

(Nr. 77.)
Ben Tobias Haslinger,
 Musikverleger,
 am Graben Nr. 572, im Hause des ersten Desfers. Sparcasse,
 ist neu erschienen, und auch bey G. Licht in Pesth, so wie bey
 Kraetz und Deyklauf in Grätz, zu haben.

Trauer - Gesang
bey Beethoven's Leichenbegängnisse.

Vierstimmiger Männerchor,
 mit willkürl. Begleitung von vier Violinen od. des Pianoforte.
 Aus Beethoven's Manuscripte eingerichtet
 von Joh. Ritter v. Seyfried.
 Preis 1 fl. G. M.

Figure 9

Notice announcing the publication of the *Trauer-Gesang bey Beethoven's
 Leichenbegängnisse*, i.e., *Miserere/Amplius* – Equali 1 and 3.
 (Wiener Zeitung, 21 June 1827).

The vocal versions of all three equali were soon reprinted elsewhere in Europe. Alexandre Choron published the *Miserere* and *Amplius* (Equali 1 and 3) in Paris in 1828; for four voices and piano (or organ), Choron's version disposes with the trombones and the German text (Figure 11). In November 1830 an arrangement of Seyfried's arrangement of the *Miserere* and *Amplius* was published with English texts in London in the *Harmonicon* (Figure 12); this edition was accompanied by an abridged (and rather faulty) translation of Seyfried's description of Beethoven's funeral.³⁹ Already a few months earlier, in August 1830, the *Harmonicon* had published *Du, dem nie im Leben* (re-engraved on two staves) underlaid with Grillparzer's German text, with an appended English translation.⁴⁰ The *Musikalischer Haus-Freund: 1829 und 1830*, a musical almanac published by Schott in Mainz, included the vocal version of equali 2 in its 1829-30 issue.⁴¹

TRAUERKLÄNGE

bei

BEETHOVEN'S GRABE.

Vierstimmiger

MÄNNER-CHOR,

nach einer Original-Melodie

des

VEREWIGTEN.

Die Worte von Franz Grillparzer,

(Eigenthum des Verlegers.)

WIEN,

bei Tobias Haslinger.

Beilage zum "allgemein-musikalischen Anzeiger" N^o 19.

2261

Figure 10a

First edition of *Du, dem nie im Leben* – Equale 2 (Vienna, 1829).

- 2 -

Poco Adagio.

Tenore I^o *dol.*
Du, dem nie im Le : : ben Ruhstatt

Tenore II^o *dol.*
Du, dem nie im Le : : ben Ruhstatt

Basso I^o *dol.*
Du, dem nie im Le : : ben Ruhstatt

Basso II^o *dol.*
Du, dem nie im Le : : ben Ruhstatt

Pianoforte: *dol.*
Poco Adagio.

ward, und Heerd und Haus - Ruhe

ward, und Heerd und Haus - Ruhe nun ruhe

ward, und Heerd und Haus - Ruhe nun im Grab ruhe

ward, und Heerd und Haus, Ruhe nun im stillen Grab ruhe

Figure 10b

First edition of *Du, dem nie im Leben* - Equale 2 (Vienna, 1829).

- 3 -

The image shows a page of a musical score for a brass ensemble. At the top center, there is a page number '- 3 -'. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system consists of four staves: three vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Bass) and one piano accompaniment staff. The lyrics for the vocal parts are: 'nun im To:de aus, still im Gra:be aus, - und wenn' (Soprano), 'nun im To:de aus, im stillen Gra:be aus, - und wenn' (Alto), and 'nun im To:de im stillen Gra:be aus, - und wenn' (Bass). The piano accompaniment has dynamics of *pp* and *mf*. The second system also consists of four staves: three vocal staves and one piano accompaniment staff. The lyrics for the vocal parts are: 'Freundes Kla : ge FreundesKlage - FreundesKlage' (Soprano), 'Freundes Kla : ge FreundesKlage - FreundesKlage' (Alto), and 'Freundes Kla : ge FreundesKlage - FreundesKlage' (Bass). The piano accompaniment has dynamics of *p* and *f*. The score is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature.

Figure 10c

First edition of *Du, dem nie im Leben* - Equale 2 (Vienna, 1829).

- 4 -

reicht ü : bers Grab hin : aus, horch eig'nen Sanga

reicht ü : bers Grab hin : aus, horch eig'nen Sanga

reicht ü : bers Grab hin : aus, horch eig'nen Sanga

reicht ü : bers Grab hin : aus, horch eig'nen Sanga

äussem Klang halb erwacht im stillen, stillen Haus!

äussem Klang halb erwacht im stillen, stillen Haus!

äussem Klang halb erwacht im stillen, stillen Haus!

äussem Klang halb erwacht im stillen, stillen Haus!

man . . . can . . . do . . .

Figure 10d

First edition of *Du, dem nie im Leben - Equale 2* (Vienna, 1829).

