

## Beethoven's Equali (WoO 30): A New Perspective

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Ludwig van Beethoven's Equali for four trombones are anything but spectacular masterpieces, yet they have become a staple of the modern trombone repertoire. The reason for this is obvious: The Equali represent the only contribution to the trombone quartet repertoire by a major composer. However, even decades before they were discovered by trombonists, the Equali found wide dissemination as a result of the great fascination the composer and his death had for the music-loving public. Indeed, the Equali, in the version for voices performed at Beethoven's funeral, were published repeatedly starting already a few months after the sad event. But what is an *equale*,<sup>1</sup> and what was its actual function? Why were Beethoven's Equali considered suitable to be performed at his funeral? Beethoven wrote the Equali in Linz in 1812; how did they get to Vienna, to surface there again, just in time to embellish musically the funeral procession of their creator in 1827?

### How the Equali came to be written

The following passage from Alexander Wheelock Thayer's *Life of Ludwig van Beethoven* is inevitably quoted or referred to when information about Beethoven's Equali is offered:

Franz Glöggl—later a music publisher in Vienna, then fifteen years old and still living in the house of his father, Franz Xaver Glöggl, in Linz—shortly before his death (1872) wrote down his reminiscences of Beethoven, placing them at the disposal of the author for use in this work.

“Beethoven,” he wrote, “was on intimate terms of friendship with my father, Kapellmeister of the cathedral in Linz, and when he was there in 1812, he was at our house every day and several times took meals with us. My father asked him for an *equale* for 6 trombones, as in his collection of old instruments he had a soprano and a *quart* trombone, whereas only alto, tenor and bass trombones were commonly used. Beethoven wanted to hear an *equale* such as was played at funerals in Linz, and one afternoon when Beethoven was expected to dine with us, my father appointed three trombone players and had them play an *equale* as desired, after which Beethoven sat down and composed one for 6 trombones, which my father had his trombonists play, etc.”<sup>2</sup>

This passage is just as inevitably accompanied by the qualifying statement that Beethoven actually wrote three equali for four trombones, with Glöggl's faulty memory often being given as a possible cause for this discrepancy. Indeed, Franz Glöggl (1796-1872) wrote this report nearly sixty years after the event described, surely a sufficient length of time for one's

memory to become uncertain about details. Othmar Wessely has surmised that Franz Xaver Glöggl or his son Franz joined the three trombonists in playing for Beethoven on the above occasion.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, Franz Xaver Glöggl (1764-1839) had trained as a trombonist in Vienna with Imperial Court Trombonist Clemens Messerer.<sup>4</sup> Franz Glöggl, in turn, studied trombone with his father, and later taught this instrument (and double bass) for several years at the Conservatory of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna.<sup>5</sup> Wessely has also identified the scene of this auspicious occasion as the apartment of the master of the town waits (*Turnermeister*), a position the elder Glöggl held in conjunction with that of cathedral Kapellmeister, in the *Schmiedturm* (Blacksmith Tower) above the *Schmiedtor* (Blacksmith Gate) overlooking the south side of Linz' main square (Figure 1).<sup>6</sup>



**Figure 1**

The *Schmiedtorturm* in Linz (1828). Watercolor drawing by F. Laudacher.

Besides Franz Glöggl's report on the creation of the Equali, there is another relevant document that, as far as I have been able to determine, has not received notice in the English-language Beethoven literature. In a letter dated 19 July 1838, Franz Xaver Glöggl wrote to Robert Schumann in reply to a request for information that had appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*:

When I received the journal today, I found your request for information about L. Beethoven's youngest brother Johann.... I knew the master L. Beeth: and his brother the cashier very well. Because of a family matter they came here, where, to avoid a public scandal, I served as the mediator. On this occasion I got to know L. Bth: as a high-minded, refined, kind-hearted, unpretentious man, the two brothers, however, as wretched human beings. L. Bth: spent a good deal of his time with me, and told me about his circumstances, as far as his preoccupation allowed. During my frequent visits to Vienna, he remained open toward me. He also wrote for me several funeral pieces for trombones, of which I gave some to my friend Haslinger in Vienna, and one of which was performed at his [Beethoven's] funeral. He wrote them in my room, and of them I kept one for myself.<sup>7</sup>

With this we now have another first-hand report, written a mere twenty-six years after the fact, but this time by an active participant in the story. A third document takes its cues—i.e., Haslinger and Beethoven's funeral—from Franz Xaver Glöggl's letter.



**Figure 2**

Tobias Haslinger, lithograph by Josef Kriehuber.

Tobias Haslinger (1787-1842) had been one of the elder Glöggl's choirboys in Linz, and received his training as a bookseller in Glöggl's music shop. Around 1810 Haslinger (Figure 2) went to Vienna where he soon became a partner in the publishing firm of S.A. Steiner and Co., which would later bear his own name. As Glöggl stated in the above letter, he gave "some" of the Equali to Haslinger. For reasons to be discussed below, Haslinger must have come into possession of the autograph before 1820 or so.

In any case, when Beethoven was lying on his deathbed, Haslinger went with the manuscript of the Equali to Kapellmeister Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried (1776-1841) to have him set the text of the *Miserere* to the Equali for use in the funeral procession (see below). Some three months later, Haslinger published several works connected with Beethoven's funeral, including Seyfried's arrangement of the Equali. On the inside cover of three of these publications is a description of the funeral by Seyfried, although the information concerning the genesis of the Equali would undoubtedly have been supplied by Haslinger.<sup>8</sup> (Figure 3b; A transcription and translation of this description are provided as an appendix to the present article.) Near the end of the description we find the following:

The interesting, generally known story of the creation of the aforesaid *Miserere* is, moreover, as follows: In the autumn of the year 1812, when L. van Beethoven was visiting his brother, then residing as an apothecary in Linz, he was asked by the Kapellmeister of the Cathedral there, Mr. Glöggl, to compose for him so-called equali for four trombones for All Souls' Day (2nd November), to then have his musicians play these, as was usual, on this feast. — Beethoven declared himself willing; he actually wrote three movements for this purpose, which are indeed short, but which, through the excellence of their design, attest to the master's hand; and the present publisher of these same [works] was later so fortunate to also be able to enrich his collection, which through the many autographs of this great composer has acquired such inestimable worth, with this original manuscript.

Thus we have three authentic reports concerning the composition of the Equali, which largely agree in the main points, but display discrepancies in two areas: the function of the Equali and their number.





Figure 3a

First edition of the *Miserere/Amplius* (Vienna, 1827).  
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, 4 Mus. pr. 16808.

