal subject and explores other keys. Finally, the recapitulation arrives in the home key of B-flat major, before setting up D major for the second part of the double fugue.\textsuperscript{54}

The second part of the double fugue begins similarly to the first with an orchestral introduction and complete exposition. After the exposition, the second section diverges from ternary form while the fugue is developed in other keys. At m. 406 Beethoven enlarges the chord progression that had commenced the fugue and proceeds with a sequence of plagal cadences.\textsuperscript{55} In this way, the fugue ends with root-position chords, a circle of fifths, and plagal cadences so that the cadential phrase of the Grave “is adequately prepared by non-fugal textures.”\textsuperscript{56} The Coda, a capstone to the fugue, sets only the word “Amen” and prepares the

\textsuperscript{52} Drabkin, 62.  
\textsuperscript{53} Drabkin, 62.  
\textsuperscript{54} Drabkin, 64.  
\textsuperscript{55} Drabkin, 65.  
\textsuperscript{56} Drabkin, 65.
final plagal cadence. As the singers rarely repeat text throughout the movement before the fugue, the many repetitions of the last line of the Creed receive great emphasis.

Kinderman argues that the *Credo* falls into the four aforementioned sections based on key area: “the opening *Allergro ma non troppo* up to ‘descendit de coelis,’ in B♭; the section in slow tempo from the Incarnatus up to the Resurrexit, with a basic tonality of D; the *Allegro molto* beginning at ‘et ascendit in coelum’ and leading into the recapitulation of the Credo in F major; and finally the fugue and coda on ‘et vitam venturi saeculi, amen,’ in B♭.”57 After describing this four-part structure, he discusses the importance of an E-flat sonority throughout the movement as a means of making the lengthy text a cohesive composition.

Drabkin, on the other hand, argues that the *Credo* is organized on two different levels: “the traditional layout [in ternary form] is articulated by changes in tempo and key, while the four statements of belief are underscored thematically, by the use of the four-note ‘Credo, credo’ motif. Further subdivisions are clarified mainly by new themes.”58 He also describes the fugue as having a tripartite form. Even as he discusses the general ternary form for the movement, Drabkin notes various problems with it, among them being the drastic differences in length of the sections, balancing of tempi, and finally “Beethoven’s

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57 Kinderman, 268.
58 Drabkin, 54.
attention to the text.” Drabkin goes on to analyze the movement in three sections, mm. 1-123, 125-187, and 188-472. While he describes various other formal structures which might fit the movement, he finds reservations strong enough for each to prevent him from definitely choosing one form.

While both musicologists begin their identification of the form of the Credo by discussing previous Classical forms, tempi, key areas, and setting of the words, they continue to support their conclusions by demonstrating how Beethoven’s faith plays an integral role in the format. In fact, many scholars do not spend much time trying to determine the precise form of the movement, but instead discuss the faith apparent in Beethoven’s choice of keys, dynamics, voices, word painting, and tempi. Form may be found from these elements of the movement, as both differences and patterns form a cohesive whole, centered on Beethoven’s affirmation of faith.

Kinderman’s subdivision of the Credo into four main sections is arguably the most accurate view of the movement’s structure, and may be further explained by the reflection of the Trinity in this form. Even though Beethoven’s personal faith is more Deistic than Christian, he often uses Trinitarian symbolism throughout the Credo. He seems to cede to the demands of the words and imagery of the Creed while at the same time using the music to emphasize what he finds to be the most important elements of Christian doctrine.

59 Drabkin, 54.
The key areas of these four sections are based on the pitches of a B-flat major chord with B-flat as the key of the first and fourth sections. The three keys reflect the Trinity, the three facets of the Christian God. While Christians believe in one God, they see Him manifested in three ways: God the Father, Christ Jesus the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. The return to the key of B-flat at the end has the purpose of musical closure while also reflecting Beethoven’s view of God. While acknowledging Jesus and the Holy Spirit, Beethoven displays in his writings more reverence for God as the omnipotent, yet loving and personal Father (Appendix 4).

The first of the four musical sections (mm. 1-123) encompasses the statement of belief in one God (“unum Deum”) and half of the statement of belief in Christ, lasting through the words “descendit de coelis,” which describe Christ’s relationship to God and the reasons for His coming to earth. Despite some relatively brief modulations to E-flat major, C major, D minor, D-flat major, and C minor, this section is in B-flat major.

E-flat major, as the subdominant of B-flat major, is an integral tonal area in the movement. By stressing the plagal relationship between B-flat and E-flat throughout the *Credo*, Beethoven draws on the traditional use of plagal cadences in sacred music. E-flat major first enters functioning more as a key than a chord in m. 21. At this point the chorus is finishing describing God as omnipotent and continues to sing that He is the “maker of heaven and earth” (“factorem coeli et terra”) and “of all that is seen” (“visibilium omnium”). Since the plagal
relationship is associated with the church and therefore humankind, it follows that Beethoven would use the subdominant key area for text reflecting God’s relationship with people as their maker. The very last portion of the statement of belief in God the Father states that He is also the maker of “all that is unseen” (“et invisibilium”), mm. 30-33. For these measures the harmony shifts from E-flat major to D minor, highlighting the difference between what is seen and what is unseen. With its puzzling and confounding connotations, the minor mode here serves to differentiate the two portions of God’s creation and perhaps foreshadow that life is not always filled with happiness.

The statement of belief in Christ begins with the same music and in the same key as appeared with the statement concerning God the Father. Since the statement about Christ begins with the words “[I believe] in one Lord” (“credo in unum Dominum”), the oneness of God is emphasized and therefore Beethoven uses God the Father’s key of B-flat major until the words “Jesus Christ,” which immediately follow “one Lord.” The music modulates to E-flat major and briefly passes through C major as the text describes the relationship between the Father and the Son, saying, “God from God, light from light, true God from true God” (“Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero”). C major does not continue, as the last two measures modulate back to B-flat major for “Deo vero,” referring to the Father. In this way, the music returns to the B-flat major of God the Father as soon as the words return to that subject.
Within the first of the four major sections, the key changes for mm. 86-107 to D-flat major, with the last six measures modulating through B-flat minor and once again reaching B-flat major at m. 108. The words sung during these key changes translate as: “for us men and for our salvation, He came down from heaven” (“qui propter nos homines et propter nostrum salutem, descendit de coelis”), explaining the Father’s reason for sending His Son to earth. The second half of the phrase is then repeated in B-flat major, the key for God the Father since it is His divine will that Christ come to earth.