Tobias Haslinger also republished the vocal versions of all three equal; newly engraved, they are to be found in the appendix to Iganx von Seyfried's *Ludwig van Beethoven's Studien im Generalbasse, Contrapuncte und in der Compositions-Lehre*, which appeared in Vienna in 1832.⁴² The description of Beethoven's funeral is to be found there on pp. 50-53, the *Miserere* on pp. 55-59 (Figure 13), *Amplius* on pp. 60-61 (Figure 14), and *Du, dem nie im Leben* on pp. 99-101 (Figure 15). Seyfried's book was edited and published in a new edition in 1853 by Henry Hugh Pierson,⁴³ where the description of the funeral is on pp. 46-48, the *Miserere* on pp. 74-78, *Amplius* on pp. 79-80, and *Du, dem nie im Leben* on pp. 88-91 (Figure 16). Parallel to this new edition, Pierson also published an English translation of the book under the title of *Louis van Beethoven's Studies in Thorough-Bass, Counterpoint and the Art of Scientific Composition*⁴⁴ in which the description of the funeral is on pp. 39-41, the *Miserere* on pp. 56-60, *Amplius* on pp. 61-62, and the "Choral-Melody" *Du, dem nie im Leben* on pp. 70-75.⁴⁵

Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried

Ignaz von Seyfried was born on 15 August 1776 in Vienna. As a youngster he studied piano with Mozart and Kozeluch. After studying philosophy in Prague, he returned to Vienna to study law. According to his own testimony, he abandoned his law studies in favor of a musical career just before earning his doctorate. He had instruction in composition with Albrechtsberger and Peter von Winter. In 1797 he became a conductor at Schikaneder's Freihaustheater auf der Wieden, later at the Theater an der Wien. In 1805 he conducted the premiere of Beethoven's *Fidelio*, his close friendship with Beethoven dating from this time. Seyfried was also a prolific composer, whose stage works were very popular during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and author. Articles and reviews from his pen appeared in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the Vienna *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, *Caecilia*, the *Musikalischer Anzeiger*, and Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift für Music*. Of Seyfried's many pupils the most famous is Franz von Suppé.⁴⁶

Ignaz von Seyfried died in Vienna on 27 August 1841. Appropriately, Seyfried's arrangement of the *Miserere* (and most likely the *Amplius*, too) was played and sung during his own funeral procession. The *Österreichisches Morgenblatt* reported on 1 September 1841:

The solemn funeral of Ignaz Chevalier v. Seyfried, Professor of Music, Kapellmeister, celebrated opera director, honorary and corresponding member of many musical societies at home and abroad, took place this past Sunday at half past five in the afternoon....

During the procession [from Seyfried's residence to the church] a 'Miserere' composed [*sic!*] by the deceased for the funeral of L. van Beethoven (which took place on the same day [i.e., the 29th] in the month of March 1827) was sung by a large choir of men's voices, accompanied by four trombones.⁴⁷

Miserere,

COMPOSED BY BEETHOVEN,

AND

PERFORMED AT HIS FUNERAL, MARCH 5, 1827.

ADAPTED TO

ENGLISH WORDS BY ALFRED PETTET.

Alto, (an 8th lower.)
Tenore, (an 8th lower.)

Basso 1^{mo}.
Basso 2^{da}.

ANDANTE.

p

Have mer - cy, Lord! O, Lord, have
Have mer - cy, Lord! Have

mer - cy up - - on us! O, Lord, have mer - cy up - - on
mer - cy up - - on us! Have mer - cy up - on

8 8 8 8

3 Q 2

Figure 12
Miserere (London, 1830).

60

Amplius,
Poco sostenuto.

Tenore I^{mo}.
dol. Am-pli-us la - va me ab i - ni - qui - ta - te
Klei - ni - ge Da - ter mich, nimm von mir die Schuld der

Tenore II^{do}.
Am-pli-us la - va me ab i - ni - qui - ta - te
Klei - ni - ge Da - ter mich, nimm von mir die Schuld der

Basso I^{mo}.
Am-pli-us la - va me ab i - ni - qui - ta - te
Klei - ni - ge Da - ter mich, nimm von mir die Schuld der

Basso II^{do}.
dol. Am-pli-us la - va me ab i - ni - qui - ta - te
Klei - ni - ge Da - ter mich, nimm von mir die Schuld der

Clavier.

me - a et a pec - ca - to me - o munda
Sün - de daß lei - ne Un - bill ta - ste mehr auf

me - a et a pec - ca - to me - o munda
Sün - de daß lei - ne Un - bill ta - ste mehr auf

me - a et a pec - ca - to me - o munda
Sün - de daß lei - ne Un - bill ta - ste mehr auf

me - a et a pec - ca - to me - o munda
Sün - de daß lei - ne Un - bill ta - ste mehr auf

Figure 14
Amplius (Vienna, 1832).

