WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

Series I

Sacred Vocal Works

WORK GROUP 1: MASSES AND REQUIEM SECTION 2: REQUIEM • SUB-VOLUME 1: MOZART'S FRAGMENT

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WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

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^{*} Hereafter referred to as the NMA. The predecessor, the "Alte Mozart-Edition" (Old Mozart Edition) is referred to as the AMA.

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EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

The New Mozart Edition (NMA) provides for research purposes a music text based on impeccable scholarship applied to all available sources – principally Mozart's autographs – while at the same time serving the needs of practising musicians. The NMA appears in 10 Series subdivided into 35 Work Groups:

I: Sacred Vocal Works (1–4)

II: Theatrical Works (5–7)

III: Songs, Part-Songs, Canons (8–10)

IV: Orchestral Works (11–13)

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IX: Piano Music (24–27)

X: Supplement (28–35)

For every volume of music a Critical Commentary (Kritischer Bericht) in German is available, in which the source situation, variant readings or Mozart's corrections are presented and all other special problems discussed.

Within the volumes and Work Groups the completed works appear in their order of composition. Sketches, draughts and fragments are placed in an Appendix at the end of the relevant volume. Sketches etc. which cannot be assigned to a particular work, but only to a genre or group of works, generally appear in chronological order at the end of the final volume of the relevant Work Group. Where an identification regarding genre is not possible, the sketches etc. are published in Series X, Supplement (Work Group 30: Studies, Sketches, Draughts, Fragments, Various). Lost compositions are mentioned in the relevant Critical Commentary in German. Works of doubtful authenticity appear in Series X (Work Group 29). Works which are almost certainly spurious have not been included.

Of the various versions of a work or part of a work, that version has generally been chosen as the basis for editing which is regarded as final and definitive. Previous or alternative forms are reproduced in the Appendix.

The NMA uses the numbering of the Köchel Catalogue (KV); those numberings which differ in the third and expanded edition (KV 3 or KV 3 a) are given in brackets; occasional differing numberings in the sixth edition (KV 6) are indicated.

With the exception of work titles, entries in the score margin, dates of composition and the footnotes, all additions and completions in the music volumes are indicated, for which the following scheme applies: letters (words, dynamic

markings, tr signs and numbers in italics; principal notes, accidentals before principal notes, dashes, dots, fermatas, ornaments and smaller rests (half notes, quarters, etc.) in small print; slurs and crescendo marks in broken lines; grace and ornamental notes in square brackets. An exception to the rule for numbers is the case of those grouping triplets, sextuplets, etc. together, which are always in italics, those added editorially in smaller print. Whole measure rests missing in the source have been completed tacitly.

The title of each work as well as the specification in italics of the instruments and voices at the beginning of each piece have been normalised, the disposition of the score follows today's practice. The wording of the original titles and score disposition are provided in the Critical Commentary in German. The original notation for transposing instruments has been retained. C-clefs used in the sources have been replaced by modern clefs. Mozart always notated singly occurring sixteenth, thirtysecond notes etc. crossed-through, (i.e. 🎝 🏄 instead of , ,); the notation therefore does not distinguish between long or short realisations. The NMA generally renders these in the modern notation U, U etc.; if a grace note of this kind should be interpreted as "short" an additional indication "[]" is given over the relevant grace note. Missing slurs at grace notes or grace note groups as well as articulation signs on ornamental notes have generally been added without comment. Dynamic markings are rendered in the modern form, e.g. f and p instead of for: and pia:

The texts of vocal works have been adjusted following modern orthography. The realisation of the bass continuo, in small print, is as a rule only provided for *secco* recitatives. For any editorial departures from these guidelines refer to the relevant Foreword and to the Critical Commentary in German.

A comprehensive representation of the editorial guidelines for the NMA (3rd version, 1962) been published in Editionsrichtlinien musikalischer Denkmäler und Gesamtausgaben [Editorial Guidelines for Musical Heritage and Complete Editions]. Commissioned by Gesellschaft für Forschung and edited by Georg von Dadelsen, Kassel etc., 1963, pp. 99-129. Offprints of über this well the Bericht as Mitarbeitertagung und Kassel, 29. – 30. 1981, published privately in 1984, can be obtained from the Editorial Board of the NMA. The Editorial Board

FOREWORD

GENESIS AND TRANSMISSION OF THE REQUIEM FRAGMENT¹

The question of the genesis of W. A. Mozart's Requiem leads to the southern parts of Lower Austria, to Stuppach Castle near Wiener-Neustadt [Vienna New Town].² This was the residence, as the 18th century made way to the 19th, of Franz, Count of Walsegg-Stuppach. He was an enthusiastic lover of music and played alternatively flute or cello at the quartet evenings he organised every Tuesday and Thursday; on Sundays, theatre performances were put on. In addition, he habitually commissioned works from recognised composers and then passed them off as his own. This happened in complete secrecy; the Count copied the scores himself and had the individual parts written out from his manuscript for the performances. His musicians were then required to guess the composer. They were polite enough to name him in answer, although they knew the truth of the situation; the Count, however, "smiled at this and was pleased". 3

It is to this love of music that the world owes Mozart's Requiem. When the Count's wife Anna, née von

Flammberg, died on 14 February 1791, he had the idea of commissioning from Mozart a requiem in her memory. As the Count, as always, wished to remain unrecognised, the wish reached Mozart in way that must have seemed very mysterious to the composer, and in fact not only to the master, who was already marked by a fatal illness, but also to everyone who heard about it. An unknown person,⁴ the "grey messenger", who has become famous in literature, was the bearer of the Count's wish. There is hardly any hope of clarifying definitively whether this person was Anton Leutgeb, manager of the Count's cement works in Schottwien, or a scribe employed by the Viennese advocate Dr. Johann Sortschan, who looked after the Count's business affairs.⁵ In view of the importance of the Requiem, the identity of the messenger must be seen as immaterial. The more important point is that the message reached Mozart at a time when he must have been particularly receptive for the text of the Requiem.

He had recently been granted a position (9 May 1791) as an unsalaried deputy music director at St. Stephan's, and it could have seemed to him that it was a favorable moment to write once again a major work for the church. As the unknown messenger at the same time also put 50 Ducats on the table as the first half of the fee for the composition, it must have been very welcome to Mozart in his current circumstances; he therefore accepted.

This must in all likelihood have been at the beginning of Summer 1791.