The second section of the movement with a D tonal center (mm. 124-193) includes the middle portion of the Christ statement. The text sung in Dorian mode translates as “and He became incarnate according to the Holy Spirit from the Virgin Mary” (“et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine”). As Christ’s miraculous birth from a virgin is one of the deepest mysteries of the Christian faith, modes remind some listeners of the early church, and for all listeners, they also project the mysterious, since they do not conform to standard major and minor sounds. In fact, in his textbook *Istitutioni armoniche*, which Beethoven used, Gioseffe Zarlino states that the Dorian mode was considered “the donor of modesty and preserver of chastity.”60 Not only does the modal harmony reflect early church practice, but the completely homophonic, rhythmically defined setting of the last repetition of “et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria Virgine” resembles organum. All the voices of the chorus sing in octaves

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60 Mellers, 324.
through m. 141, which become perfect fifths in m. 142. The parallel motion and the perfect intervals reflect the style and texture of organum and other early church music.

The dramatic words “and He was made man” (“et homo factus est”) are set in the contrasting D major, reflecting the joy of Christ’s birth. D minor then completes the D-tonal-area section for the description of Christ’s crucifixion, suffering, and burial, the depressed triad reflecting the painful text. Towards the end of the D minor section, the bass descends at first chromatically and then by whole step until coming to rest on G at m. 188. The following mm. 188-193, setting the words “and on the third day He rose according to the Scriptures” (“et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas”), again incorporate a mode rather than the more modern major or minor, here G Mixolydian. Christ’s resurrection is the second of the two greatest mysteries surrounding His life on earth. In keeping with the way Beethoven treated the first mystery, he again employs modality. The tenors begin by singing the word “et” on G4 at a forte dynamic level, followed by two beats of rest. The separation of the word “et” from the rest of the phrase makes the remaining text sound like an addendum. Although Kinderman includes these six measures in the D-tonal-area section, they sound as if they are
not a part of what comes before or after but as if they stand alone, creating a transition between sections two and three: these measures have their own tempo marking and mode, and the orchestra is tacet. These aspects give the measures the aura of an afterthought or parenthetical idea (Appendix 5).

The meaning of the musical setting of “et resurrexit” becomes more evident when considered in the context of Beethoven’s beliefs. While he recognized Christ as a good man, he saw Him more as a fellow sufferer than as God. The use of a mode and a loud dynamic level demonstrate Beethoven’s respect for the church and the Christian text. The G root of the mode, not falling either into the D tonal center that preceded it or the F major to follow, as well as the rests surrounding and therefore offsetting the word “et,” demonstrate his skepticism concerning the mystery of the resurrection in Christian doctrine.

The G Mixolydian section ends with a half rest capped by a fermata in every instrumental and vocal part. Following this rest, the third section of the *Credo* begins in the new key of F major at a faster tempo, thereby completing the overarching key-scheme based on the B-flat major triad. This section (mm. 194-305) sets the remaining text, comprising the last portion of the statement of belief in Christ, the statement of belief in the Holy Spirit, and the statement of belief in the holy catholic church. After completing the statement of belief in Christ, Beethoven hastens through the final statements about the Holy Spirit and the catholic church, which play a subsidiary role in his belief. Much of the music of this segment derives from word painting, which will be explicated in the
following chapter. A measure-number comparison further illustrates the disparity in importance to Beethoven, reflected in their respective lengths. The last lines of the Christ statement comprise 71 measures (mm. 194-263). The Holy Spirit and church statements together comprise only 43 measures (mm. 264-305), despite the fact that the text is twice as long.

Finally, the fourth section of the movement encompasses the long double fugue and coda which is 167 measures long (mm. 306-472). In B-flat, it repeats only the single line of text “and the life of the ages to come, Amen” (“et vitam venturi saeculi, Amen”), many times. While the full significance of the fugue format will be discussed later in connection with Hegelian philosophy, in short it serves to clarify the words and return to the key of God the Father, B-flat major. Just as the words indicate a long-lasting future, so too the fugue is lengthy in comparison with the rest of the movement. Fugues and imitation create many ideas from one idea and also stretch out the expression of a simple theme. The use of imitation as a way of emphasizing words as well as indicating length of time dates back to the Renaissance.

While most translations used in churches today translate “saeculi” as “of the world,” a more literal meaning would be “of the age,” “of the generation,” “of the race,” or “of the people.” With these arguably more accurate translations in mind, the last line of the Creed ceases to refer to the physical world of humanity, but instead refers to the ethereal world of life with God after death. As a result of Beethoven’s affinity for a sort of Kantian pantheism – the recognition of God in
the entire surrounding world – to die means to return to nature and to God. This
godly world is the next stage for humans, reflected by the future tense of the
participle “venturi.” Beethoven seems to have looked fondly to the time when he
would return to his Creator, especially when he was feeling particularly tormented
by hearing loss. Thus, when the words return to describing life with God the
almighty Father, the key returns to B-flat major for the triumphant end of the
Credo.

Trinitarian imagery appears also in smaller musical details of the Credo.
Throughout the movement, the majority of the choral and solo entrances are made
in groups of three. Sometimes one voice enters early and then the remaining three
enter together soon thereafter. At other times, three voices enter in fugal fashion,
while the fourth comes in at a different time or pitch from the other three. In still
other instances, two voices enter together and then the two remaining voices enter
separately, forming three distinct entrances. Lastly, sometimes the fourth voice is
omitted altogether, as in the melodic sighs heard in the solo voices on “passus”
(mm. 173-175 and 182-183). The first time the alto, tenor, and bass soloists sing
the phrase, and the second time the soprano, alto, and tenor sing it.
Although there are places where all four voices enter in more traditional fashion, Beethoven uses entrances with only three voices frequently enough and at places of doctrinal and textual significance, that they are a purposeful reflection of the Trinity (or one God with three facets).