90

Trauerklänge
bey
Beethoven's Grabe.

Männerchor nach einer Choral-Melodie des Vereinigten.
Worte von Franz Grillparzer.

Poco Adagio.

Tenore I^{mo}.
dol. Du, dem nie im Le-
ben Ruhstatt

Tenore II^{do}.
dol. Du, dem nie im Le-
ben Ruhstatt

Basso I^{mo}.
dol. Du, dem nie im Le-
ben Ruhstatt

Basso II^{do}.
dol. Du, dem nie im Le-
ben Ruhstatt

Pianoforte.
dol.

ward, und Heerd und Haus, Ruhe

ward, und Heerd und Haus, Ruhe nun, ruhe

ward, und Heerd und Haus, Ruhe nun im Grab, ruhe

ward, und Heerd und Haus, Ruhe nun im sit-zen Grab, ruhe

*

Figure 15

Du, dem nie im Leben (Vienna, 1832).

88

Trauergesänge.

Trauerklänge

a 11

Beethoven's Grabe.

Den 29. März 1828.

Männerchor nach einer Choral-Melodie des Verewigten.

Worte von Franz Grillparzer.

Poco Adagio.

Tenore 1^{mo}

dolc. Du, dem nie im Le - ben Ruhstatt

Tenore 2^{do}

dolc. Du, dem nie im Le - ben Ruhstatt

Basso 1^{mo}

dolc. Du, dem nie im Le - ben Ruhstatt

Basso 2^{do}

dolc. Du, dem nie im Le - ben Ruhstatt

Pianoforte.

dolc.

Figure 16

Du, dem nie im Leben (Leipzig, Hamburg, New York, 1853).



Figure 17

Ignaz von Seyfried lithograph by Josef Kriehuber (1829).
Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.

From this account it would appear that Seyfried was only accorded a “funeral of the second class” – i.e., with the trombones merely accompanying the singing of the *Miserere*, not alternating with it – if this musical differentiation, as specified by Franz Xaver Glöggel in his *Regulations*, was indeed made in Vienna.

The Equali and Schubert

Recently published documents from the estate of Joseph Hüttenbrenner (1796-1873) reveal that the *Miserere* and *Amplius* were performed at Franz Schubert’s funeral on 21 November 1828.⁴⁸ Joseph Hüttenbrenner, whose brother Anselm (1794-1868) was one of two people present when Beethoven died, acted as Schubert’s secretary for a number of years. In November-December 1828 Hüttenbrunner made two drafts for an obituary for Schubert. In the first draft he wrote:

During the blessing in St. Joseph's Church, Cathedral Kapellmeister Gänsbacher performed an exquisite motet of his [Gänsbacher's] composition, after which a large choir sang the *Miserere* and *non amplius* [sic!] by Beethoven for the deceased.⁴⁹

The second draft expands upon this:

Six young friends of the arts now carried the coffin into the church, after which, during the blessing, a large choir of singers, friends of the deceased under the direction of Cathedral Kapellmeister Gänsbacher, sang a solemn motet of his composition, and then Beethoven's moving *Miserere* and the heavenly *non amplius* [sic!] —⁵⁰

Till Gerrit Waidelich has suggested that the decision to use the *Miserere* and *Amplius* at Schubert's funeral was decisively influenced by the Hüttenbrenner brothers; especially Joseph Hüttenbrenner desired to have Schubert's rank proclaimed publicly by means of honors similar to those afforded Beethoven.⁵¹

For the sake of completeness mention should be made of a recent attempt to prove the influence of Beethoven's *Equali* on Franz Schubert. In an article in the journal of the International Franz Schubert Institute, Daniel Jacobson and Andrew Glendening endeavored to show that Schubert, who as a torchbearer at Beethoven's funeral heard the *Miserere* performed repeatedly during the procession, incorporated elements of it into the symphonic sketch D 936A, his unfinished Tenth Symphony.⁵² This interesting theory, however, was thoroughly rebutted by the Schubert scholar Brian Newbould in a subsequent issue of the same journal.⁵³ Newbould demonstrated that the thematic material Jacobson and Glendening tried to trace back to the *Miserere/Equale* 1 actually derived from Schubert's own works. Unfortunately, the information that Jacobson and Glendening provide about the *Equali* and Beethoven's funeral also does not hold up to scrutiny.⁵⁴