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVENS

Leichenbegängniß;

und geschichtlicher Nachweis über die bey demselben aufgeführten Tonwerke.

Zur Berichtigung mehrerer, in öffentlichen Blättern und Zeitschriften aufgenommenen, theils irriger, theils mangelhafter Angaben.

Nachdem L. van Beethoven's feyerliche Beerdigung durch seine Freunde und Verehrer meist gedruckt und zahlreich verschiedenes Einladungsblatt für den Nachmittag des 29. März etc; allgemein bekannt gemacht worden war, versammelt sich vor und in dem Wohnhause des Zatharinens — außer dem Schattenthore, im Gieche, im Schwärzengasse — eine unberechnete Menge, sowohl Zuhörer, als Leidtragender; letztere in vollständigen Trauerkostüm, schwarz gekleidet, darley Handtuche, und weisse Flur um langes Aermel. Die Ue wird die Leiche in die aufgeführt, nicht auf ihrem Schultern tragend Operisten des k. k. Hof-Opernhauses, die Herren Kieberger, Schuster, Gramslin, A. d. Müller, Höfmann, Rupprecht, Borchitsky, und A. d. Wrantsky (Orchester-Mitglied) noch freiwillig herbei hatten. Eine halbe Stunde später erschien die kalte Gesellschaft des ganzen Convents, nach dem über die städtische Halle gesprochenen Gebete, in welchem diese spanische Sanger eines neuen feyerlichen Choral von B. A. Weber, wozu sich der ganze Zug, folgender Massen gesendet, in Bewegung setzte:

I. Der Kostenträger. — II. Vier Passanten; die Herren Gelehrter Beck, Weidl, und Tuschky. — III. Der Chorleiter, Herr Anzinger, unter dessen Anführung. — IV. Ein Sanger-Chor, bestehend aus dem Herren Tritas, Schwabitz, Gross Nykova, Fuchs, Ziegler, Parach, Leoldi, Wrantsky, Pfister, und Nepfeli, welche alternierend mit dem Trombonen-Quartett die Miserere vortragen.

Diesem wackelnden Orchester folgte unmittelbar — V. Die kalte Gesellschaft. — VI. Der prächtig ornirte Berg, getragen von dem genannten Herrn Operisten, und umgeben von des Herren Capellmeister Eysler, Himmeli, Seyfried, und Krattner, zur Rechten; Weigl, Gyrowatz, Ganschbacher und Wurfel zur Linken, welche die von dem noch geschickte Ballettische herabkommenden wacker Bescheidnisse hielten. — VII. Auf beyden Seiten-Beihen, vom Anfang des Zuges bis zum Berge zurück waren die Fackelträger, 36 an der Zahl, bestehend aus Kanonikern, Dichtern, Schriftstellern, Tonsetzern, Schauspielern und Musikern, und unter ihnen die Herren Anschütz, Bernard, Jan Buhn, Gostelli, Gerstner, Sigr. David, Grillparzer, Guss. Graf, Grubmann, Haslinger, Hildbrand, Hohl, Krattner, Kroll, Sigr. Laßbach, Baron Lemmay, Linker, Mayröder, Mr. Meyer, Neuk, Neukirch, Meier, Sgr. Pacini, Pflanzner, Raditschi, Reimund, Rauter, Schubertlecker, Schubarz, Schuck, Schmidt, Stencher, Schuppanzigh, Steiner, Weidmann, Wolfmayer u. a. m. sämtlich in Trauerkleidern mit weissen Rosen u. Liliensträußern, befestigt am Arme durch die Flur, und mit brennenden Wachskerzen. Nach erlöschte man in dem Verzuge des wackelnden Berges, von dessen Gipfel das wackelnde Lager sich ergehende Himmelsstern, die Herren Hofrath von Mauer u. Brunnner, (Leitender des Verordnungs-Commissar), und Trabant-Vollführer), Herr von's Bruder, immer die Zügel des Conventualen, und die Schüler des General-Conservators bey St. Anna, Herrn Capellmeister Brückner, etc. etc. Alle gemeinschaftlich vom Verzug der letzteren, den jeder für die Allmacht der Tonkunst Empfangener aufstellen muss.

In der Kirche angelangt, stimmten während der Eintragung obige 18 Sanger die Miserere me Domine de musse unter uns an, von Herrn Capellmeister v. Seyfried ausgehend zum Gebrauche bey Auführungen des Miserere des Requiem für 4 Sangerinnen mit Orchesterleitung componirt (Partitur u. Stimmen im Verzuge des

Tob. Haslinger), hier aber, nach Bedarf, Moss als Vocal-Chor für 4 Männerstimmen alla capella umgeschoben. — Alt darauf der viererige Parade-Lectur-Wagen, nach dem Wähliger-Gottesacker abwärts, folgten ihm viele Equipagen von der Linie kamen. Vor dem Gottesacker sprach der k. k. Hof-Capellmeister Hr. Anschütz, umsetzt von einem Kreis theilnehmender Freunde, eine von Grillparzer verfaßte Rede zum Andenken des Hingewandenen, Baron von Schiller'sche und Hr. Gostelli'schen Aussage nach sehr gelobte Gedichte in der trefflichen Verfassung anstehend; und dieser das Gedicht zugewandt ward, überreichte Hr. Haslinger die mitzulesenden Berg-Leichenklausen dem an seiner Seite stehenden gelehrten, namlich Hofcapellmeister Hr. Himmeli, welcher diese Klausen auf den Berg hoch schickte. Die theilnehmenden Freunde des zur Halle-Gebirgsen versammelten u. lange, bis zum Ende gleich gehalten war.

Beide oben besprochene Tausende — Miserere und Libera — sind in der Augustiner-Hofkirche bey Gelegenheit der für L. van Beethoven abgehaltenen Beerdigung, am 3. April (Quartett Requiem) von dem Herrn des kaiserlichen Musikdirektor veranstaltet, — und in diesen denselben Monaten d. J. (Choristen Requiem) von der Gesellschaft der Musikanten, gegeben, dem allgemeinen Wunsch zu Folge während der Einweisung der kalten Gesellschaft legen Schluß des Requiem im Kataloge, anzuheben werden. — Die interessante wackelnde Einleitungsgeschichte des angeführten Miserere ist schon früher, als L. van Beethoven im Herbste des Jahres 1809 seinen damals in Linn als hiesiger Apotheker wohnenden Bruder Joseph, wurde er von dem dortigen Hof-Capellmeister Herrn Gloggi freundlichst angegangen, ihn für den allernächsten Tag (den 4. November) angeordnete Equale für Passanten zu componiren, um welche hochschöne Weise an diesem Orte seines Musikern abzugeben, welche auch, Beethoven sagte sich freiwillig dazu; er entwarf wirklich an diesem Zweck sehr schön, aber durch die Gesammtkeit der Anlage die Meistkünde bewundernde Seite, und der gegenwärtige Verleger derselben war später so glücklich, diese durch mehrere Autographen des großen Tonsetzers über wackelnde gewundene Sammlung auch mit dieser Original-Handschrift bereichern zu können.