The most significant musical reflections of this concern are the ritornello entrances of the word “credo,” which are already emphasized by Beethoven’s word choice (Appendix 6). In the first entrance of the chorus (mm. 5-9), the basses, tenors, and finally sopranos each enter two measures apart with the “credo” theme of a dotted half note, quarter note, and two half notes. Entering in fugato style, these three voices reflect the three parts of the Trinity. While the altos are eventually given the word “credo” to sing (m. 10), the melodic line is altered, and instead of resting for two measures after the soprano entrance, the altos enter after a rest of one measure. The order of entrance for the basses, tenors, and sopranos, as well as the alteration of the altos’ line is exactly the same for the second “credo” statement in mm. 37-42. The fourth statement of the
“credo” theme (mm. 279-282) mimics the first two times almost precisely. The only difference at this point is that the basses, altos, and sopranos enter as the triad, with the tenors singing the altered theme.

In contrast, the third statement of the “credo” theme, for the declaration of belief in the Holy Spirit, is different. The altos enter first in m. 267 with the word “credo.” Their melody, however, diverges from the ritornello “credo” theme not only in rhythm but also in melodic intervals. The basses enter in the following measure with the original “credo” theme. In the other three statements of the “credo” theme, the voices enter two measures apart. In keeping with that aspect of the theme, for this third “credo” musical statement, the tenors enter two measures later in m. 270 with the theme, but are not followed by the sopranos. Instead, the sopranos enter in m. 269 just before the tenors on the word “Dominum,” thus omitting the word “credo” altogether. As the sopranos and altos rush through the words of the statement concerning the Holy Spirit, the tenors and basses continue with the “credo” theme, altering it slightly (mm. 272-278).

For Beethoven, the Father aspect of God seemed to usurp the role of the Holy Spirit in representing a personal relationship with humankind. Since Beethoven’s definition of God the Father rendered the Holy Spirit meaningless, he distinguishes the musical setting of the statement of belief that begins with the third “credo” by dispensing with the Trinitarian imagery used in the other
statements of belief. Since for him the Holy Spirit was not divine, it does not receive the same musical treatment.
Chapter Three: Word Painting and Musical Nuance in the First Three Sections

The *Credo* and *Gloria* have longer texts than the other three movements of the Mass Ordinary and therefore more opportunity for word painting. Some musical depictions in these movements have become standardized and are almost always included in Mass settings. These moments of word painting help listeners understand particular words of the Latin text in addition to the general meaning. Beethoven’s setting incorporates some of the traditional conventions, but it is not confined by them.\(^6\) Of particular interest are the instances when he highlights a word or section not usually slated for special treatment, in order to express more specifically his personal beliefs.

The first choral entrance introduces the fugal “credo” ritornello theme discussed in the previous chapter. The music is polyphonic for a few measures as the voices enter, staggered with various parts of the “credo in unum Deum” text. By m. 14, all voices coincide for the first time as they sing the word “unum,” and then continue homorhythmically, and eventually homophonically, through the first beat of m. 20, at which point the basses diverge. The words from mm. 15-20 are “Deum, patrem, patrem, patrem, o-[mnipotentem].” Until this point, the only other word that is stated three times successively is “unum,” in the tenor part from mm. 12-14. By repeating both “unum” and “patrem,” Beethoven emphasizes his belief that there is one God, and he is God the supreme Father. The paternal aspect of God is further reinforced by the different dynamic levels and musical

\(^6\) Drabkin, 19.
setting used each time, drawing particular attention to the word. The first time the chorus sings “patrem” (mm. 15-16), it is accented with *sforzandi* and a quarter rest between the two quarter notes for the two-syllable word. The next “patrem” is sung at a *piano* dynamic level, while the third begins a crescendo (mm. 17-18).

The omnipotence of God the Father is further emphasized in mm. 17-24 through the same two aspects – dynamic levels and note values – plus a third, *tessitura*. M. 20 is the first time in the *Credo* that Beethoven uses the infrequent and therefore poignant B-flat5 in the highest vocal register. The sopranos reach this note after a chromatic ascent from G on the last repetition of the word “patrem” in m. 17. The high B-flat coincides with the *sforzando* culmination of the crescendo that began at the beginning of the chromatic ascent in m. 17. The three upper voices sustain the B-flat, *fortissimo*, for three and a half measures, while the basses sing the next textual and musical phrase (m. 20-24). M. 20 contains a half note still on the syllable “o-” followed by two quarters on “-mnipot-.” Then, in mm. 21-23 the voices hold whole-note B-flats on the syllable “-en-” which end with a half note in m. 24.

Although Beethoven often begins phrases in a fugal manner with all or selected voices entering at different times, the texture almost invariably becomes homophonic partway through, as in the case of the setting of “visibilium omnium et invisibilium” (mm. 28-33). This text, “all that is seen and unseen,” forms part of a longer sentence describing the creation. The setting of “visibilium” begins loudly, with added *sforzandi* in the soprano, alto, and bass lines in m. 28. What is
“seen” is punctuated with *sforzandi* on the word “et” in m. 30. God’s power does not stop at what humans can see, but continues into what is unseen. Therefore, the voices repeat the word “et” and follow it with “invisibilium” after a quarter rest. Not only is what is “unseen” set apart by this rest, but the dynamic level decreases to *piano*. The invisible is beyond the capacity of human senses and thus is sung in a hushed manner. Adding to the quiet aura, the chorus is accompanied only by the strings. The mode change to D minor for “invisibilium” (m. 31-33) further differentiates the settings of the two words. These musical characteristics help to define aurally the words “visible” and “invisible,” as well as serve to emphasize the power of God the Father and the vastness of His creation, as a conclusion to the statement of belief in God the Father.