At this point, Mozart began writing the Requiem as it is preserved in *Cod. 17. 561* in the Austrian National Library. This manuscript is the only source for the master's last, unfinished work. Besides this, there exists, as far as we know today, only a sketch sheet discovered by Wolfgang Plath in the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Music

¹ On the posthumous attempts at completion and the resulting questions in this context, see the Foreword to the second of the present 2 sub-volumes.

² To be considered authentic records of the genesis of Mozart's Requiem are the correspondence between Constanze and Süßmayr, the account given in Maximilian Stadler, Vertheidigung der Echtheit des Mozartischen Requiem, Vienna, 1826 (with two later supplements, Vienna, 1827) and the account by the choir director Anton Herzog found some time ago by Otto Schneider in Wiener-Neustadt [Vienna New Town], municipal collections, Lit. B. 1692: Wahre und ausführliche Geschichte des Requiem von W. A. Mozart. Vom Entstehen desselben im Jahre 1791 bis zur gegenwärtigen Zeit 1839. These four persons were present during the composing and further vicissitudes of the work at the hands of Count Walsegg; they therefore recount personal experiences. All other accounts, including the letters of Krüchten and Zawrzel, which incidentally contain errors, are second-hand and serve rather to create confusion than to help. Herzog's account was published by Otto Erich Deutsch in the Österreichische Musikzeitschrift, 19th year, Vienna, 1964, pp. 49–60, under the title Zur Geschichte von Mozarts Requiem mit Kommentar. – J. Zawrzel, who is said to have been a musician in the service of Count Walsegg in 1792, would have been a fifth witness inasmuch as he told A. André in his letter of 25 July 1826 that he had seen the score of the Requiem, as far as the Sanctus, "in the Count's writing desk".

³ Herzog, op. cit., p. 9; Deutsch, op. cit., p. 53.

⁴ Cf. Mozart's letter, whose authenticity has however been questioned, of September 1791: "[...] *e non posso levarmi dagli occhi l'immagine di questo incognito*."

⁵ Deutsch, op. cit., p. 49.

⁶ Facsimile edition of the parts of this manuscript written by Mozart: *Mozarts Requiem. Nachbildung der Originalhandschrift Cod. 17561 der k. k. Hofbibliothek in Wien in Lichtdruck*, Vienna, 1913, ed. and elucidated by Alfred Schnerich.

Department,⁷ a most welcome testimony that, apart from the score, there were sketches and notes of Mozart's and certainly also of Süßmayr's which are however now lost.

Mozart's task was to set the text of the Mass for the Dead in the *Missale Romanum*. This consists of the following parts:

I Introitus "Requiem aeternam" with immediately following Kyrie.

II Gradual "Requiem aeternam" with Tract "Absolve Domine" and Sequence "Dies irae".

III Offertory "Domine Jesu" with the verse "Hostias et preces".8

IV Sanctus

V Benedictus

VI Agnus Dei with immediately following Communion "Lux aeterna".

As far as can be seen from Mozart's autograph, a fragment, he set in the Gradual only the Sequence. But as he left the Requiem unfinished anyway – Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus are missing completely –, it is perhaps not to be ruled out that he would subsequently have set the Gradual and Tract as well, even if this is very unlikely. That he did not set these sections conforms to the custom at the time, and he is in no way alone in this. As a rule, only the Sequence was set at the end of the 18th century, one reason no doubt being that the rich imagery of its text offered a more fruitful field for musical invention than the Gradual and Tract. As

⁷ Wolfgang Plath, Über Skizzen zu Mozarts "Requiem", in:

late as 1828, a handbook for church musicians printed in Vienna said of the Requiem: "After the Epistle follows the Gradual: Absolve Domine, or Dies irae". Note the little word "or" in this passage! This practice is confirmed by a number of Requiem settings of the day. 11

In not setting the Gradual and the Tract, Mozart did not therefore make a "mistake", but rather simply followed contemporary practice. The question of to what extent Mozart can be see as responsible for the liturgical incompleteness of his Requiem is thus answered. No answer is however available regarding the order in which the movements were composed.

The last six months of Mozart's life were given to, besides various lesser works, *The Magic Flute*, the coronation opera *La clemenza di Tito* and the *Small Masonic Cantata*. It can be deduced from this that the writing of the Requiem was not continuous, but proceeded with interruptions. This is also visible in the handwriting of the manuscript.

Three phases can be discerned:¹²

Phase 1: from the beginning in June or July until the departure on 25 or 26 August for the première of *Tito* in Prague. The orchestration of *The Magic Flute* began in early July.

Phase 2: from his return to Vienna in the middle of September until approximately the middle or end of October. In this point Constanze returned to Vienna from spa treatment in Baden. As Mozart's health was

Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Kassel 1962, Kassel etc., 1963, pp. 184–187.

The Requiem is the only form of the Mass containing a second Offertory with the relevant attached verse, so that in the musical setting a piece with two formal sections results with a refrain on the words "Quam olim Abrahae [...]". Cf.

with a refrain on the words "Quam olim Abrahae [...]". Cf. on this Peter Wagner, Gregorianische Formenlehre, Leipzig, 1921, p. 433 (Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien, Part 3).

⁹ The arrangement of the gatherings in the autograph would have accommodated this without difficulty, as three blank leaves follow the Kyrie and the Sequence begins on a new sheet. It would have been easily possible to insert something in between at a later date.

¹⁰ (Franz Xaver Glöggl), Kirchenmusik-Ordnung. Erklärendes Handbuch des musikalischen Gottesdienstes, für Kapellmeister, Regenschori, Sänger und Tonkünstler. Anleitung, wie die Kirchenmusik nach Vorschrift der Kirche und des Staats gehalten werden soll. In drei Abtheilungen. Vienna, 1828. In Commission bei J. B. Wallishausser. § 5. Vom Requiem (Traueramte), p. 23.

¹¹ This is the case in the Requiem settings by Giuseppe Bonno (in E^b, 3/4), Florian Leopold Gassmann (in C minor, 4/4), Michael Haydn (in C minor, 4/4), Georg Reutter jun. (in G minor, 4/4).

¹² This three-fold division results from research by Alfred Schnerich. Although he speaks in the foreword to his facsimile edition, p. 20, of two periods distinguished by the watermarks of the paper used, he then mentions on p. 21 the two interruptions which divide the work on the Requiem into three sections.

deteriorating, she took the score of the Requiem away from him.