Als nun der Morgen des 20. März 1827 gegen zwölf Uhr abging, dass der drohende Verlust nur allzuweit, ja unvermeidlich sey, legte sich Hr. Haslinger mit diesem Manuscripte an Herrn Capellmeister von Seyfried, um mit demselben die Möglichkeit anzubringen, aus diesen Equale in dem Werke des Miserere seine Charakterisierung zu liefern, und somit die wackelnde Seite seiner Familien unter den Trauerklagen einer neuen eigenen Schöpfung aus eigener Wahl zu befestigen. Hier von Seyfried ganz nach gewohnter Prüfung des Beliebers in diese Idee ein, und unverzüglich an die Arbeit selbst, welche auch, die Menschheit die Ue die Seite der Equale nicht zurück ließ, nach in der nachfolgenden Nacht beendet ward.

Diese Composition wurde nun eben doppelte Gestalt angenommen, zuerst die Original-Melodie, gleich im Fabricationszeit des Verzeichens um einen Ton höher transponirt, von dem 4. Trauerknoten gebildet, sodass die zu dem Werke des Requiem Miserere nach Hr. Himmeli'scher Choral von dem genannten Sanger stimmte, und die mit ihm zur Ankündigung der Kirche stimmweise abwechselnd fortgeführt.

\*) Folgte nun auch bey Tob. Haslinger erschienen sind

Figure 3b  
First edition of the Miserere/Amplius (Vienna, 1827).  
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, 4 Mus. pr. 16808.

4 Mus. Pr. 16808

TENORE PRIMO.

*Andante.*

**MISERERE.**

Mi se re re me i mi se re re me i  
*Ach er barme Schöpfer Ach er barme Schöpfer*

De - us mi se re re me i De - us mi se re re  
*da bist du des Mit leid's Quell le ach er bar me*

me i se cun dum mag nam mi se ri cor di  
*Schöpfer der Barmherzigkeit, Höre der Ver such*

am mi se ri cor di am mi se ri cor di am  
*nen du bist des Mit leid's Quell des Mit leid's ein zi ge*

tu am mi se re re me i De - us mi se re re  
*Quell le ach er barme dich in Schöpfer! ach er bar me*

me i se cun dum mag nam mi se ri cor di am tu am  
*dich, Ver such er barme dich des Mit leid's ein zi ge Quell le*

se cun dum mag nam mi se ri cor di am tu am!  
*er barme dich ach er barme dich gö tter Va ter!*

*Poco sostenuto.*

**AMPLIUS.**

Ampli us la xa me sh i ni qui ta te me  
*Bei ne geißel mich, ummich um die Schuld der Sün*

a et a pec ca to me a mun da re et a pec  
*de dass keine Unbill Lo st mehr auf mir von je der*

ca to a pec ca to me a mun da me!  
*Sünd e, je der Un bill rei ß mich! Ver treiß mich!*

T. H., 1883.

Figure 3c

First edition of the *Miserere/Amplius* (Vienna, 1827).  
 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, 4 Mus. pr. 16808.

4 Mus. Pr. 16808

TENORE SECONDO.

*Andante.*

**MISERERE.**

Mi-se-re-re-me-i mi-se-re-re-me-i  
 Ach er-bar-me Schöp-fer ach er-bar-me dich mein

De-us mi-se-re-re-me-i De-us mi-se-re-re-re  
 Schöp-fer du bist ja des Mit-leids-Quel-le ach er-bar-me

me-i se-cun-dum mag-nam mi-se-ri-cor-di-  
 Schöp-fer der Born der Dar-stehen, Hart der Ver-les-se-

am mi-se-ri-cor-di-am mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu-  
 neu du bist des Mit-leids-Quel-le des Mit-leids-ein-zig-Quel

le am mi-se-re-re-me-i De-us mi-se-  
 le ach er-bar-me dich mein Schöp-fer! ach er-

re-re mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu-am se-cun-dum  
 Lar-me dich des Mit-leids-ein-zig-Quel-le, ach er-bar-me-

mag-nam mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu-am!  
 Ach er-bar-me dich gü-ti-ger Va-ter!

*Poco sostenuto.*

**AMPLIUS.**

Ampli-us la-va-me-ah-i-ni-qui-ta-te-m  
 Hei-äi-ge-Te-ter-mich, nim-m' von mir die Schuld der Sün-

a et a pec-ca-to me-o man-da-me et a pec-  
 de dass kei-ne Un-bill Tu-ste mehr auf mir von je-der

ta-to a pec-ca-to me-o man-da-me!  
 Sün-de, je-der Un-bill sei-mi-Te-ter, mich!

T H. 3034

Figure 3d

First edition of the *Miserere/Amplius* (Vienna, 1827).  
 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, 4 Mus. pr. 16808.

4<sup>a</sup> Mus. Pr. 16808

BASSO PRIMO.

*Andante.*

**MISERERE.**

Mi se-re-re me-i mi se-re-re me-i  
 Ach er-bar-me Schö-pfer ach er-bar-me dich mein

De-us mi se-re-re me-i De-us mi se-re-re  
 Schö-pfer, du bist ja des Mit-leids Quel-le, ach er-bar-me

me-i se-cum dum magnum mi-se-ri-cor-di-am  
 Schöpfer, der bist du der Dürstenden un-er-las-sen

mi-se-ri-cor-di-am mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu-um  
 du bist des Mit-leids Quell des Mit-leids ein zu se-Quel-le

mi se-re-re me-i De-us mi se-re-re  
 ach er-bar-me dich mein Schö-pfer! ach er-bar-me

me-i se-cum dum mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu-um se-  
 dich mein se-fer des Mit-leids ein zu se-Quel-le ach er-

cum dum magnum magnum mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu-um  
 bar-me dich er-bar-me dich ein-se-gü-ti-ger Fa-ter!