At the beginning of the statement of belief in Jesus Christ, none of the words appears three times successively, although “credo” and “unum” are stated twice. In the Father statement, the singers had often repeated the word “patrem,” focusing on the paternal aspect of God. Instead of repeating “Jesus Christ” in a similar manner, Christ’s name is sung only once and, instead, “unum dominum” is repeated homophonically. Rather than emphasizing the aspect of Christ in the Trinity, Beethoven repeats the words “one Lord” in a texture that emphasizes the whole instead of the parts, a further projection of his belief in a simple fatherly, omnipotent God, with Christ depicted as a fellow human sufferer.

The statement of belief in Christ, like that of the Father, begins with successive *forte* and *fortissimo* dynamic levels. Then, after an octave downward
leap in m. 55, the sudden *pianissimo* at m. 56 for the words “ante omnia, omnia saecula” comes as a surprise. Set off by rests on either side in the choral parts, mm. 56-59 hover around the key of G minor, finally resting on a G major triad in m. 59, which becomes the dominant of the C major key area of the next section. The offsetting of the “ante” phrase, its quiet dynamic level, and its minor harmony all serve to parenthesize it since it is not as important as the surrounding references to God the Father.

The next few lines within the statement of belief in Christ describe how Christ and God are one and the same, stating, “God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made” (“Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum non factum”). This statement again focuses on God as one being, accentuated by the dramatic return of the chorus after a tremolo crescendo in the strings with a bouncy *fortissimo* theme. In this section of the text (line 8 of section 1), “Deum verum” refers to Christ, while “de Deo vero” refers to God, since Christ came from the Father. While on the first syllable for “Deum” (m. 65) the sopranos reach a high A-flat5, they reach the true climax on the first syllable of “Deo” with a *fortissimo* high B-flat5 (m. 67). A descent through the B-flat triad associated with God for the rest of the phrase “Deo vero” ends with an octave leap back up to the high B-flat5, now *sforzando*, for “genitum,” the beginning of the next line of text. By emphasizing the fact that Christ is “begotten” from the Father, Beethoven not only highlights an important
part of the Creed, but also his own belief in the oneness of God, since ultimately, Christ comes from God.

After stating three times in mm. 68-70 – first in the basses, then in the altos, and finally in the sopranos all sforzando, omitting the fourth voice, the tenors – that Christ was “not made” (“non factum”), the chorus continues with a fugal passage. The text for the fugato further describes the unity of the Triune God: “of one being with the father, through whom all things are made” (“consubstantialem Patri per quem omnia facta sunt”). At its conclusion, the chorus sings “omnia facta sunt” three times to demonstrate the quantity to which it refers.

Humans are not mentioned in the Credo text until about a third of the way through. Thus far, the chorus has presented the most important melodic material and has generally been the center of attention. Four measures before the mention of humans, “qui propter nos homines et propter nostrum salutem, descendit de coelis” (mm.86-89), the focus shifts to the woodwinds, who begin an ascending D-flat major scale, accompanied by sparse strings and the fourth horn, which has sustained quiet notes. A flute and bassoon duet, which becomes the main melodic figure for mm. 88-97, unfolds from the rising scale of the bassoons and clarinets. The chorus provides a secondary homophonic accompaniment at a piano dynamic level, while the strings quietly accompany everything with a pizzicato quarter note/quarter rest figure.
As soon as the chorus reaches the last line of this section, singing “He descended from heaven,” the strings return to arco, the woodwind melody ceases, and the chorus sings at a forte dynamic level (mm. 97-103). This text is highlighted because it describes the will of God the Father rather than an act of Christ. The melody reflects the descent, as the basses leap down an octave and the tenors a minor third in m. 99 between the second and third syllables of “descendit.” Then, predictably, for “coelis,” the voices rise again as if to the “heavens.” There is similar word painting in the soprano part (mm. 100-102) as the sopranos leap down an octave while singing “descendit” and back up the octave for “de coelis.”

The chorus then repeats this text with “qui propter […]” in m. 102 and immediately returns to a piano dynamic level in a homophonic style. The soft dynamic level demonstrates the secondary importance of men (“homines”) to the act of Christ’s descent from heaven.

From mm. 102-111, the chorus sings “qui propter nos homines et propter nostrum salutem,” repeating the last few words several times. In m. 107, the key of B-flat major returns, and a crescendo begins as the voices repeat the text, finally culminating in a fortissimo for “descendit de coelis.” After a steady
ascent, the sopranos reach the high climatic B-flat5 for the third time in the movement at a *fortissimo* dynamic level, on the first syllable of “descendit,” which is sustained for an entire measure before descending precipitously with a downward octave leap on the last two syllables. This leap is sung in all the voices and immediately repeated in a similar manner, but with different harmony. After the second statement, “descendit” is heard a third and final time, with five quarter notes voicing falling thirds, leading surprisingly in the sopranos to an A5 for the first syllable of “coelis,” and then finally reaching the fourth high B-flat5 for the second syllable in m. 118.

The following “et incarnatus” section (mm. 124-143) has previously been discussed in terms of the significance of its mode and texture. Like the miracle it describes, the music in this section is rather mystical in its effect. The only element that might be considered akin to word painting is the flute line from mm. 134-143. Floating above the rest of the orchestra and the chorus, the flute trills and plays syncopated rhythms within a relatively small range of high notes. This flute line is considered universally to represent a dove, the standard symbol of the Holy Spirit.
These lines describe the Christian doctrine that Christ “was made incarnate by the Holy Spirit from the Virgin Mary” (“et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine”). As the representation of the Holy Spirit, the flute illustrates the miracle of Christ’s birth.

In the last measure (m. 143) of this modal section, the tenor soloist sings “et” on a syncopated quarter note on the second beat of the measure. The orchestra modulates to D major for m. 144 in which the tenor sings “et” again on a quarter note on the second beat. By repeating “et” in both measures, Beethoven overrides the modal designations, beginning the text of the D major section at the end of the D Dorian section. The tenor’s first “et” is sung on an E while the orchestra plays a dominant-tonic cadence in D major (m. 143). The orchestra resolves early in a sense, halfway through the measure, anticipating the full resolution at m. 144 that begins the next section, with its shift to D major and triple meter. The flute also resolves to F-sharp just before the beginning of m. 144. In the orchestra, therefore, the D Dorian section resolves a bit prematurely in m. 143 to D major at the beginning of a crescendo that climaxes on the downbeat of m. 144, fortissimo, while the tenors sing the first word of the next phrase of the Credo text (Appendix 7). Throughout this movement, Beethoven often prepares clauses in a similar manner, by repeating the word “et” between rests before continuing the phrase or sentence. This technique helps to unify the movement instead of isolating phrases with different keys and modes. In this
instance, the phrase is “et homo factus est,” referring to Christ’s coming as a man to the earth for the sake of humankind. These words are repeated many times both by the chorus and the tenor soloist, since they are significant both to Christian theology and to Beethoven, albeit for slightly different reasons.