The *Equali* in the course of the nineteenth century

Beethoven's *Equali*, in their vocal guise, seem to have enjoyed a certain popularity in the decades after the composer's death. In 1912 the German musicologist Hermann Abert published an article with the title "Ein weiterer neuer Beethovenfund?" ("Another new Beethoven Find?") in which he described a manuscript Good-Friday cantata ("Char-Freytags Cantate") attributed to Beethoven that had been found in the estate of a south-German conductor and organist.⁵⁵ Ironically, neither Abert (at that time Professor of Musicology at the University of Halle) nor Beethoven scholar Ludwig Schiedermair (later founder and director of the Beethoven Archive in Bonn) were able to identify the piece as an arrangement of Seyfried's arrangement of *Equali* 1 and 3. This information was communicated to Abert by the Cambridge scholar Edward J. Dent, who also related that

for a time Beethoven's Equali had been performed frequently in London at the funerals of important personages in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral.⁵⁶ The *Miserere* and *Amplius* were even reprinted in London as late as ca. 1870 by Novello.⁵⁷

Conclusion

The story of Beethoven's Equali is one of coincidences. Short pieces for trombones to be played at funerals were certainly not at the top of Beethoven's compositional agenda. It was only by coincidence that he happened to be in Linz in early November 1812, and only by coincidence that he happened to dine with Franz Xaver Glöggl on the afternoon of All Souls' Day, a day that probably began with the playing of an "equale" or a similar piece from the Schmiedtorturm. Possibly prompted by the fresh memory of this performance, Glöggl prevailed upon his guest to write several such pieces. Again by coincidence, the manuscript of these equali soon found their way to Vienna, into the possession of Tobias Haslinger, who several years later was in a position to arrange for two of these pieces to be performed at Beethoven's funeral, and indeed to be performed in a manner corresponding exactly to their original function: during the procession to the church, in alternation with the *Miserere*. Moreover, thanks to Haslinger's quick thinking, the *Miserere* sung at Beethoven's funeral was not just a random setting of the text, but one based on the equali with which it alternated. Due to the great public interest in the composer and his death, the equali found wide distribution long before they entered the trombone repertoire.

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APPENDIX 1

Ludwig van Beethoven's
Funeral;
and historical record of the musical works performed at the same.

~~~~~  
For the rectification of several partially erroneous, partially incomplete particulars  
reported in public newspapers and journals.  
~~~~~

After L. van Beethoven's solemn interment had been announced by his friends and admirers to the public by means of printed and widely distributed invitation cards for the afternoon of 29th March 1827, a vast crowd collected before and in the residence of the deceased—outside the Schottentor, on the glacis, in the Schwarzspanierhaus—both spectators as well as mourners, the latter in full mourning-garb, clothed in black, including gloves, and fluttering crape on the left sleeve. At three o'clock, the body, which eight opera singers of the Royal and Imperial Court Opera Theater, Messrs. Eichberger, Schuster, Cramolini, Ad. Müller, Hofmann, Rupprecht, Borschitzky, and Ant. Wranitzky (orchestra member), had volunteered to carry on their shoulders, was put to lie in state in the courtyard. A half-hour later the high clergy for the solemn escort appeared; following the prayers spoken over the mortal remains, the aforesaid singers intoned an earnest, solemn chorale by B.A. Weber, 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.—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.

This ambulant orchestra was immediately followed by:—V. The high clergy.—VI. The sumptuously adorned coffin carried by the aforementioned opera singers and flanked by Kapellmeisters Eybler, Hummel, Seyfried, and Kreutzer on the right: Weigl, Gyrowetz, Gänsbacher, and Würfel on the left, who held the white ribbons that hung down from the richly embroidered pall.—VII. In rows on both sides, from the front of the procession to the coffin, were the torchbearers, thirty-six in number, made up of friends of the arts, poets, authors, composers, actors, and musicians, and among them Messrs. Anschütz, Bernard, Jos. Böhm, Castelli, Carl Czerny, Sigr. David, Grillparzer, Conr. Graf, Grünbaum, Haslinger, Hildebrand, Holz, Katter, Krall, Sigr. Lablache, Baron Lannoy, Linke, Mayseder, Mr. Meric, Merk, Mechetti, Meier, Sigr. Paccini, Piringer, Radicchi, Raimund, Riotte, Schoberlechner, Schubert, Schickh, Schmidl, Streicher, Schuppanzigh, Steiner, Weidmann, Wolfmayer, and others, all in mourning-dress with white roses and lily bouquets fastened to the sleeve by the crape, and with burning wax torches. In addition, one caught sight in the procession, which moved at an extremely slow pace because of the undulating throng, of many esteemed dignitaries, Privy Councillors von Mosel and Breuning (the latter being

the deceased's childhood friend and executor of his estate), Beethoven's brother; moreover, the pupils of the Conservatory, and the pupils of the thoroughbass teacher at St. Anna's, Kapellmeister Drechsler, etc., etc. All of them deeply mourning a loss that had to be shared by anybody receptive to the almighty power of music.

Having arrived at the church, the aforementioned sixteen singers began, during the consecration, to sing the *Libera me Domine de morte aeterna* by Kapellmeister v. Seyfried, originally intended for use in performances of Mozart's Requiem, and composed for four voices with orchestral accompaniment (score and parts published by Tob. Haslinger), here, however, as demanded by the occasion, rewritten merely as a vocal chorale for four men's voices *a cappella*.