Phase 3: from around 15 November, or perhaps even a little earlier, when Mozart's health had improved (completion and performance of the Short Masonic Cantata), until 4 December 1791, when Mozart sang parts of the Requiem with Schack, Hofer and Gerl. 13

The completion of *The Magic Flute* on 28 September and the not more than 18 days following taken for the rushed composition of *Tito* represent the most extended obstacles or interruptions to the work on the Requiem; more fatal, however, was the second interruption with Mozart's being confined to bed from 20 November. These are the major reasons why the work on the Requiem could make only slow progress and that the work remained a fragment.

As no exact dates are given, one is dependent on examination of the handwriting and on the external evidence of the only source for the Requem, *Cod. 17. 561* in the Austrian National Library. If the sketches, the "*Zettelchen*" ["*little notes*"], ¹⁴ had come down to us, it might have been possible to draw some conclusions from them. ¹⁵

One could now be tempted to think it should be possible to make out, on the basis of the external appearance of the autograph and the handwriting, the extent of each of the musical parts corresponding to the three phases of work. The first part would consist of the two completely worked-out and written movements Introit and Kyrie, even if the orchestration work could just as easily belong to the next phase. In the second part would be placed the Offertory and part of the Sequence, in the third the continuation of the latter and, the final piece, the eight measures of the "Lacrimosa", at which point the Requiem was broken off.

The evidence of the manuscript, however, does not conveniently fulfil this expectation; on the contrary, it must be firmly stated that while a chronological sequence in the autograph can be guessed at on the basis of the writing in the autograph, it can in no way be definitively ascertained. The calligraphic variety in the Kyrie fugue alone presents us with a puzzle that can hardly be solved satisfactorily. Compared with Mozart's normal writing in the choral and instrumental bass parts, the remaining portion of these pages, fols. 5^v to 9^r, look "ill". It is tempting to say that these, and not the "Lacrimosa", were Mozart's last notes. But it is also quite possible that Mozart completed the orchestration of the Kyrie fugue, for him a purely mechanical task, during one of the bouts of the illness, when he would not have been able to do any composing. That could have been at the end of the 2nd phase, as his health declined again and Constanze took the score away from him. To understand these questions better, here is a brief contents table for Cod. 17, 561.

The manuscript consists of two gatherings:

a) contains the whole Requiem as completed by F. X. Süßmayr (fols. 1–64); Introit and Kyrie are written by Mozart, all other sections by Süßmayr;

b) contains those sections of the Sequence and Offertory which Mozart had written but had not managed to work out on detail (fols. 65–100). Here Eybler's attempts at completion are visible in the Sequence. The Mozart fragment published here in the New Mozart Edition (NMA) consists therefore of the following:

fol. 1 to 9 of gathering a) and

fol. 65 to 99 of the whole gathering b).

That these two gatherings originally belonged together is clear from the old folio numbering:

Introit and Kyrie, fols. 1 to 9

followed by a blank leaf fol. 10

Sequence fols. 11 to 33

a blank leaf fol. 34

Offertory "Domine Jesu", fols. 35 to 41

¹³ Cf. the singer Benedikt Schack's recollections of this final moment in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig), Vol. 29 (1827), p. 520, and subsequently Georg Nikolaus Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts* [...] *Nachtrag*, Leipzig, 1828, p. 169.

¹⁴ Cf. Stadler, Vertheidigung [...], p. 16: "The widow said to me that a few notes were found on Mozart's writing-desk after his death, which she passed on to Süβmayr. What was these contained, and what use Süβmayr made of them, she did not know."

¹⁵ Cf. on this the discussion below of the sketch sheet found by Dr. Wolfgang Plath.

¹⁶ According to the newer folio numbering in red. The folios 10 and 100 are blank.

followed by a blank leaf fol. 42

"Hostias" fols. 43 to 45

and a blank leaf, fol. 46

If one makes oneself familiar with the way in which the paper was used, it will be clear from this series of leaves that Mozart began each of the movements "Dies irae", "Domine Jesu" and "Hostias" on a new sheet. The "Lacrimosa" is likewise on a sheet of its own. This supports the conjecture that Mozart did not set the text continuously, but rather that he began later parts of the text before finishing earlier ones. With a good degree of certainty, one can say that the two movements of the Offertory were written before the Sequence, or at least before the "Lacrimosa". The eight measures of the "Lacrimosa" are Mozart's last notes. Joseph Eybler wrote in the top right corner of this leaf: "Last of Mozart's manuscript. After my death bequeathed to the Imperial and Royal Court Library by Joseph Eybler in my own hand." These words can only be understood as meaning that the Offertory following in the score was written down earlier. The order of the sheets also permits this interpretation, but perhaps also the interpretation that all the sections which begin with a new sheet, with the exception of the "Dies irae", are the passages which Mozart wrote while confined to bed but this belongs to the realm of conjecture.¹⁷

Various characteristics of the handwriting in the autograph offer an opportunity to identify separate passages corresponding to different phases of the work or the writing-out:

- 1. Introit and Kyrie up to measure 45 (= fols. 1 to 8)
- 2. Kyrie conclusion, measures 46 to 52 (= fols. 9 and 10)
- 3. "Dies irae" and the following movements up to "Recordare" measure 10 (old fols. 11 to 22")
- 4. "Recordare" measure 11 up to and including "Confutatis" (= fol. 23 to 32^{r})

- 5. "*Lacrimosa*" (= fols. 33 and 34)
- 6. Both parts of the Offertory (= fols. 35 to 45).

From this list, a chronological order emerges only for the first three parts, suggesting that the final measures of the Kyrie fugue could only have been written after Mozart had taken up the Sequence again at measure 11 of the "*Recordare*". The evidence for this conclusion is the appearance of the staff systems.

It is well-known that on every page of his scores Mozart drew a vertical line at the beginning of the staves, curving it at the bottom right into a hook; he placed a similar hook bent towards the right at the top end. While the lower hook sometimes seems to have been drawn in one movement together with the line, the upper hook is always joined on in a separate movement. At the bottom end of the staff system, Mozart also set two short, skew, parallel dashes. In the Requiem, however, apart from this kind of staff system, another is encountered because Mozart, as he began with the writing-out, used paper on which both right and left ends of the staves were marked off with a ink line. Since these lines all continue over the upper edge, it is probable that this ruling was carried out before the double-folio had been folded. This explains the irregularity of these vertical lines in relation to the beginning of the staff systems and their presence in the right margin, where Mozart occasionally used them directly as bar-lines. On the left side, he used them to mark the staff system and set the bent hooks at top and bottom. The bottom end is, as usual, marked by the skew, parallel dashes.