After the joyous D major announcing Christ’s coming as man, the music shifts to D minor to reflect Christ’s suffering. The F-sharp in the first horn in m. 157 is therefore startling after the introduction of D minor, perhaps foreshadowing the joyous resurrection. In this section (mm. 156-187) announcing Christ’s crucifixion and suffering, the meaning is projected in part through rhythmic variety. The word painting on “passus” was referred to in the discussion of Trinity motives. The vocal soloists’ lines in mm. 166-183 descend in large intervals of diminished fifths and major and minor sixths. The aspirated consonant “p” at the beginning of the word makes the figure sound even more like the sigh of a suffering human.

The previously discussed significance of the modality and setting of the “et resurrexit” section is supported by its *forte* dynamic level. Christ’s resurrection is a moment for rejoicing and therefore is loudly proclaimed by the chorus. This *forte* continues for the next phrase, “et ascendit in coelis,” when the orchestra re-enters and word painting reflects Christ’s ascension. In the chorus, each voice enters a measure apart in mm. 194-197, beginning with the basses, moving up through the voices, and ending with the sopranos. This staggered ascent is previously suggested by the strings followed by the woodwinds (with the
exception of the clarinets). The woodwinds each reflect a voice of the chorus with the clarinets (tenors) entering with the flutes (sopranos) instead of directly after the bassoons (basses). The first three voices ascend in a C major scale, while the sopranos of the chorus and instruments ascend in an F major scale. Beyond reflecting Christ’s ascension, these rising scales also establish the dominant and tonic for the new key of F major.

The next portion of the Creed, which states that “He is seated at the right hand of the Father, and will come again with Glory” (“sedet ad dexteram Patris, et iterum venturus est cum Gloria”), is sung in a declamatory manner, and mostly homophonically (mm. 204-220). Perhaps Beethoven’s general lack of faith in the divinity of Christ accounts for this simple setting. The straightforward nature of this section also serves to make the trombone entrance in m. 221 very startling. Historically in music, and especially in church music and opera, trombones depict judgment, or the underworld, the place of punishment after death. Therefore, Beethoven uses them just before the narration of Christ’s judgment of humankind. Previously in the movement, trombones had been used from the beginning through the words “omnia facta sunt,” just before mankind (“homines”) enters the Creed. The trombones enter again for the “descendit” section, but since the dynamic level is fortissimo and the texture is already thick at that point (m. 112), their entrance is not as shocking.

After their appearance at “descendit,” the trombones are silent for 97 measures. Two measures before the trombones reenter, the orchestra plays a
descending D-flat major scale that ends in m. 221 on a C-flat. Although D-flat major does accurately account for all the notes in the scale except for the final C-flat, it is perhaps more accurate to describe mm. 220-221 as the combination of the tritone from C down to G-flat and the tritone from F down to C-flat linked by a half step. As the “diabolus in musica,” the tritone foreshadows the impending judgment foretold by the trombones. They enter on the last note of the strings’ descending scale on a C-flat dotted-half note at a fortissimo dynamic level that is further accented by a sforzando. The rest of the orchestra holds the C-flat only for a quarter note, followed by rest: the chorus has already been absent from the texture for a beat. Therefore, for nearly two measures (mm. 221-222), nothing but the sound of the trombones is heard, until the accusing sound of the alto entrance, sforzando, with “judicare.” The trombones’ first dotted half note and subsequent long notes serve to slow down the pace of the section, which previously had been governed by running eighth notes.

Finally, the altos of the chorus enter in the third measure of the trombone solo with the word “judicare,” affirming the metaphor insinuated by the trombones. To put it in the context of the larger clause: Christ “will come again with Glory to judge the living and the dead.” This impending Judgment Day is something for which Christians are taught both to dread in fear and to await with excitement. As the rest of the chorus enters, the orchestra has a G-flat dominant-seventh chord (mm. 227-231) with the strings on repeated eighth notes, the woodwinds and brass on long tied notes, and the chorus on long notes. The loud
dynamic level and the intensity of the long notes accompanied by fast repeated eighth notes in the strings reflect the fear of the Judgment Day. On the other hand, throughout the “judicare” section (mm. 221-231), the harmony is in a major key, which reflects the excitement associated with the Judgment Day.

After the slow ascent to G-flat in the sopranos, and to B-flat and D-flat in the other three parts, the entire chorus sustains the G-flat harmony for three and a half measures on the third syllable of “judicare.” After a half note closure on the last syllable (with a slight change in harmony in the lower parts), the voices suddenly make a dramatic switch to leaping quarter notes separated by rests for “vivos” in m. 232. The G-flat of “judicare” ascends a half step to a G natural for the word “vivos,” which is stated three times with a quarter note and sforzando for each syllable, separated by quarter rests. This stands in clear contrast to the subsequent “et mortuos,” which is sung at a piano dynamic level in a lower register with minor harmony. Life is depicted as energetic and positive, while death is listless and negative.

After Christ’s judgment of the living and the dead, the Creed continues with the phrase “His kingdom will have no end” (“cujus regni non erit finis”). This text is repeated multiple times in mm. 241-264, sometimes including the entire phrase, sometimes abbreviated to “non erit finis,” or even just “non.” While most of the section has a polyphonic texture, in m. 261 the entire chorus homophonically proclaims “finis” with two half notes. In the final three measures of this section, the chorus repeats the word “non” three times with a quarter note
on the first beat of each measure. Not only do the rests in between emphasize the word, but the *sforzando* also add to its prominence. All of these characteristics emphasize that in God people can find everlasting life and therefore a world without end.