As after this the four-in-hand ceremonial hearse drove off to the Währing Cemetery, many equipages followed it out across the custom-line. Before the cemetery, Royal and Imperial Court Actor Anschutz, surrounded by a circle of grieving friends, recited a text written by Grillparzer in memory of the deceased; Baron von Schlechta and Mr. Castelli let short, yet very profound poems be distributed among the sorrowing gathering; and before the grave was filled, Mr. Haslinger handed the three laurel-wreaths that had been brought along to Mr. Hummel, Court Kapellmeister of the Grand-Duchy of Weimar, who was standing at his side, and who then lowered these wreaths onto the coffin. The grieving friends of the departed remained until the earth was levelled off.

Both of the aforementioned musical works—*Miserere* and *Libera*—were given in the Augustinian Court Parish Church on the occasion of the office for the dead held for L. van Beethoven, on 3rd April (Mozart's Requiem), organized by the association of local music dealers,—and on the 26th of the same month of that year (Cherubini's Requiem) by the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, repeated by popular request during the functions of the high clergy at the catafalque, at the end of the requiem.

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 had acquired such inestimable worth, with this original manuscript.

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. —

**) Which have now also been published by Tob. Haslinger.*

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN'S

Leichenbegängniß;

und geschichtlicher Nachweis über die bey demselben aufgeführten Tonwerke.

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

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Nachdem L. van Beethoven's feyerliche Beerdigung durch seine Freunde und Verehrer mittelst gedruckter und zahlreich vertheilter Einladungskarten für den Nachmittag des 29. März 1827 allgemein bekannt gemacht worden war, versammelte sich vor und in dem Wohnhause des Entschlafenen—ausser dem Schottenthore, am Glacis, im Schwarzspanierhause—eine unübersehbare Menge, sowohl Zuseher, als Leidtragender; letztere in vollständigem Trauerkostüme, schwarz gekleidet, derley Handschuhe, und wehende Flöre am linken Arme. Um 3 Uhr ward die Leiche im Hofe aufgebahrt, welche auf ihren Schultern zu tragen 8 Operisten des k. k. Hof-Operntheaters, die Herren Eichberger, Schuster, Cramolini, Ad. Müller, Hofmann, Rupprecht, Borschitzky und Ant. Wranitzky (Orchester-Mitglied) sich freywillig erboten hatten. Eine halbe Stunde später erschien die hohe Geistlichkeit des ganzen Conductes; nach den über die sterbliche Hülle gesprochenen Gebethen, intonirten oben genannte Sänger einen ernst feyerlichen Choral von B.A. Weber, worauf sich der ganze Zug, folgender Massen geordnet, in Bewegung setzte:

I. Der Kreuzträger.—II. Vier Posaunisten: die Herren Gebrüder Böck, Weidl und Tuschky.—III. Der Chor-Regent, Herr Assmayer, unter dessen Anführung—IV. ein Sänger-Chor, bestehend aus den Herren Tietze, Schnitzer, Gross, Sykora, Frühwald, Geissler, Rathmayer, Kokrement, Fuchs, Nejebe, Ziegler, Perschl, Leidl, Weinkopf, Pfeiffer und Seipelt, welche alternirend mit dem Trombonen-Quartett das *Miserere* vortrugen.

Diesem wandelnden Orchester folgte unmittelbar:—V. Die hohe Geistlichkeit.—VI. Der prächtig ornirte Sarg, getragen von den genannten Herren Operisten, und umrungen von den Herren Capellmeistern Eybler, Hummel, Seyfried, und Kreutzer, zur Rechten; Weigl, Gyrowetz, Gänzbacher und Würfel zur Linken, welche die von dem reich gestickten

Bahrtuche herabhängenden weissen Bandschleifen hielten.—VII. Auf beyden Seitenreihen, vom Anfange des Zuges bis zum Sarge zurück waren die Fackelträger, 36 an der Zahl, bestehend aus Kunstfreunden, Dichtern, Schriftstellern, Tonsetzern, Schauspielern und Musikern, und unter ihnen die Herren Anschütz, Bernard, Jos. Böhm, Castelli, Carl Czerny, Sigr. David, Grillparzer, Conr. Graf, Grünbaum, Haslinger, Hildebrand, Holz, Katter, Krall, Sigr. Lablache, Baron Lannoy, Linke, Mayseder, Mr. Meric, Merk, Mechetti, Meier, Sigr. Paccini, Piringer, Radicchi, Raimund, Riotte, Schoberlechner, Schubert, Schickh, Schmidl, Streicher, Schuppanzigh, Steiner, Weidmann, Wolfmayer u.a.m. sämmtlich in Trauerkleidern mit weissen Rosen u. Liliensträussern, befestigt am Arme durch die Flöre, und mit brennenden Wachsfackeln. Noch erblickte man in dem vermöge des wogenden Andranges nur äusserst langsam dahin wallenden Zuge viele angesehene Honoratioren, die Herren Hofrätbe von Mosel u. Breuning, (Letzterer des Verstorbenen Jugendfreund, und Testaments-Vollstrecker), Beethoven's Bruder; ferner die Zöglinge des Conservatoriums, und die Schüler des Generalbasslehrers bey St. Anna, Herrn Capellmeisters Drechsler etc. etc. Alle gemeinschaftlich einen Verlust tiel betrauernd, den jeder für die Allmacht der Tonkunst Empfängliche mitfühlen muss.