These two ways of marking the staff system divide Mozart's autograph into two clearly distinct parts. One consists of Introit and Kyrie up to measure 45 and the "Dies irae" up to measure 10 of the "Recordare". These pages all display the previously ruled lines with the hooks added at top and bottom. The other part consists of the conclusion of the Kyrie and everything else after measure 10 of the "Recordare". Here there are no previously ruled vertical lines, so that Mozart had to draw the lines himself.

The unambiguous and definite conclusion is that Mozart wrote out the conclusion of the Kyrie (fol. 9^r) at a time when his setting of the Sequence had already reached "*Recordare*". This visible difference in the appearance of the pages of the score betrays in both places mentioned the first interruption in the work on

¹⁷ Cf. on this Schnerich in his facsimile edition, Foreword p. 19: "It can be seen that he was no longer working at his writing-desk from the observation that both of the movements 'Lacrimosa' and 'Hostias' are no longer written in a continuous process like the Sequence and the first part of the Offertory." As a point of information, it should be pointed out that the "Domine Jesu" also begins on a sheet of its own (see below).

the Requiem: Mozart had to go to Prague. If this is the case, and there is hardly room for doubt here, Mozart had by 25 August written approximately the Introit, the Kyrie and the first half of the Sequence as far as the beginning of the "Recordare". In the first two movements, all the orchestration had certainly not been completed; it was only added later, as the color of the ink suggests. Mozart left the conclusion of the Kyrie open; he probably wanted time to consider the final version. For this reason, three pages were left blank after 9^r; meanwhile, the master started work on the Sequence on a new sheet of paper.

After the journey to Prague, probably at the end of September – *The Magic Flute* must of course have been finished by this time -, Mozart resumed work on the Requiem again using paper without the vertical lines on left and right sides. This enables us to recognise the parts written after The Magic Flute. For these, there are no conjectures associated with external features such as those encountered for the first part. The only thing that is fairly certain is that the eight measures of the "Lacrimosa" are Mozart's last notes, and could therefore have been written after both parts of the Offertory. A further point is that the "Domine Jesu" and "Hostias" display similar contours in the handwriting, were therefore written consecutively and could well have been have composed when the Sequence was half-way through.

These conjectures also agree well with the different watermarks observed by Alfred Schnerich in the manuscript paper types used. The paper with the two vertical lines is Paper I with the stars and the coat of arms, the other is Paper II with the three moons. 18 An approach from this angle thus also shows that the conclusion of the Kyrie was added later and that the work on the Sequence must have been interrupted after measure 10 of the "Recordare". The transition in measure 29 of the Kyrie fugue mentioned by Schnerich is therefore certainly no interruption of the work on the Requiem in the sense we have been discussing, but rather an interruption within a basically continuous phase of writing; it cannot classified as a caesura of extended duration. 19 At this point the interruption was certainly linked to compositional considerations: this is also suggested by the crossed-out measure and the fact that the differences in the ink are not coincidental with the bar-line but proceed in a diagonal line from the

choral bass upwards. Ink differences of this kind, which

It is very probable that something similar happened in the final movement of the Sequence, the "Lacrimosa", to what had happened in the Kyrie: Mozart apparently had his special intentions regarding the "Amen" and planned to realise these in a separate work session. In the meantime, however, the Offertory was progressing, so these two movements were written out first, while the completion of the Sequence was postponed. It is also important not to forget Mozart's waning health during this second half of the composition. What was complete in his head had to be put onto paper; his main concern was to complete the commission – but his strength was simply failing. What ideas were still in Mozart's head can not be imagined today, for we have no way of saying how this genius conceived the continuation of the work.

As the Berlin sketch sheet proves, the most varied ideas appear alongside and also interwoven with each other. *The Magic Flute*, the "*Rex tremendae*" from the Requiem stand in the immediate vicinity of other ideas. The four-voice exposition of an "*Amen*" fugue also points to the Requiem; this can be nothing other than a projected conclusion to the Sequence.

The conjecture voiced by Wolfgang Plath²⁰ finds support here from another quarter. Both the great Requiem in E^b major by Giuseppe Bonno and the Requiem in C minor by Florian Leopold Gassmann present the "Amen" of the Sequence as a fairly extensive and independent fugal conclusion. With Bonno, the fugue runs to 60 measures, with Gassmann even to 94, preceded by only 13 measures of introduction on "Huic ergo [...]". Here is the subject of his fugue in double counterpoint: it shows the pomp of his conception for the end of the Sequence:

incidentally are not visible in the facsimile, can also be due to a change of quill. A good example of this is in the choral score and organ bass of the Introit in the measures 34/35 (= fol. 4^r).

It is very probable that something similar happened in the final movement of the Seguence, the "Legimons"

¹⁸ Schnerich, facsimile edition of the Requiem, Foreword pp. 14 and 15; cf. also the summary on p. 16.

¹⁹ Schnerich, op. cit., Foreword, p. 19.

²⁰ Op. cit., pp. 185–186.

²¹ Gassmann subdivides the Sequence differently to Mozart:

[&]quot;Dies irae" – "Tuba mirum" – "Rex tremendae" with

[&]quot;Recordare" – "Confutatis" with "Lacrimosa" – "Huic ergo", with "Amen" as a fugal movement on its own.



So Gassman's Sequence was intended to end with a grandios fugue. Mozart's intentions seem to have been very similar: on a theme of the familiar hexachord type, he planned to construct the "Amen" fugue with constantly present contrapuntal material; it was to be set apart from the "Lacrimosa" section itself by a change of time signature, 12/8 instead of 3/4. When one considers that the two Requiems share the same opening motif, the conclusion that Mozart must again have been "thinking of" Gassmann at the end of the Sequence cannot be dismissed lightly.