The final two statements of belief have been previously discussed in detail in terms of their brevity and key, but not in connection with word painting and other musically expressive techniques. The orchestra’s four-measure introduction to the “credo” ritornello theme overlaps with the end of the previous phrase (mm. 263-264). This section begins with a B-flat major sonority that resembles the E-flat major sonority heard at the beginning of the movement. Since the music has modulated to F major instead of back to B-flat major, the new B-flat major sonority has the same subdominant relationship to the new key as E-flat did to B-flat major. While the melody and voicing also recall the beginning of the movement, the tonic B-flat major has not returned, and the chorus sings “non” one last time (m. 264), as the orchestra begins the original theme in a different key. It is not the end, in word or in key.

After the orchestral introduction, the chorus hurries through the entire statement of belief in the Holy Spirit in only twelve measures. The sopranos and altos sing the words using short, repeated notes, only once incorporating an interval larger than a half step. The tenors and basses repeat the “credo” theme multiple times in slight variation, dominating the voices singing the text that follows that statement of the Creed. The word “credo” does not appear in the text
at this point but, as previously noted, was added by Beethoven. It is striking that this added word is sung so emphatically at a fortissimo dynamic level while the main text is declaimed almost unnoticeably, without much melodic embellishment. Since the Holy Spirit has little role in Beethoven's beliefs, he places the focus on the “credo” theme.

The final statement of belief is in the catholic church, and it is treated similarly to the third statement: from mm. 279-286 the music is precisely the same as that of the statement concerning the Holy Spirit, except that the sopranos and altos switch voice parts with the tenors and basses. In m. 287 the texture changes, and all four voices sing the words of the Creed. The words are still declaimed in the style of the previous measures, with many eighth notes, but the texture is more homophonic. By the next measure, the voices are almost entirely homophonic and remain so from mm. 290-303. As the music becomes homophonic, the chorus sings the words, “in remissionem peccatorum et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum.” Forgiveness is something with which Beethoven was intimately acquainted, as he often felt remorse for his temperamental outbursts. He also seems to have been looking forward to the time when he could return to his Creator. At this point when the text returns to an area of particular significance to Beethoven, the music becomes more urgent and expressive.

To represent the resurrection, the chorus and most of the orchestra ascend through a B-flat major scale (mm. 292-295). The sopranos once again reach the high B-flat5 that Beethoven reserves for particularly poignant passages, and at a
Beethoven’s use of word painting to explicate portions of the Creed that are integral points of Christian doctrine reflect a longstanding tradition in Mass writing and make dramatic and graphic the projection of the Latin text. Beyond that tradition, Beethoven uses word painting and other musical techniques such as dynamic levels, accents, expressive intervals, and a recurring high note for particular emphasis when doctrinal ideas coincide with his own beliefs.
Chapter Four: “Et vitam venturi saeculi, Amen.”

The final text of the Creed, “et vitam venturi saeculi, Amen,” is arguably the most important, translated as “and the life of the ages to come, Amen.” The first time it appears, it forms part of the section dedicated to the last statement of belief, concluding the F major, or third portion, of the movement with a dramatic setting at a fortissimo dynamic level and different, relatively short, note values until the final “Amen.” The repetition of “venturi” (mm. 297-303), the future participle of “venio” – stated twice by the chorus – emphasizes the idea that there is life after life on earth. The final double fugue, the fourth section of the movement, is based entirely on this last phrase of text. While the technical form of the concluding fugue, which has been formally analyzed by musicologists, is interesting in its specific treatment of fugal principles, the individual setting of the words and the corresponding harmony is more significant for the purpose of revealing a reflection of Beethoven’s faith. A brief discussion of the influence of Hegelian philosophy on Beethoven will help to illustrate how fugal writing coincides with Beethoven’s beliefs as affected by the Enlightenment.

Published in 1806, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel’s *The Phenomenology of Spirit* was widely discussed in educated circles in the ensuing years and surely reached Beethoven’s ears whether or not he actually read the book. Since Hegel had formal training as both a philosopher and a theologian, his philosophy incorporates more Christian doctrine than does that of Kant. For example, while in his early years Hegel also regarded Christ as a moral teacher, he came to
believe in Him as the bridge across the chasm between man and God. This bridge was achieved through Christ’s teachings regarding the substitution of love for law.\textsuperscript{62}

The Dialectic, or conception of a thesis and antithesis eventually becoming a synthesis, forms the basis of Hegelian philosophy and seems to be the portion with which Beethoven was most in sympathy. Often Hegel refers to an “Absolute Spirit” rather than God, much like Kant and Beethoven. Hegel wrote that “the Absolute is infinite life,” and therefore by understanding the human mind and spirit, humans can also understand the Absolute. Humans come to this understanding through three primary stages of the human spirit which directly correspond to the three parts of the Dialectic. The first stage, \textit{Bewusstsein}, refers to the “consciousness of the object as existing independently of the subject;” the second stage, \textit{Selbstbewusstsein}, refers to “social consciousness;” and the third stage, \textit{Vernunft}, is a synthesis of the first two stages.\textsuperscript{63}

The Hegelian Dialectic may be found reflected in the style of the double fugue in the \textit{Credo}. While fugal procedure predates Hegel, Beethoven acknowledges the Hegelian process of becoming by utilizing this form for his long concluding section and writing a double instead of a single fugue. In general in a fugue, the Subject and Answer are stated in succession and then repeated in an Exposition, which is followed by an Episode, another Exposition, and so on until the final Exposition. When the Answer enters, the voice with the original

\textsuperscript{62} Mellers, 15.
\textsuperscript{63} Mellers, 15.
Subject frequently introduces a Counter-Subject. The Answer is the Subject transposed to the dominant or occasionally the subdominant, while the Counter-Subject has a different melody. Following Hegelian thought, the Subject and Answer represent the thesis, the Counter-Subject the antithesis, and the Episodes the synthesis since Episodes often fuse material from the Subject, Answer, and Counter-Subject, although sometimes one is favored more than the other. Since a typical fugue ends with a final Exposition, or an isolated entry of the original subject in the tonic as is often the case in J.S. Bach’s fugues, the final thesis and antithesis would have no corresponding synthesis. Beethoven’s fugue does not end in either of these ways, but instead the first part of the double fugue ends chordally (mm. 369-372), and the second part has cadential preparation (mm. 399-438) followed by a Coda (mm. 439-472). This Coda serves as a synthesis for the larger thesis of the first part of the double fugue and the antithesis of the second part.