*Poco a tempo.*

**AMPLIUS.**

Ampli-us la-cu-me-de-i-ni-qui-ta-te me  
 Bei-nä-he Fa-ter mich, nim-mid-er die Schuld der Sün-

de et a-pe-ca-to-ri-si-mo-n-da-mo-et a-pe-  
 de-lass-kei-ne Un-bill-la-sie-nahr auf-mir- von je-der

ca-to-pe-ca-to-ri-si-mo pe-ca-to-ri-si-mo-n-da-mo  
 Sün-de, auf je-der Un-bill-Ver-sün-den-er-rei-Ver-urtheil

T. H. 3034

Figure 3e

First edition of the *Miserere/Amplius* (Vienna, 1827).  
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4 Mus. Pr. 16808

## BASSO SECONDO.

**MISERERE.** *Andante.*

Mi se-re-re me i mi-se-re-re me i  
 Ach er-bar-ter Schöp-fer ach-er-bar-miedich-mess

De-us mi se-re-re me i De-us mi se-re-re  
 du bist ja des Mit-leids-Quel-le ach-er-bar-mie

me i se-cun-dum ma-gnam mi-se-ri-cor-di-  
 Schöp-fer der Barm-her-zig-keit, der Ver-les-er-

am mi-se-ri-cor-di-am mi-se-ri-cor-di-am  
 um da-ß dich des Mit-leids-Quell des Mit-leids ein-zi-ge

tu-am, mi se-re-re me i He-us!  
 Quell-le ach-er-bar-mie dich-in Schöp-fer!

mi-se-re-re me i mi-se-ri-cordi-am tu-am  
 ach-er-bar-mie dich des Mit-leids ein-zi-ge Quell-le

se-cun-dum ma-gnam mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu-am!  
 er-bar-mie dich er-bar-mie dich ein-zi-ge Ver-les-er!

*Poco sostenuto.*

**AMPLIUS.** *Andante.*

Am-pli-us. Le-vam-e-ri-ni qui ta-cte me  
 Bei-mi-ge-fer-t mich, nim-m' von mir die Schuld der Sün-

a-et a-pe-ca-to-me-o-mun-da-me, et a-pe-  
 de-ß das kei-ne Un-fall la-ßt mich aus mir, von je-der

ca-to-pe-ca-to-me-o pe-ca-to-me-o mun-da-me  
 Sünde, und je-der Un-fall von Sünde er-reue-Te, der, mich

T. H. 3073.

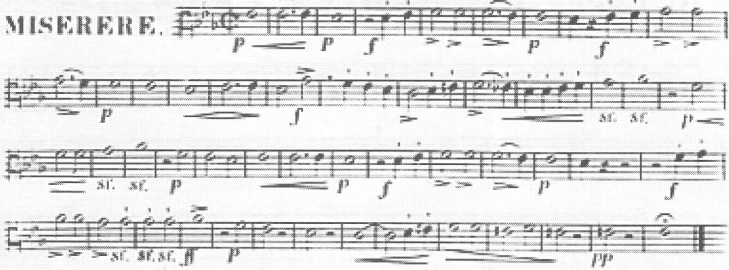
Figure 3f

First edition of the *Miserere/Amplius* (Vienna, 1827).  
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4<sup>a</sup> Mus. Pr. 16808

TROMBONE PRIMO.

*Andante.*

MISERERE. 

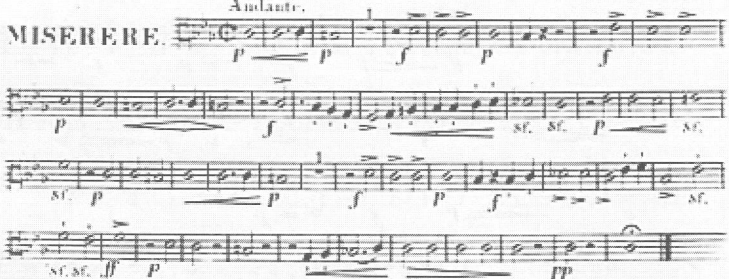
*Poco sostenuto.*

AMPLIUS. 

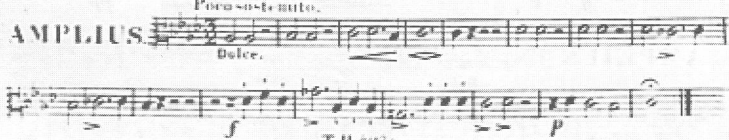
4<sup>a</sup> Mus. Pr. 16809

TROMBONE SECONDO.

*Andante.*

MISERERE. 

*Poco sostenuto.*

AMPLIUS. 

T.H. 2014.

Figure 3g

First edition of the *Miserere/Amplius* (Vienna, 1827).  
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47Mus. Pr. 16806

## TROMBONE TERZO.

*Andante.*

**MISERERE.**

*Poco sostenuto.*

**AMPLIUS.**

*Del. c.*

48Mus. Pr. 16808

## TROMBONE QUARTO.

*Andante.*

**MISERERE.**

*Poco sostenuto.*

**AMPLIUS.**

*Del. c.*

T.H. 2031.

Figure 3h

First edition of the *Miserere/Amplius* (Vienna, 1827).  
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### The function of equali

From the foregoing we learned that “Beethoven wanted to hear an *equale* such as was played at funerals in Linz” (Franz Glöggl), that Beethoven “wrote for me several funeral pieces for trombones” (Franz Xaver Glöggl), and that Beethoven “was asked to compose *equali* for All Souls’ Day” (Tobias Haslinger via Seyfried). Additional information about the function of *equali* is provided by Franz Xaver Glöggl: In his *Kirchenmusik-Ordnung* (“Church Music Regulations”) from 1828, he wrote in the chapter “About Funerals” (*Von den Leichenbegängnissen*):

According to the highest schedule of surplice fees, there are three classes of funeral; the funeral music can also be divided into three classes with the following difference.

In the first class, the arrival of the clergy is announced by a short funeral piece (*equale*) with trombones or other wind instruments as a sign of the sacred funeral act for those present. After its completion, the funeral procession starts to move. This is again announced by the wind funeral music, with which the vocal ensemble, singing a three- or four-part *Miserere*, alternates during the procession up to the entrance of the church or burial ground, where before the consecration the *Verse: Requiem aeternam* is to be sung. After the consecration and the general prayer, a funeral motet is to be sung.

In the second class, if wind instruments are appointed, the sign for the funeral act is likewise given by them; during the funeral procession, however, only the *Miserere* is performed, with the accompaniment of wind instruments, in stanzas up to the grave or the church, where again the *Verse: Requiem* is to be sung.