At least some clues as to how this fugue and many another detail of the Requiem might have looked would have been provided by the sketches and notes still in extant at Mozart's death. The Berlin sketch sheet is irrefutable evidence that these existed. They contained draft ideas for the Requiem along with other thoughts of Mozart's – and certainly of Süßmayr's, with whom Mozart, it is recorded, spoke regarding the further shaping of the work. We can more than sympathise with the then 25 year-old Süßmayr if he did not grasp everything that the genius Mozart explained him; it is known that Mozart occasionally said to Süßmayr: "Ah – there the oxen are on the uphill slope again; you're a long way from understanding that", as Constanze described from memory in a letter to Abbé Stadler of 31 May 1827.²²

One can only regret most deeply that these sketches were lost. In view of the circumstances in which the Requiem was completed, it is only too understandable in human terms that these notes were cleared aside; even today, no importance is attached in artistic circles to such "traces of ideas", unfinished thoughts, and

sometimes it is not wished that they should be seen at all. If all those gathered round the Requiem in 1791 could have known the controversies that were to break out later concerning this work, they might perhaps have acted otherwise. But the rationale involved here is not scholarly but a matter of character; it is easy for posterity to utter judgements. For the time being we must therefore be content with this one leaf and can only hope that others may yet turn up unexpectedly.

Wolfgang Plath has already emphasised²³ how difficult it is to decipher the sketches. His final remark, "It is a tragicomical idea, but supported by every probability, that Süßmayr was in the possession of sketches for the Requiem of which he could make no use, being unable either to recognise or read them!" can meet only with our agreement. For, even if Süßmayr knew of all the sketches and where they belonged, he would still not have known how Mozart had visualised their continuation. He may have been familiar with the "Amen" sketch, but there are two possible grounds, which we will now touch on, for his not acting on them. Firstly, he had to complete the Requiem as quickly as possible and therefore confined himself, perhaps against his own inclination, to the plagal close we now have. The other ground could have been that he shied away from the difficulties of developing the indicated fugue and leading it to the right conclusion. Anyone who has had to deal with sketches knows how problematic first drafts can be. For Mozart's Requiem, this is evinced even by the four extant measures for the "Rex tremendae". They look different from the definitive notation and are thus one of the very rare written testimonies to Mozart's compositional procedures. For, in the same way as a final picture of double the size emerged from these four measures, containing in addition different motifs and contrapuntal relationships, a similar transfiguration could have taken place in other passages.²⁴ We can only be thankful when we manage to recognise such sketches, with hindsight, from the final versions; but where ideas were involved whose purpose was known only to Mozart, it would have been very difficult to see whether they belonged to the Requiem at all.²⁵

Thus the account of the genesis of Mozart's Requiem, with all its efforts to establish the chronological stages

²² Stadler, *Nachtrag zur Vertheidigung des Mozartschen Requiems*, Vienna. 1827, p. 49. – Cf. *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*. Complete edition, published by the International Mozart Foundation, Salzburg, collected (and elucidated) by Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, vol. IV, Kassel etc., 1963, No. 1419, p. 491, lines 17–18.

²³ Op. cit., p. 187.

²⁴ See the facsimile, p. 60.

²⁵ Cf. on this Plath, op. cit., p. 187, most importantly point 2 in his summary.

in the composition of the individual movements, boundaries beyond which no reaches information can be expected. The only manuscript of the fragment which can be considered as a basis for investigations, Cod. 17. 561 in the Austrian National Library, offers nothing more in this direction. Even the only date on the manuscript, placed immediately on the first page in the top right-hand corner beside Mozart's signature, does not fix the completion date with certainty but rather with a "secure probability": Mozart did not err in writing this "792", as has often been said, but was in fact, understandably, dating it "in advance". From his point of view, he could safely assume that he would be finished with the Requiem in the following year; he therefore wrote as he did. Fate determined that the composer and his last composition should not see the year 1792.²⁶

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Less complicated than the genesis is the transmission of the Requiem. The publication of the fragment in the NMA can of course only be based on Mozart's autograph, and only in such a way that this is rendered as faithfully as possible. This also applies to the setting of phrasing marks and beams, while other information in Mozart's hand, the indications for instrumentation, text underlay and the instrumental grouping in the score, have been treated in keeping with the principles laid down for the NMA. The winds are therefore placed above the strings and vocal parts and are set in modern clefs; similarly, in the thorough-bass figures the raised fourth and sixth have been marked with a short dash on the number, as opposed to the sharp accidental placed in front of the figure by Mozart for ease of notation. The Requiem text is presented as in the current editions of the Graduale Romanum.

Regarding the instrumental grouping in the score and the terminology, the following should be noted: Mozart used twelve-stave paper throughout, and specified the instruments at the beginning of the Introit, from top to bottom, as *Violini* (the first two staves), *Viole*, 2 *Corni di Bassetto in f.*, 2 *Fagotti*, 2 *Clarini in D.*, *Timpany in D.*, *Canto*, *Alto*, *Tenore*, *Basso*., *Organo e Bassi*. In measure 7 the staves *Alto*, *Tenore*, *Basso* each show the

indication *Trombone* for the three trombones doubling these lines to reinforce the choir. Whether Mozart intended this instrumentation for the whole Requiem or whether other instruments might have been employed in the course of the work has to be left to conjecture; there are no clues. One thing is certain: the instrumental color which Mozart so sparingly applied to his Requiem is completely in keeping with the character of a solemn Mass for the Dead typical for Austrian church music at the end of the 18th century.²⁷

Such full directions are given only at the beginning of the two movements Introit and Kyrie, for which Mozart himself provided complete instrumentation. From the Sequence onwards (fol. 65^r, the first page of *Cod. 17*. 561 b) there are only the fragmentary indications which are rendered here for each movement individually.

"Dies irae": All twelve staves are used. At the beginning, Mozart filled out Violins I and II as well as the viola in some of the measures – Violin I over long stretches of the first staff – and left four staves blank, with the remaining five occupied by the choir and the organ bass line, marked by Mozart as Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso and Organo e Bassi. The four blank staves were intended for the winds, but show no entries of any kind in Mozart's hand. As a sign that they were present in the autograph but were not used, the staves are included at the beginning of each movement but then dropped. The staves for the strings, however, since they contain ideas by Mozart, are continued, as are the Corni di Bassetto and Fagotte in the "Recordare" and "Confutatis".

"Tuba mirum": On the first six pages (= fols. $70^{\rm r}$ to $72^{\rm v}$), Mozart left two staves blank at the top and two at the bottom. The first three staves of the eight-stave score are marked *Violini* (staves 3 and 4) und *Viole*. There then come two blank staves followed by *Trombone Solo*, *Basso Solo* and *Bassi*. The two blank staves were intended for the *Corni di Bassetto* and the *Fagotte*, but Mozart has left us no indications of any kind. The staff for the solo trombone is likewise blank and is included in our score as far as the beginning of the solo quartet (end of fol. $72^{\rm v}$).