The first main section of the double fugue (mm. 306-371) is in the original key of B-flat major. While the main words, “et vitam venturi saeculi,” are sung primarily in half notes in cantus-firmus fashion, the “amen” is sung mostly with running quarter notes, creating the surrounding counterpoint. In the second part of the double fugue (mm. 372-432), at a slightly faster tempo, the note values are diminuted, making it feel much faster. The “et vitam venturi” music is sung mostly in quarter notes, while the “amen” music is mostly eighth notes. This texture is reminiscent of choruses that open many of Bach’s cantatas. Usually one
voice, often the soprano, sings the chorale tune on long held notes. The other voices sing the same text in fugal counterpoint surrounding the chorale tune. For example, in the first movement of Bach’s famous Cantata No. 140, *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*, the sopranos sing the tune while the other voices sing in counterpoint beneath them. This correspondence between Bach’s cantatas and Beethoven’s fugue at the end of the *Credo* is not surprising given Beethoven’s regard for Bach as a composer, most specifically with regard to his sacred music.

In the second half of the double fugue, mm. 399-438 encompass an extended cadential preparation with two periods of dominant pedals followed by plagal cadences and concluding chords, which are finally capped with a cadential phrase (mm. 433-438). The plethora of plagal cadences in the home key of B-flat major, the original key of God the Father, show respect for the historical tradition of sacred music. By using the cadence of earlier church music as well as the earlier form of the fugue made famous by Bach, which was always dedicated “soli Deo Gloria,” Beethoven associates this movement with longstanding church tradition.

Throughout the fugue Beethoven repeatedly treats the “Amen” as an integral part of the sentence instead of giving it a separate setting at the end of the movement, as composers did historically. To mention just one example, in his most famous Mass, the *Missa Papae Marcelli*, Palestrina does not treat the “Amen” as part of the previous phrase, but instead sets it in a brief section by itself (mm. 66-75). Beethoven’s incorporation of the “Amen” – an interjection
meaning “verily,” or “let it be so” – into the musical setting of the last phrase of text makes its affirmation specific to that text (“et vitam venturi saeculi”) rather than affirming the text of the entire Creed, as in Palestrina’s treatment.

In the Coda (mm. 439-472), for which the soloists reenter after having rested since m. 183, the chorus provides support for the soloists, whose lines tend to ascend in scalar fashion. The final rising scale of the soprano soloist from mm. 455-456 is imitated by the cellos and double basses in m. 457, the violas in m. 458, the first violins in m. 459, and the flute in m. 460. The flute’s ascending scale is followed by four F6 half notes in mm. 461-462, reflecting the four F5 half notes in the chorus sopranos and flute that began the first part of the fugue (mm. 309-310). Following this figure, in mm. 463-464 the entire chorus and orchestra (with the exception of the soloists) sound four fortissimo quarter notes separated by quarter rests, on a B-flat major chord, referencing the beginning motive of the fugue. From the last F, the woodwinds pass ascending scales from low to high instruments in mm. 464-467. Mm. 468-469 again reflect the original fugal motive in the flute, while mm. 469-470 are governed by ascending scales passing through the strings. After the fortissimo in m. 463, the woodwinds begin a piano dynamic level which softens to pianissimo for the strings’ scales. The final two measures seem to float away with a pianissimo dynamic level on a B-flat major chord, voiced on the high F5 in the soprano instruments. The Credo, therefore, finishes with a scale rising from the earth to the heavens, a final representation of
Beethoven’s belief in an omnipotent Father whom mankind will join in the “ages to come.”

The musical setting of this double fugue and Coda lasts for 167 measures, all based on repetitions of the last line, “et vitam venturi saeculi, Amen.” This stands in stark contrast with the musical setting of the entire text of the Creed, which lasts for 305 measures. The difference in length between the setting of the entire text and the setting of the final phrase of text demonstrates their relative levels of importance to Beethoven. Having returned to the key of God the Father for the fugue, Beethoven accentuates the promise of eternal life with his Father as the synthesis of the theses and antitheses of earthly life.
Conclusion

Analyses of musical compositions, novels, poetry, and visual art with a view to discovering the artists’ faith, philosophy, or beliefs often tend toward being unwonted impositions of false notions. To avoid such misinterpretations, there must be sufficient documentary evidence of the artists’ beliefs, and evidence of them in a work of art must be consistent and wide-spread. For Beethoven, there is plentiful evidence of his beliefs in his notebooks, letters, and reports of conversations and interactions with friends and relatives. Word substitution and repetition, key association (particularly with God the Father, but also Christ and humankind), the projection of the Trinity in the music in various ways, divergence from traditional textural and musical subdivisions, the replacement of “et” with “credo,” the lengthy double fugue, and the strong emphasis of some parts of the text and the underplaying of others, all support the hypothesis that in the Missa Solemnis, and in particular in the Credo, the movement dealing most explicitly with belief, Beethoven articulates and affirms the fundamental principles of his faith.
Appendix 1: *Credo Text and Translation*

*Latin Text:*

Credo in unum Deum patrem omnipotentem,  
factorem coeli et terra,  
visibilium omnium et invisibilium

Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum,  
filium Dei unigenitum,  
et ex patre natum ante omnia saecula,  
Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine,  
Deum verum de Deo vero,  
genitum non factum,  
consubstantialem Patri per quem omnia facta sunt;  
qui propter nos homines et propter  
nostrum salutem, descendit de coelis,  
et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine,  
et homo factus est;  
crucifixus etiam pro nobis; sub Pontio Pilato passus et sepultus est;  
et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas;  
et ascendit in coelum;  
sedet ad dexteram Patris, et iterum  
venturus est cum Gloria judicare  
vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non  
erit finis.

Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum et vivificantem,  
qui ex Patre filioque procedit,  
qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur,  
qui locutus est per Prophetas.

Et in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam,  
Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum,  
et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum,  
et vitam venturi saeculi, Amen.

*Translation:*

I believe in one God the father the almighty,  
Maker of the heavens and the earth,  
Of all that is seen and unseen

And (I believe) in one Lord Jesus Christ,
The only begotten son of God,
And born from the father before all the ages,
God from God, light from light,
True God from true God,
Begotten not made,
Of one being with the Father through whom all things are made;
Who for us humans and for
Our salvation, descended from heaven,
And became incarnate according to the Holy Spirit from the Virgin Mary,
And was made as a man;
Also having been crucified for us; and under Pontius Pilate he suffered and was buried;
And he rose on the third day according to the scriptures;
And he ascended into heaven;
He is seated at the right hand of the Father, and again
He will come with Glory to judge
The living and the dead, whose kingdom
Will have no end.

And (I believe) in the Holy Spirit, Lord and giver of life,
Who proceeds from the Father and the Son,
Who with the Father and Son is at the same time worshipped and glorified,
Who is spoken of through the Prophets.

And (I believe) in one holy catholic and apostolic church,
I acknowledge one baptism in the forgiveness of sins,
And I await the resurrection of the dead,
And the life of the age to come, Amen.
Appendix 2: Beethoven’s Slightly Altered *Credo* Text

*Credo* in unum Deum patrem omnipotentem, 
factorem coeli et terra, 
visibilium omnium et invisibilium

*Credo* in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, 
filium Dei unigenitum, 
et ex patre natum ante omnia saecula, 
Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, 
Deum verum de Deo vero, 
genitum non factum, 
consubstantialem Patri per quem omnia facta sunt; 
qui propter nos homines et propter 
nostrum salutem, descendit de coelis, 
et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, 
et homo factus est; 
crucifixus etiam pro nobis; sub Pontio Pilato passus et sepultus est; 
et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas; 
et ascendit in coelum; 
sedet ad dexteram Patris, et iterum 
venturus est cum Gloria judicare 
vivos et mortuos, cujus regni non 
erit finis.

*Credo* in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum et vivificantem, 
qui ex Patre filioque procedit, 
qui cum patre et filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur, 
qui locutus est per Prophetas.

*Credo* in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, 
Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum, 
et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum, 
et vitam venturi saeculi, Amen.
### Table 3. Structure of the closing fugue of the Credo, showing the entries of fugue subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction (306–9) [see Ex.6.6a]</td>
<td>Introduction (373–8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposition 1 (310–27)</td>
<td>Exposition (379–87)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 310 Bb</td>
<td>T 379 Bb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 314 F</td>
<td>A 381 F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T 318 Bb</td>
<td>S 383 Bb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 322 F</td>
<td>B 385 F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episode (328–33)</td>
<td>Episode (388–98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 328 Bb (2 bars only)</td>
<td>S 388 D (=V/g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 329 F</td>
<td>T 389 G (=V/c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposition 2 (334–46)</td>
<td>A 390 c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 334 Eb</td>
<td>B 391 c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 338 Ab (inverted)</td>
<td>S 393 Bb (incomplete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T 342 Db</td>
<td>A 394 Eb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épisode (347–57)</td>
<td>Cadence preparation (399–438)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 347 Db (inverted)</td>
<td>dominant pedal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 349 Db</td>
<td>[cf. bars 306–9 and Ex.6.6a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 353 Eb (2 bars only)</td>
<td>plagal cadences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 354 - (1 bar only)</td>
<td>concluding chords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reprise (357–68)</td>
<td>[see Ex.6.6c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 357 Bb</td>
<td>dominant pedal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T 364 F (incomplete)</td>
<td>plagal cadences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 365 Bb</td>
<td>concluding chords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding chords (369–72)</td>
<td>cadential phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[see Ex.6.6b]</td>
<td>433–8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix 4: Beethoven’s Altered Credo Text Divided into the Four Major Sections

* Note: “CREDO” indicates the presence of the “credo” ritornello theme

1

CREDO in unum Deum patrem omnipotentem, factorem coeli et terra, visibilium omnium et invisibilium
CREDO in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, filium Dei unigenitum, et ex patre natum ante omnia saecula, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum non factum, consubstantiam Patri per quem omnia facta sunt; qui propter nos homines et propter nostrum salutem, descendit de coelis,

et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est; crucifixus etiam pro nobis; sub Pontio Pilato passus et sepultus est; et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas;

2

Allegro ma non troppo (mm. 1-123)
B-flat major

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Key</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adagio (mm. 124-143)</td>
<td>D Dorian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andante (mm. 144-155)</td>
<td>D major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adagio espressivo (mm. 156-187)</td>
<td>D minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allegro (mm. 188-193)</td>
<td>G Mixolydian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
et ascendit in coelum;
sedet ad dexteram Patris, et iterum
venturus est cum Gloria judicare
vivos et mortuos, cujus regni non
erit finis.

**CREDO in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum et vivificantem,**
qui ex Patre filioque procedit,
qui cum patre et filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur,
qui locutus est per Prophetas.

**CREDO in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam,**
Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum,
et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum,
et vitam venturi saeculi, Amen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allegro molto (mm. 194-263)</th>
<th>F major</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allegro ma non troppo un poco maestoso (mm. 264-305)</td>
<td>F major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allegretto ma non troppo (mm. 306-371)</td>
<td>B-flat major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allegro con moto (mm. 372-432)</td>
<td>B-flat major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grave (mm. 433-472)</td>
<td>B-flat major</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 5: “Et resurrexit” (mm. 185-196)
Appendix 6: Four “Credo” Statements

First Statement (mm. 5-10)

Second Statement (mm. 37-43)

Third Statement (mm. 167-170)

Fourth Statement (mm. 279-282)
Appendix 7: D Major Anticipation and Tenor “et” (mm. 143-145)
Bibliography