In der Kirche angelangt, stimmten während der Einsegnung obige 16 Sänger das Libera *me Domine de morte aeterna* an, von Herrn Capellmeister v. Seyfried ursprünglich zum Gebrauche bey Aufführungen des Mozart'schen Requiem's für 4 Singstimmen mit Orchesterbegleitung componirt (Partitur u. Stimmen im Verlage des Tob. Haslinger), hier aber, nach Bedarf, bloss als Vocal-Chor für 4 Männerstimmen *alla capella* umgeschrieben.

Als darauf der vierspännige Parade-Leichen-Wagen nach dem Währinger-Gottesacker abfuhr, folgten ihm viele Equipagen vor die Linie hinaus. Vor dem Gottesacker sprach der k. k. Hofschauspieler Hr. Anschütz, umringt von einem Kreise theilnehmender Freunde, eine vom Grillparzer verfasste Rede zum Andenken des Hingeschiedenen; Baron von Schlechta und Hr. Castelli liessen kurze doch sehr gehaltvolle Gedichte in der trauernden Versammlung austheilen; und ehevor das Grab zugeworfen ward, überreichte Hr. Haslinger die mitgebrachten drey Lorbeerkränze dem an seiner Seite stehenden grossherz. weimar. Hofcapellmeister Hr. Hummel, welcher diese Kränze auf den Sarg hinab senkte. Die theilnehmendsten Freunde des zur Ruhe Gebrachten verweilten so lange, bis alles der Erde gleich geebnet war.

Beyde oben besprochene Tonwerke—*Miserere* und *Libera*—sind in der Augustiner-Hofpfarrkirche bey Gelegenheit der für L. van Beethoven abgehaltenen Seelenmessen, am 3. April (Mozart's Requiem) von dem Gremium der hiesigen Musikalienhändler veranstaltet,—und am 26ten desselben Monathes d.J. (Cherubini's Requiem) von der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, gegeben, dem allgemeinen Wunsche zu Folge während der Functionen der hohen Geistlichkeit bey dem Schlusse des Requiems am Katafalke, wiederholt worden.

Die interessante notorische Entstehungsgeschichte des angeführten *Miserere* ist übrigens folgende. Als L. van Beethoven im Herbste des Jahres 1812 seinen damahls in Linz als bürgerl. Apotheker ansässigen Bruder besuchte, wurde er von dem dortigen Dom-Capellmeister Herrn Glöggel freundschaftlich angegangen, ihm für den Aller-Seelen-Tag

(den 2. November) sogenannte Equale für 4 Posaunen zu componiren, um solche herkömmlicher Weise an diesem Feste von seinen Musikern abblasen zu lassen.—Beethoven zeigte sich bereitwillig dazu; er entwarf wirklich zu diesem Zwecke drey zwar kurze, aber durch die Grossartigkeit der Anlage die Meisterhand beurkundende Sätze, und der gegenwärtige Verleger derselben war später so glücklich, seine durch mehrere Autographen des grossen Tonsetzers ihm unschätzbar gewordene Sammlung auch mit dieser Original-Handschrift bereichern zu können.

Als nun der Morgen des 26. März 1827 keinen Zweifel mehr übrig liess, dass der drohende Verlust nur allzunahe, ja unvermeidbar sey, begab sich Hr. Haslinger mit diesem Manuscripte zum Herrn Capellmeister von Seyfried, um mit demselben die Möglichkeit zu besprechen, aus diesen Equales*) zu den Worten des Miserere einen Choral-Gesang zu bilden, und somit die irdischen Reste unseres Tonfürsten unter den Trauerklängen einer seiner eigenen Schöpfungen zur ewigen Ruhe zu begleiten. Herr von Seyfried ging nach genauer Prüfung die Reliquie in diese Idee ein, und unverzüglich an die Arbeit selbst, welche auch, da Abends um 6 Uhr die Natur ihr Eigenthum bereits zurück forderte, noch in der nächstfolgenden Nacht beendigt ward.

Diese Composition wurde nun hier in doppelter Gestalt angewendet, zuerst die Original-Melodie, (jedoch zur Erleichterung der Vocalisten um einen Ton tiefer transponirt), von den 4 Trombonisten geblasen, sodann der zu den Worten des Busspsalms: Miserere mei Deus ausgearbeitete Choral von den genannten 16 Sängern intonirt, und damit bis zur Ankunft in der Kirche stanzweise abwechselnd fortgeföhren.—

*) Welche nun auch bey Tob. Haslinger erschienen sind.