²⁶ Cf. on this Friedrich Blume, *Requiem und kein Ende*, in: Friedrich Blume, *Syntagma musicologicum*, Kassel etc., 1963, pp. 731f., where he speaks of a "*macabre date*" and, referring to other opinions on the subject, expressed the view that "*All attempted explanations break down here*."

²⁷ Cf. on this Blume, op. cit., pp. 725–729, with its numerous and occasionally debatable conjectures. His conclusion "that its [sc. the Requiem's] instrumental garment of timbres, however, has been totally lost and corrupted" can hardly be considered apposite in its absoluteness.

For the last two pages (= fol. 73^{r + v}), the score again leaves staves blank, one above, one below. The solo trombone is missing, while three new vocal parts are added. As Mozart clearly drew the barlines across the ten staves used, he expressed unambiguously the removal of trumpets and timpani from the instrumentation. This happens only in this movement, all the others make use of the full twelve-stave paper. The absence of any figures below the *Bassi* staff shows that Mozart did not intend the use of the organ in the "*Tuba mirum*"; it is a solo movement for the tenor trombone and the singers.

"Rex tremendae": The full twelve-stave page is marked by Mozart as Violini (staves 1 and 2, as at the beginning), Viole, after which follow the four staves left free for the wind without any marks at all, with the next staves designated Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso and Organo e Bassi. The thorough-bass figures, even if present only in the second measure, as well as the tasto solo in measure 17, testify to the use of the organ in this movement, as could hardly be otherwise, in view of traditional church music practice.

"Recordare": The thirteen measures of instrumental introduction were written out by Mozart. In specifying the instruments, Mozart left the strings out and started with staves 4 and 5: 2 Corni di Bassetto. In this movement he notated the two basset horns separately, with one staff each, connecting these two staves with a bracket. Between these staves and those of the vocal parts, two blank staves appear again, conceivably intended for the bassoons. It is not clear whether Mozart also wished to have trumpets and timpani in this movement – although this is very unlikely in view of its rather chamber music-like character. As there are no staves left, he would have had to write them out, according to the custom of the day, separately on a leaf of their own. The vocal parts are marked Canto Solo, Alto Solo, Tenore Solo, Basso Solo, while the last staff follows with Organo e Bassi. Although there are no traces of thorough-bass figures in the movement, the latter marking permits the conclusion that Mozart intended the organ to play at least in the four-voice passages. This can be of value in supporting the solo quartet and helps, by using corresponding quiet stops suitable for a Requiem, to "fill out" the sound a little. If Mozart did not want the organ to play under any circumstances, the stave would have been marked as in the "Tuba mirum", where the organ really is missing. The supposition that Mozart added this double designation to the last staff in a purely mechanical process, because it was always marked this way, cannot really be accepted, for the master was, despite all the haste in his work, too precise in the indications of his intentions for such negligence.

"Confutatis": Here there is no trace of instrumentation directions, and even the choir staves are not marked. But the drawing of the bar-lines across all twelve staves leads to the conclusion that Mozart intended to use the entire orchestra. In this movement, beside Violin I, the Corni di Bassetto and the bassoons in measures 26 to 29 are written in by Mozart – the only case of Mozart notating woodwinds in the middle of a movement. The thorough-bass figures from measure 26 onwards show that the organ should be employed in this movement. Along with the woodwinds, it has the task of supporting the choir in the very unusual chromatic chords.

"Lacrimosa": Here the bar-lines are again drawn across all twelve staves, while only the staves for the choir with Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso and the bass-line with the usual Organo e Bassi are marked. The strings have been entered by Mozart in the first measures in order to show how he conceived their parts, while all other staves are left blank. The vocal parts extend only until the 8th measure, the cry of "judicandus homo reus"; these are the last notes Mozart ever wrote.

"Domine Jesu" and "Hostias": In both movements, the bar-lines are drawn across all twelve staves. The first three staves in "Domine Jesu" are marked, as usual, as Violini (2 staves) and Viole, but in the "Hostias" the same staves are not labeled. In both movements, there then follow the four blank staves for the winds, the choir is again specified as Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso. The last staff in the "Domine Jesu" is marked only Bassi, while in the "Hostias" we have the usual Organo e Bassi. But that the organ is to be used in the "Domine Jesu" and was only forgotten by Mozart in writing out the instrumentation can be deduced from the thorough-bass figures at "ne absorbeat ...", measures 21 to 28. The bass-line of the "Hostias" is completely without figures, but it is self-evident that the use of the organ is intended.

Such self-evident and obligatory use of an instrument which is not explicitly named applies also to the violoncello. Mozart always writes simply *Bassi* and understands under this term also the violoncello, as is clear from his clearly differentiated directions right at

the beginning of the Introit and then at a few points later on. The NMA has therefore decided in general to specify the violoncello in the instrumentation of the instrumental bass line.

The fragmentary indications at the beginning of movements and the increasing rarity of compositional detail from one section to the next are signs of the aggravation of Mozart's illness and the associated loss of his productive energy. This said, the instrumentation is never so indefinite that it cannot be filled out, subject to the one pre-condition that it should remain the same for the whole work. This is however not in doubt. First of all, there is good reason to suppose, especially in view of contemporary church music, that the instruments specified at the beginning apply to the whole Requiem; in a "Mass for the Dead", restraint was exercised in the used of instruments. Secondly, if Mozart had intended to introduce further instruments, he would certainly have done this in the "Dies irae" with its imagery taken from the Last Judgement. But this did not happen and there are no indications anywhere of any such intentions. It has to be admitted, however, that Mozart could have written the additional wind parts in a separate score, as was customary. In terms of interpreting the text, such "augmented sonority" would have been appropriate in the "Rex tremendae" and "Confutatis", but here the fragment again remains silent. This would have unusual within the "strict style" which we see in the Requiem. It could be objected that it is precisely this capacity for being innovative or unusual that characterises genius, and that such extensions of the instrumentation would have been in keeping with great artistry such as Mozart's. What weighs against this is the whole "costume" of the work. As has been emphasised so often in the literature, the Requiem does in fact reveal a "deliberately archaic" Mozart, a Mozart reflecting on church music tradition and letting it find expression in many a motif familiar from earlier generations. The result was nevertheless a work without equal. One reaches this conclusion after study of the fragment alone without referring to the whole work, for which we have a problem anyway of never knowing which ideas are Mozart's and which Süßmayr's.