In the third class, the *Miserere* is to be sung during the procession.<sup>9</sup>

As Wessely has observed, the term “*equale*” as a designation for short, chordal, three- to four-part trombone pieces seems to have originated from Franz Xaver Glöggl, and found usage only in his immediate environment.<sup>10</sup> Franz Glöggl’s remark that “Beethoven wanted to hear an *Aequale* such as was played at funerals in Linz” is interesting since it shows that Beethoven, who had lived in Vienna for twenty years by this time, was not familiar with this tradition, a tradition that was therefore quite possibly specific to Linz (and environs).

Several later sources confirm the function of *equali* as pieces to be played at funerals. A manuscript “List of new sacred music sent to Mr. von Glökl on approval” written on 21 January 1844 by Wenzel Lambel lists “Trombone pieces. An *Equale*... as funeral music pieces for funerals of the 1st class.”<sup>11</sup> (“Glökl” is undoubtedly a reference to Franz Glöggl.) The manuscript of Lambel’s *Equali* carries the title “6 Trombone Pieces or *Equali*, for funeral or burial music.”<sup>12</sup> Anton Bruckner’s *Equale* in C Minor is described by his biographer August Göllerich as “one of those then popular pieces that were played in St. Florian at the outer gate of the monastery when the mortal remains were set down until the priest performed the consecration.”<sup>13</sup>

All of these sources have a common denominator: Linz. The Glöggl were natives of Linz; Haslinger had lived in Linz before moving to Vienna; Lambel spent a good part of his life in Linz and, from 1820, was a singer at the cathedral there; Bruckner was born in Ansfelden and grew up at St. Florian, both near Linz, studied in Linz in 1840-41, and was organist of the Linz cathedral from 1856-68. Yet Haslinger is the only one who brings the performance of equali in general, and of Beethoven's Equali in particular, into connection with All Soul's Day. The others place the usage of equali within the context of the funeral, or rather the funeral procession. There was, however, a tradition in Linz that might be of relevance here:

On the holidays of All Saints' Day and on the following All Souls' Day, the inhabitants of the town, all classes and professions, every age group and generation, walk out to the cemetery to visit the lavishly decorated graves of the deceased, or even just to enjoy the spectacle. On the evening of All Saints' Day and on the morning of All Souls' Day the town waits proclaim with trombones from the balcony of the town hall (formerly from the *Schmidtorturm*) an earnest *memento mori* to the living.<sup>14</sup>

Whether the pieces played on All Soul's Day were also "equali" can no longer be determined; the repertoire of the Linz town waits unfortunately no longer exists.<sup>15</sup>

Be that as it may, assuming that the date on the autograph, "Linz 2 9ber 1812" (Figure 4a), represents the date of composition, Haslinger's implication that Beethoven wrote the Equali and Glöggl had them performed immediately by his musicians according to the All Souls' Day tradition cannot be correct. According to Franz Glöggl's account, Beethoven composed the pieces during an afternoon visit; if this visit took place on 2 November, i.e., All Souls' Day, the Equali were written in the afternoon of the day on which they were supposedly performed in the morning, a chronological impossibility. It is of course possible that Beethoven wrote the Equali a day or two before All Souls', dating them for the day of their use, although this seems unlikely. Moreover, we can conclude that the frequently met assertion that Beethoven wrote the Equali for performance in Linz Cathedral<sup>16</sup> is untenable: Franz Xaver Glöggl's *Church Music Regulations* make it clear that equali were intended to be played in the open air, before and during the funeral procession, not inside the church.

*Andante*

*Equali o a Tronconi*

*L. v. Beethoven*  
*1802. 2. Jan. 1802*

Ex Bibliotheca Berolin

**Figure 4a**

Autograph of the Equali (Mus. Ms. Autogr. Beethoven Grasnick 9).  
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.  
Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for brass instruments. The score is arranged in two systems, each with five staves. The first system includes a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation consists of quarter and eighth notes, with some rests. Handwritten annotations include "mf" (mezzo-forte) and "p" (piano) dynamics, and the word "Staccato" written above the notes. The second system begins with a measure number "2" and includes the tempo marking "Allegro" and the word "Solo" written above the notes. The paper shows signs of age, including some staining and wear at the edges.

**Figure 4b**

Autograph of the Equalizer (Mus. Ms. Autogr. Beethoven Grasnick 9).  
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz.  
Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. It consists of 14 staves of music, arranged in two systems of seven staves each. The notation is dense and includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings. The paper appears aged and slightly stained. At the bottom center of the page, there is a circular stamp that reads "Ex Bibl. Regia Berlin.".

**Figure 4c**

Autograph of the Equali (Mus. Ms. Autogr. Beethoven Grasnick 9),  
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.  
Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, the title "Poco sostenuto" is written in cursive. The score consists of multiple staves, with the first few staves containing a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values, such as quarter and eighth notes, and rests. The handwriting is fluid and characteristic of the early 19th century. The page is numbered "7" in the top left corner.

**Figure 4d**

Autograph of the Equali (Mus. Ms. Autogr. Beethoven Grasnick 9),  
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.  
Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv.

### The number of Equali

As we have seen, Franz Glöggl referred to a single equal for six trombones, but is generally thought to have erred in his recollection. Franz Xaver Glöggl mentioned “several” pieces of which he gave “some” to Haslinger, and kept one for himself. Only Haslinger/Seyfried provides us with what we have come to expect: three equali for four trombones. In view of the second of these sources, Franz Xaver Glöggl’s letter to Robert Schumann, Othmar Wessely has suggested a theory that reconciles all three: Beethoven possibly wrote four equali for Glöggl: three for four trombones and one for six trombones, with the three equali for four trombones being the pieces Glöggl gave to Haslinger, and the equal for six trombones being the one that he kept for himself. Wessely surmised that Glöggl junior did not remember the equali that were passed on to Haslinger, but only the one that was written at the express request of his father and that remained in his father’s possession.<sup>17</sup> If there was a fourth equal, it does not seem to have been among that part of Franz Xaver Glöggl’s collection that was acquired by the Viennese Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in 1824.<sup>18</sup> While it is tempting to speculate that there is still another Beethoven equal waiting to be found somewhere, the chances of a hitherto unknown Beethoven autograph turning up at this late date are not very great. Nevertheless, the autograph of the three Equali does provide evidence that could be interpreted as confirmation of Wessely’s theory.

### Sources 1

The autograph of the three Equali originally belonged to Franz Xaver Glöggl, who gave it to Tobias Haslinger a short time later. In 1879 the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin (now Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz) acquired the manuscript from the estate of Friedrich August Grasnich. It carries the shelf mark “Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven Grasnich 9” (Figures 4a-d).