APPENDIX 2

Miserere and Amplius as performed at Beethoven's funeral.
Score made from the parts of the first edition (Vienna, 1827).

Miserere / Equale 1 (arr. Seyfried)

Andante

The score is arranged for four vocal parts (Tenore primo, Tenore secondo, Basso primo, Basso secondo) and four trombone parts (Trombone primo, Trombone secondo, Trombone terzo, Trombone quarto). The tempo is marked 'Andante' and the key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The time signature is 12/8. The score is divided into two systems. The first system covers measures 1 through 7, and the second system covers measures 8 through 11. The vocal parts have lyrics in Italian. The brass parts are marked with dynamics such as *p* (piano) and *f* (forte). The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

Tenore primo
Mi-se-re-re me - - i mi-se-re-re-me-i De -

Tenore secondo
Mi-se-re-re me - - i mi-se-re-re-me-i De -

Basso primo
Mi-se-re-re me - - i mi-se-re-re me-i De -

Basso secondo
Mi-se-re-re me - - i mi-se-re-re-me-i de -

Trombone primo
Andante
p *p* *f* *p*

Trombone secondo
p *p* *f* *p*

Trombone terzo
p *p* *f* *p*

Trombone quarto
p *p* *f* *p*

8
f *p*

us mi-se-re-re-me-i De - - us mi-se-re-re me - - i

us mi-se-re-re-me-i De - - us mi-se-re-re me - - i

us mi-se-re-re me - - i De - - us mi-se-re-re me - - i se-cun-

us mi-se-re-re-me-i De - - us mi-se-re-re me - - i

f *p* *f* *p* *f* *p* *f* *p* *f* *p*

16

secundum mag - - - nam mi-se-ri-cor-di-am mi-se-ri-

se-cun-dum mag - - - nam mi-se-ri-cor-di-am mi-se-ri-

dum mag - nam mi-se-ri-cor-di-am mi-se-ri-

se-cun-dum mag-nam mi-se-ri-cor-di-am ri-se-ri-

24

cor-di-am mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu - - am mi-se-

cor-di-am me-se-ri-cor-di-am tu - - am mi-se-

cor-di-am mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu - - am mi-se-re-re

cor-di-am mi-se-ri-cor-di-am tu - - am mi-se-

Amplius / Equale 3 (arr. Seyfried)

Poco sostenuto.

Tenore primo
Dolce Am-plius la-vame ab-iniquitate me - a et a pec - ca-to me - o

Tenore secondo
Am-plius la-vame ab-iniquitate me - a et a pec - ca-to me - o

Basso primo
Am-plius la-vame ab-iniquitate me - a et a pec - ca-to me - o

Basso secondo
Am-plius la-vame ab-iniquitate me - a et a pec - ca-to me - o

Trombone primo
Poco sostenuto
Dolce

Trombone secondo

Trombone terzo

Trombone quarto

9

mun - da me et a pec - ca-to, a pec - ca - to me - o mun - da me!

mun - da me et a pec - ca-to, a pec - ca - to me - o man - da me!

mun - da me et a pec - ca-to peccato me - o, pec - ca-to me - o mun - da me!

mun - da me et a pec - ca-to peccato me - o, pec - ca-to me - o mun - da me!

f *ff* *pp* *f* *pp* *f* *pp* *f* *pp* *f* *pp*

NOTES

¹ In German: *das Equal* (or *Aequal*), singular; *die Equale* (or *Aequale*), plural. In English, *equale* and *equali*, respectively, seem to have become the accepted singular and plural forms.

² Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben*, ed. Hermann Deiters, revised and edited by Hugo Riemann, 5 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907-17), 3:342. “Der spätere Wiener Musikverleger Franz Glöggl, damals 15jährig noch im Hause seines Vaters Franz Xaver Glöggl in Linz, schrieb kurz vor seinem Tode (1872) seine Erinnerungen an Beethoven und überließ sie dem Verfasser zum Zwecke der Benutzung für sein Werk.

“Beethoven,” schrieb er, ‘war mit meinem Vater, Domkapellmeister in Linz, in intimer Freundschaft, und als er im Jahr 1812 da war, war er täglich in unserm Hause und speiste mehrmals dort. Mein Vater sprach Beethoven an, ihm ein Aequal für 6 Posaunen zu schreiben, da er in seiner Sammlung alter Instrumente noch eine Sopran- und Quart-Posaune besaß, da gewöhnlich nur Alt-, Tenor- und Baßposaunen gebraucht wurden. Beethoven wünschte aber ein Aequal, wie es in Linz bei den Leichen geblasen wurde, zu hören; so geschah es, daß mein Vater an einem Nachmittage 3 Posaunisten bestellte, da Beethoven ohnedies bei uns speiste, und ein solches Aequal blasen ließ, nach welchem sich Beethoven niedersetzte und eines für 6 Posaunen schrieb, welches mein Vater von seinen Posaunisten auch ausführen ließ usw.’” Translation after *Thayer’s Life of Beethoven*, revised and edited by Elliot Forbes (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 540-41.