There is an additional, special opportunity offered by the fragment. We can see here Mozart's working procedures, the way in which he obviously conceives the four-voice choir and the figured bass as the loadbearing structure for the entire musical architecture. This foundational sound is complete and extant in all the movements of the fragment, even in the eight measures of the "*Lacrimosa*", the last which Mozart wrote. Up to the end of his life, he remained true to this practice.

As his second element, Mozart thought out the accompanying instruments. From the fragment it is clear that details of style and form of the accompaniments are only vaguely suggested ("Quam olim" fugue, "Hostias"), or not at all in cases where the rhythmical life in the bass-line was an adequate hint concerning the characteristics of the remaining string parts (e.g. tenor and alto solos in the "Tuba mirum". It is significant here that Mozart did write Violin I out for the coming soprano solo and the quartet: this part, which could not be guessed at from the general scheme, had to be defined precisely). For Mozart, these sketches were sufficient, and they could have comprehensible for someone attempting to complete the work, especially since the various points of compositional technique involved must have been familiar to a contemporary musician. This was also the view voiced by Stadler: "[...] and Süßmayr did not have much more to do than what most composers leave to their copyists."²⁸

Where instrumental introductions or interludes were Mozart wrote his ideas concerned. out "Recordare"), and from them the continuation was at least partially clear. The fine details can of course not be deduced – here uncertainty continues to prevail. As far as the wind parts are concerned, however, the fragment lets the reader down completely. With the exception of the trombone solo in "Tuba mirum", the Corni di Bassetto in the introduction to the "Recordare" and the woodwind passages in measures 26ff. of the "Confutatis", there are no hints about how Mozart wanted to see these instruments used. Now, one could perhaps say that precise knowledge of Mozart's instrumentation techniques with these instruments, above all in the works of the last two or three years of his life, would put one in a position to say, at least approximately, how he would have employed them in the Requiem. On the contrary, Mozart's stylistic peculiarities in the Requiem lead us to the conclusion that the winds, particularly the trumpets and timpani, should be used along lines associated with traditional church music. It is however difficult to make any firm statements about this; the nearest one can get is to

²⁸ Stadler, *Vertheidigung* [...], Vienna, 1826, p. 12.

compare Süßmayr's winds with Eybler's, as far as these are present. They show us how two contemporaries, musicians from church and theater respectively, saw the matter.

This is all conjecture, from which no sure conclusions can be drawn. It will always be this way with Mozart's Requiem, for the thoughts and intentions of a genius are unfathomable if they are not written out.

With the vocal and organ parts, on the other hand, we have firm ground under our feet. In combination with the few instrumental passages, they enable us to recognise clearly the style with which Mozart hoped to satisfy the Count. In his outlines, he drew on, perhaps even deliberately - that cannot be ruled out -, certain well-known musical motifs and forms: the subject of the Kyrie fugue is Handelian,²⁹ the trombone solo in "Tuba mirum" is not only suggested by the text, but had been good Viennese musical tradition since Johann Joseph Fux. The "sighing" motifs in the violins in the "Lacrimosa" have Neapolitan models, while the accompanying figure of the "Quam olim" fugue is once again a product of the Baroque world. The common factors linking the "Requiem" motif at the beginning with that of Gassmann's Requiem have already been pointed out, the use of the "Tonus peregrinus" for the Psalm verse "Te decet hymnus" in the Introitus has its model in the C minor Requiem composed in 1771 by Michael Haydn, who used the 1st Psalm tone for the same passage of the text.³⁰ If the "Amen" outline in the Berlin sketch sheet does in fact refer to the closing Amen for the "Lacrimosa", it would then be further evidence of the consciously archaic tendency adopted here by Mozart. Perhaps he recalled at this point a Mass by Johann Ernst Eberlin,³¹ the theme itself is however of a much earlier hexachord type such as one finds

repeatedly in literature for keyboard instruments by North German organists.³²

Even if much, far too much in Mozart's Requiem, not having been written down, must remain hidden from us, it is nevertheless true that in this fragment alone we encounter a Mozart with a very definite profile, a composer well on the way to forming a new world for his thoughts compared to that of his previous works. The question of what would have happened if Mozart had lived longer does perhaps impinge forcibly upon us, but it is better not to confront it – no answer is possible.

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Finally, the pleasant duty remains of thanking all institutions and persons who have been kind enough to assist this work: the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (particularly the director of the music collection, Dr. Karl-Heinz Köhler), the Austrian National Library in Vienna, Prof. Dr. h. c. Otto Erich Deutsch, Dr. Wilhelm A. Bauer and Dr. Alexander Weinmann (all in Vienna) as well as Mr. Otto Schneider (Piesting, Lower Austria), and also Dr. C. G. Stellan Mörner (Stockholm), H. Baron (London) and Dr. Heinz Eibl (Eichenau, Upper Bavaria), and especially the Editorial Board of the New Mozart Edition for many a valuable piece of advice.

Leopold Nowa

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Translation: William Buchanan

²⁹ Cf. Jahn-Abert, W. A. Mozart, Vol. II, Leipzig, ⁵/1921, music supplement pp. 52f.

³⁰ Cf. on this Hans Jancik, introduction to the recording Lumen AMS 6, pp. 23 (*Archives sonores de la musique sacrée, 7, La musique concertante, Autriche XVIII^e siècle): Johann Michael Haydn, Requiem en ut mineur. It is well-known that Mozart had already used the "Tonus peregrinus" in 1771 in the closing chorus of <i>Betulia liberata*. Diverse similarities with works by both Haydns were kindly communicated in a letter from Dr. C. G. Stellan Mörner, Stockholm.

³¹ KV Anh. 109 VI, No. 4. Generously communicated by Dr. Wolfgang Plath.

³² On the question of these "diverse similarities" cf. Otto Schneider and Anton Algatzy, *Mozart-Handbuch. Chronik – Werk – Bibliographie*, Vienna, 1962, pp. 91f. It will always provide insights when we discover supposed or real models in the works of our great master composers, but this must not be allowed to degenerate into a "reminiscence chase".