The manuscript consists of three folios (each ca. 36.8 x 26 cm) with twenty staves drawn on each of the six sides. Folios 1 and 3 make up a double folio into which folio 2 is inserted. The music of the equali is written on folios 1 and 2 (fol 1<sup>v</sup>: Equale 1, mm. 1-41; fol. 1<sup>v</sup>: Equale 1, mm. 41-50, Equale 2, mm. 1-12; fol. 2<sup>v</sup>: Equale 2, mm. 13-38; fol. 2<sup>v</sup>: Equale 3, mm. 1-16), with folio 3 remaining unused. The title *Equal a 4 Tromboni*, which does not seem to be in Beethoven’s hand, is written at the top center of fol 1<sup>v</sup>, with “L.v. Beethoven” and “Linz 2 9ber 1812” in Beethoven’s hand at the upper right (Figure 4a).

The evidence for the possible existence of a fourth equal lies in the fact that folio 2 was at one time part of a double folio. (The entry for the Equali in Kinsky’s catalogue of Beethoven’s works merely states “four written pages in upright format,”<sup>19</sup> which could give the impression, for example, that the three equali were notated on the four sides of a double folio or even on four separate sheets of paper.) It is therefore possible that Beethoven, after setting the final measure of the third equal in the last system of fol. 2<sup>v</sup> (Figure 4d), did go on to write a fourth equal on the next, now missing half of the (inner) double folio. In this case, Franz Xaver Glöggl later detached the now missing folio because it contained the (six-part) equal that he intended to keep for himself. On the other hand, it is also possible that

Beethoven did not continue on after the third equal, and that Glöggl later detached the now missing folio simply because he wanted to use the blank sheet of music paper for something else.<sup>20</sup>

There are of course aspects of both the pieces themselves and the autograph that could be used to argue against the theory that Beethoven composed a fourth equal. As David Guion has written,

In his “Drei Equali für vier Posaunen” (WoO 30, 1812), each movement is shorter, less carefully marked in terms of dynamics and articulations than the one before, almost as if Beethoven were in a hurry to finish a commission he did not much care about.<sup>21</sup>

The autograph too can be interpreted in this sense: Beethoven's handwriting becomes larger and clearly more hurried in the course of the manuscript. The first page contains forty-one measures, with seven to nine measures on a line; the second page has twenty-one measures with six on each full line; the third page, twenty-six measures with five to six on each full line; and the fourth page, sixteen measures with three to four on each full line. Comparing the last page to the first, one can almost sense Beethoven's growing impatience, his desire to be done with this task. Is it conceivable that he was able to control his obvious impatience long enough to compose yet another piece? Or, on the contrary, was the change in the handwriting caused by growing excitement on Beethoven's part?

The autograph also gives evidence of Beethoven's fastidiousness. He did not make it easy for himself, did not just nonchalantly pull these pieces out of his hat. The autograph displays many corrections, both in the form of notes that were crossed-out and emended, as well as notes that were scraped away with a knife (a common method of erasure in the days before correction fluid). The one error that escaped Beethoven's eye is to be found in the first measure on fol. 2<sup>r</sup> (Figure 4c; Equal 2, m. 13): the first trombone part has two half notes  $e^1 - d^1$ , producing parallel octaves with the third part. That the first and not the third part is in error here can be deduced from the natural sign that appears before the  $e^1$ , which would be entirely superfluous if this note was indeed intended to be an E. The edition in the *Gesamtausgabe*<sup>22</sup> from 1888, which was the first edition of the Equali in their original form and also the source of all subsequent modern editions, has these two notes corrected to  $c^1 - b$  (Figure 6b). This solution is undoubtedly correct: Not only are the parallel octaves avoided, but the natural sign now makes sense. Beethoven apparently slipped into tenor clef for this one measure.



*Opus.*  
N. 1

*orig*  
*du 2<sup>me</sup> fév 1822*

*Andante.*

The image shows a handwritten musical score for four trumpets and three other instruments. The top section is titled "Opus. N. 1" and "Andante." with a date "orig du 2<sup>me</sup> fév 1822". The four trumpet parts are labeled "Trompette 1<sup>re</sup>", "Trompette 2<sup>de</sup>", "Trompette 3<sup>me</sup>", and "Trompette 4<sup>me</sup>". The score consists of three systems of staves. The first system has four staves for trumpets and three staves for other instruments. The second system has three staves for trumpets and three staves for other instruments. The third system has three staves for trumpets and three staves for other instruments. The notation includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "p".

**Figure 5.**

Equale 1 (Haslinger-Rudolfinische Sammlung, vol. 37).  
Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.

# DREI EQUALE

für vier Posaunen

componirt von

Beethoven's Werke.

Serie 25. № 293.

## L. VAN BEETHOVEN.

№ 1.  
Andante.

Comp. in Linz am 2. November 1812.

The musical score is arranged in four systems, each corresponding to a trombone part. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a dynamic marking of *p* (piano). The second system includes dynamic markings such as *cresc.*, *sf* (sforzando), and *p*. The third system continues with *sf* and *p* markings. The fourth system concludes with *cresc.*, *p*, and *dimin. pp* (diminuendo pianissimo) markings. The score is written in a key signature of one flat and a 2/4 time signature.

Verlag von Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig.

B. 293.

Figure 6a  
First edition of the Equali.  
Beethoven Gesamtausgabe 25 (Leipzig, 1888).

2 (316)

N<sup>o</sup> 2.

Poco Adagio.

*dolce*

*dolce*

*dolce*

*dolce*

N<sup>o</sup> 3.

Poco sostenuto.

B. 293.

Figure 6b

First edition of the Equali.

Beethoven Gesamtausgabe 25 (Leipzig, 1888).

Another manuscript of the Equali that for all practical purposes deserves the rank of a primary source is preserved in the holdings of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde: Between 1817 and 1823 copyist Mathias Schwarz, commissioned by Tobias Haslinger, prepared a manuscript edition of Beethoven's collected works in sixty-two volumes.<sup>23</sup> This collection, written on English vellum, was later acquired for four thousand gulden by Archduke Rudolf of Austria—to prevent it from being sold and sent to England—and bequeathed to its present owner, the Gesselleschaft der Musikfreunde. Thus the collection, actually entitled *Ludwig van Beethoven's sämtliche Werke gesammelt von Tobias Haslinger*, is known today as the *Haslinger-Rudolfinische Sammlung*.<sup>24</sup> Its importance is underscored by the following annotation:

That all the pieces contained in this complete collection of my musical works, commissioned by Tobias Haslinger, were composed by me, I confirm as the truth in that I sign this attestation with my signature in my own hand. Ludwig van Beethoven m[anu] p[ro]pria.<sup>25</sup>

The Equali are to be found in vol. 37 of the *Haslinger-Rudolfinische Sammlung* (Figure 5). This allows us to speculate that Haslinger received the autograph of the three Equali from Franz Xaver Glöggel before 1820, the midpoint of his collected-works project. The edition of the Equali in the *Haslinger-Rudolfinische Sammlung* represents a faithful copy of the autograph, including the above-mentioned mistake in m. 13 of Equale no. 2, and was the source for the edition in the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe* (Figure 6a-b).<sup>26</sup>

### The Equali and Beethoven's funeral

... whereupon the whole procession, in the order given below, started to move:  
I. The cross-bearer. — II. Four trombonists, Messrs. Böck (brothers), Weidl, and Tuschky.<sup>27</sup> — III. The choirmaster, Mr. Assmayer, under whose direction — IV. A choir of singers, made up of Messrs. Tietze, Schnitzer, Gross, Sykora, Frühwald, Geissler, Rathmeyer, Kokrement, Fuchs, Nejebse, Ziegler, Perschl, Leidl, Weinkopf, Pfeiffer, and Seipelt, performed the Miserere in alternation with the trombone quartet.

An often-reproduced colored sepia-drawing, signed Stöber,<sup>28</sup> shows the funeral procession on its way across the glacis toward the Alserstrasse (Figure 7), with the procession being led by the cross-bearer and the four trombonists (Figure 8). Seyfried's account of Beethoven's funeral was one of many to appear in the weeks, months, and years that followed the event.<sup>29</sup> For us, it is the most important, since its publication is so closely connected to that of the *Miserere*, the version of the Equali performed at the funeral:

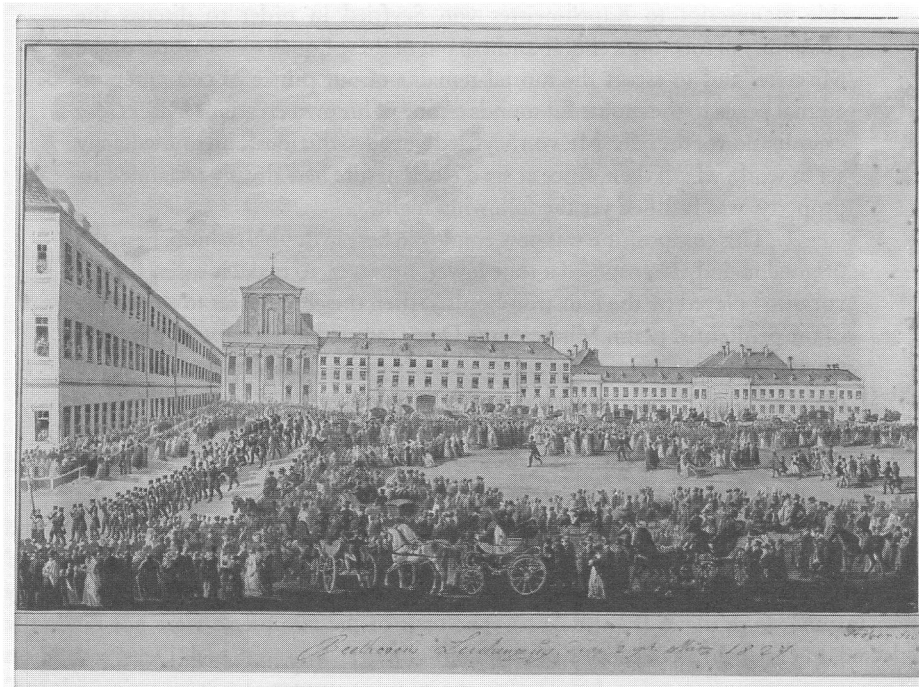
As now, on the morning of 26th March 1827, not a doubt remained that the impending loss was all too near, indeed inevitable, Mr. Haslinger went with

this manuscript to Kapellmeister von Seyfried in order to discuss the possibility of forming a choral-anthem out of these Equali to the words of the Miserere, and so escort the mortal remains of our prince of composers to eternal peace to the mournful sounds of one of his own creations. After close examination of the relic, Mr. von Seyfried agreed to this idea, and immediately set to work, which then, since at six o'clock nature had already reclaimed its property, was finished yet the following night.

This composition was now employed here in double fashion: first, the original melody (transposed a tone lower, however, to make it easier for the vocalists) played by the four trombonists, then the chorale, set to the words of the penitential psalm Miserere mei Deus, intoned by the aforesaid sixteen singers, and continuing thus in alternation by stanza until the arrival at the church.<sup>30</sup>

On 21 June 1827, less than three months after Beethoven's funeral, Haslinger announced the publication of Seyfried's version of the Equali/*Miserere* in the *Wiener Zeitung* (Figure 9).<sup>31</sup> The edition consists of Equali 1 and 3, both transposed down a tone, with the Latin and German texts "Miserere mei/Ach erbarme Schöpfer" (Equale 1) and "Amplius lava me/Reinige Vater mich" (Equale 3) set for four men's voices and optional accompaniment by four trombones or piano (Figure 2a-h). The texts of the two pieces were not randomly selected, but adapted from successive verses of Psalm 51: "Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnum misericordiam tuam. Amplius lava me iniquitate mea et a peccato meo munda me" ("Have mercy on me, O God, according to your great unfailing love. Wash away all my iniquity and cleanse me from my sin").<sup>32</sup> It is surely not necessary to point out that the choice of text and its performance in alternation with an ensemble of trombones correspond exactly to Glöggel's description of a "funeral of the first class."

Besides the whole-tone transposition and some added performance markings, the trombone parts are identical to those of Beethoven's original version of the Equali. Seyfried, however, took many liberties in arranging the pieces for voices. Aside from the necessary breaking up of larger note values into smaller units (Example 1) and changes of rhythm (Example 2) to accommodate the text, Seyfried frequently shifted passages from the upper part to the middle (Example 3), and inner voices to the top of the vocal texture (Example 4). Clashes caused by changes to the bass line (Example 5) make it obvious that a simultaneous performance by voices and trombones was not intended. A score of *Miserere*/Equale 1 and *Amplius*/Equale 3 made from the voice and trombone parts of the Haslinger edition can be found in Appendix 2.



**Figure 7**

Beethoven's Funeral Procession, 29 March 1827. Watercolor by Franz Stöber.  
Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Sammlung H.C. Bodmer.