Facs. 1: Austrian National Library, Vienna, *Cod. 17. 561 a*: leaf 1^r = beginning of the autograph score of the Requiem; cf. the first of the two subvolumes, page 3, measures 1–6.



Facs. 2: Cod. 17. 561 a: leaf 9^r = end of the Kyrie; cf. the first of the two sub-volumes, page 16, measures 46–52.



Facs. 3: *Cod.* 17. 561 b: leaf 65^r (11^r) = beginning of the Sequence. Mozart's autograph score outline with Joseph Eybler's additions; cf. the first of the two sub-volumes, page 17, measures 1–7, and sub-volume 2 of 2, pages 3–4, measures 1–7.

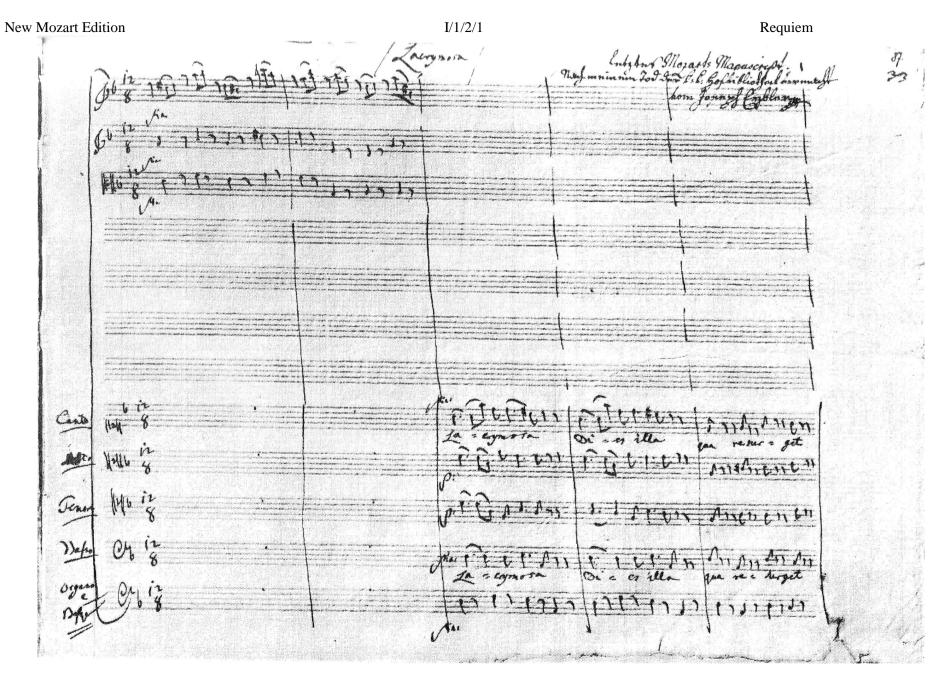


Facs. 4: *Cod. 17. 561 b*: leaf 74^v (20^v) = from the "*Rex tremendae*". Mozart's autograph score outline with Joseph Eybler's additions; cf. the first of the two sub-volumes, pages 28–29, measures 6–9, and sub-volume 2 of 2, pages 15–16, measures 6–9.

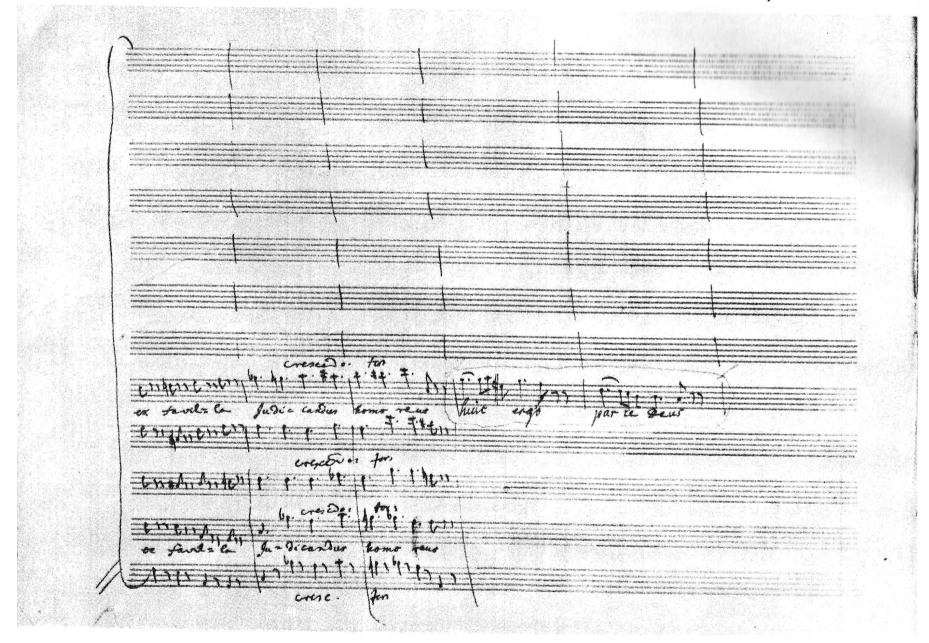


Facs. 5: *Cod. 17. 561 b*: leaf 77^r (23^r) = from the "*Recordare*". Mozart's autograph score outline with Joseph Eybler's additions; cf. the first of the two sub-volumes, pages 31–32, measures 11–20, and sub-volume 2, pages 18–19, measures 11–20.

Facs. 6: *Cod. 17. 561 b*: leaf 85^r (31^r) = from the "*Confutatis*". Mozart's autograph score outline with Joseph Eybler's additions; cf. the first of the two sub-volumes, page 44, measures 25–29, and sub-volume 2, page 31, measures 25–29.



Facs. 7: *Cod. 17. 561 b*: leaf 87^r (33^r) = beginning of the autograph "*Lacrimosa*" fragment; cf. the first of the two sub-volumes, page 46, measures 1–5, and sub-volume 2, page 33, measures 1–5.



Facs. 8: *Cod. 17. 561 b*: leaf 87^v (33^v) = end of the autograph "*Lacrimosa*" fragment. The two measures in the soprano originate from Joseph Eybler; cf. the first of the two sub-volumes, page 46, measures 6–8, and the second sub-volume, page 33, measures 6–10.



Facs. 9: Cod. 17. 561 b: leaf $94^{v} (40^{v})$ = from the "Domine Jesu". Mozart's autograph score outline; cf. the first of the two sub-volumes, pages 54-55, mm. 67-73.