According to Seyfried, the *Miserere* was performed again “by popular request” (“dem allgemeinen Wunsche zu Folge”) at requiem services held in Beethoven’s honor at the Augustiner Court-Church on 3 April and once more on 26 April 1827. On the first anniversary of Beethoven’s death, the *Miserere* was sung at a memorial concert in Nuremberg,<sup>33</sup> which would seem to have been the first performance outside of Vienna.



**Figure 8**  
Detail of Figure 7.



Tenore 1  
Mi - se - re - re me - - - - i

Tenore 2  
Mi - se - re - re me - - - - i

Basso 1  
Mi - se - re - re me - - - - i

Basso 2  
Mi - se - re - re me - - - - i

Trombone 1  
*p*

Trombone 2  
*p*

Trombone 3  
*p*

Trombone 4  
*p*

**Example 1**  
Miserere/Equale 1, mm. 1-3.

Tenore 2  
*pp*  
man - - - da me!

Basso 1  
*pp*  
mun - - - da me!

Basso 2  
*pp*  
mun - - - da me!

Trombone 1  
*p*

Trombone 2  
*p*

Trombone 3  
*p*

Trombone 4  
*p*

**Example 2**  
Amplius/Equale 3, mm. 15-16.



Example 3  
Miserere/Equale 1, mm. 15-18.

Example 4  
Miserere/Equale 1, mm. 35-38.

0

mi-se-re-re me-i de-us mi-se-re

4

*f* *p* *f*

**Example 5**  
Miserere/Equale 1, mm. 5-10.

### Equale no. 2

Although the second equale did not find use at Beethoven's funeral it was by no means forgotten. Seven and a half months later, in early November 1827, the dedication of Beethoven's gravestone took place. The Vienna correspondent of the *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* wrote:

During the first days of this month [November] an auction of Beethoven's musical estate was held....

In the following week Beethoven's gravestone was dedicated. A chosen gathering, friends, admirers, and colleagues of the deceased were present at this moving ceremony. Court Actor Anschütz held an excellent memorial speech, written by Grillparzer, and the same choir of singers that eight months ago accompanied the mortal remains of the immortal spirit to rest performed a previously unknown original melody to which the [following] simple words were set: "Du, dem nie im Leben...."<sup>34</sup>

This "original melody" was none other than Equale 2, and the text a poem by Franz Grillparzer. On 29 March 1828, the first anniversary of Beethoven's funeral, a memorial ceremony was held at his grave. Once again Grillparzer's poem was sung to the music of the second equale. This time it was the Vienna correspondent of the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* who reported:

This afternoon, on the anniversary of his interment, a number of Beethoven's admirers came together at the cemetery, where under a simple tombstone engraved only with the name of the departed, covered by several hand's breadths of earth, lie the mortal remains of the immortal, and intoned to the harmonies of a trombone piece a solemn choral song to which Grillparzer had written touching words. Requiem aeternam dona Domine!<sup>35</sup>

Grillparzer's text reads:

Du, dem nie im Leben Ruhstart ward, und Herd und Haus  
Ruhe nun in Tod aus, im stillen Grabe aus.  
Und wenn Freundes Klage reicht übers Grab hinaus,  
Horch eig'nen Sangs süßem Klang, halb erwacht im stillen, stillen Haus.<sup>36</sup>

(You for whom in life was no resting place, no heart, no house,  
Rest now in death, in the silent grave.  
And if your friends' lamentation reaches beyond the grave,  
Hear the sweet sound of your own song, half-wakened in the still, still house.)

The young noblewoman Marie von Pratobevera, who was present at this ceremony, wrote two days later in a letter to her fiancé:

We were in Währing on the anniversary of Beethoven's funeral, who died a year ago, to take a look at his gravestone and also to hear the song that his admirers dedicated to his memory. The day was heavenly fair, the song also very touching, and sung among graves it could not fail to make a deep impression.<sup>37</sup>

A third performance of the vocal version of the second equalé took place a year later, on the second anniversary of Beethoven's death:

On the 26th [of March 1829] in the hall of the provincial diet: Fourth Concert spirituel, containing: 1. Beethoven's Symphony in A Major... 3. Hymn, written by Grillparzer for the dedication of Beethoven's gravestone, set to a manuscript original melody of the deceased master, arranged as a choral piece for four men's voices by Cavalier von Seyfried.<sup>38</sup>

This notice from the 20 May 1829 issue of the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* is particularly interesting because until now it was merely assumed that Seyfried had made the vocal arrangement of the second equalé. Unlike the first edition of the *Miserere* and *Amplius* (Equali 1 and 3), neither the first, nor any of the subsequent editions of *Du, dem nie im Leben*/Equalé 2 identify the arranger.

In contrast to the two equali performed at Beethoven's funeral, the version of the second equalé sung at the dedication of his gravestone and on the anniversaries of his funeral was not transposed. The changes made to the musical text are less drastic than those made in the vocal versions of the other two equali. Dynamic markings, completely missing in the original, have been added. The only major difference between *Du, dem nie im Leben* and its trombone original has to do with the above-mentioned mistake at m. 13 of the autograph.

Whereas the editors of the *Gesamtausgabe* merely changed two notes in the first trombone part, Seyfried rewrote the two middle parts in mm. 12-14, leaving the incorrect upper part unchanged (Example 6).

**Example 6**  
 Equale 2, mm. 11-14.

### Sources 2

As we have seen, Tobias Haslinger published the vocal versions of all three equali. The publication of Seyfried's version of Equali 1 and 3 was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 21 June 1827 (Figure 9). This edition, which appeared under the title *Trauer-Gesang bey Beethoven's Leichenbegängnisse* (Figure 3a-h; Song of Mourning at Beethoven's Funeral), consists of a double folio with the title page (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>) and the description of Beethoven's funeral (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>), a piano accompaniment (on two pages of a double folio), the four vocal parts (Tenore primo, Tenore secondo, Basso primo, Basso secondo) each on one side of a single folio, and two single folios with two trombone parts each (Trombone primo/Trombone secondo, Trombone terzo/Trombone quarto).

The vocal version of Equale 2, *Du, dem nie im Leben*, was published on 21 March 1829 as a supplement to Haslinger's *Allgemeiner musikalischer Anzeiger* (Figure 10a-d). The edition consists of a title page, carrying the title *Trauerklänge bei Beethoven's Grabe* (Sounds of Mourning at Beethoven's Grave), and a three-page score (Tenore I°, Tenore II°, Basso I°, Basso II°, and piano).