Interesting here is also Glöggl’s statement that “only alto, tenor and bass trombones were commonly used.” According to Andreas Nemetz (Vienna 1827), the alto, tenor, and bass trombones were all B \flat instruments (see Howard Weiner, “Andreas Nemetz’s Neueste Posaun-Schule: An Early Viennese Trombone Method,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 7 [1995]: 12-35). Could the “soprano” trombone that the elder Glöggl owned actually have been what we today would consider an alto trombone? In 1824 the elder Glöggl sold forty-three instruments, among other things, to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna (see Franz Gräflinger, “Der letzte Turnermeister von Linz (Franz Xaver Glöggl),” *Unterhaltungsbeilage der Linzer Tages-Post* 8 [21 February 1909]: 1-2). Among the Gesellschaft’s holdings are an alto trombone by Jacob Schmidt, Nuremberg (1675) and a *quart* (actually *quint*) trombone by Johann Leonhard Ehe, Nuremberg (1732), currently on display in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente, but no soprano trombones. Unfortunately, documents concerning the purchase of Glöggl’s instruments no longer exist.

³ Othmar Wessely, “Zur Geschichte des Equals,” *Beethoven-Studien*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Musikforschung, ed. Erich Schenk (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1970), pp. 341-60, here 346, n. 21.

⁴ Clemens Messerer was a member of the Imperial Court Chapel from 1793-1807. See Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Die Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna: Beck’sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1869), p. 95. Franz Xaver Glöggl also studied violin with Freudenthaler and Anton Hofmann, the latter also a member of the Imperial Court Chapel, and voice with Benedict Kraus (see Gräflinger, “Turnermeister,” p. 1; and Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* [Vienna, 1869], s.v. “Glöggl, Franz Xaver”).

Peter Bassano has stated that Glöggl, like Beethoven, was a former student of Albrechtsberger, and suggested that “Beethoven accepted Glöggl’s invitation to write the *Equale* [*sic!*] in memory of their late mutual teacher.” (See Peter Bassano, “God’s Trombones,” *The Trombonist Online*, www.trombone-society.org.uk/equale.htm). I have not come across any evidence that Franz Xaver Glöggl had anything at all to do with Albrechtsberger.

⁵ *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, s.v. “Glöggl,” by Othmar Wessely; and Gräflinger,

“Turnermeister,” p. 1.

⁶ Othmar Wessely accuses Franz Glöggel of another point of incorrectly remembered information in his account: At the time of Beethoven’s visits to the Glöggel household, the family was not living in a “house” as Glöggel claimed, but in an apartment. Apparently it was only in 1828, when the *Schmiedturm* was demolished, that the elder Glöggel moved into a *house*, at Pfarrplatz 5, where, incidentally, Anton Bruckner was also to live several decades later. However, Wessely is certainly splitting hairs unnecessarily in his interpretation of Franz Glöggel’s use of the word “house,” especially since Glöggel was already living in Vienna by 1825 at the latest. See Wessely, “Geschichte,” pp. 343-45.

⁷ Quoted in Wolfgang Boetticher, “Neue Materialien zu Robert Schumanns Wiener Bekanntenkreis,” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 25 (1962): 39-55, here 41-42. “Als ich heute das [sic] Zeitschrift Nr. 47 erhielt, fand ich Ihren Wunsch einer Nachricht über L. Beethovens jüngsten Bruder Johann.... Ich kannte den Meister L. Beeth: u. seinen Bruder den Cassier sehr gut. Einer Familien Angelegenheit wegen kamen sie hieher wo ich, um öffentlichen Skandal zu vermeiden, den Vermittler machte. Ich lernte hiebey den L. Bth: als einen edlen vornehm herzensguten schlichten Mann, die beyden Brüder aber als schlechte Menschen kennen. L. Bth: hielt sich meist bey mir auf, u. weihte mich in seine Verhältnisse ein, so weit es seine Zerstreung zuließ. Bey meinem öftern Aufenthalt in Wien blieb er immer zutraulich gegen mich. Er schrieb für mich einige Trauerstücke auf Posaunen, wovon ich meinem Freund Haslinger in Wien gab, deren eines bey seiner Leiche vorgetragen wurde. Er schrieb sie in meinem Zimmer, wovon ich eines für mich allein vorbehielt.”

Glöggel’s derogatory characterization of Johann Beethoven as a “cashier” (*Cassier*) undoubtedly has to do with Johann’s apparently questionable methods, alluded to in the letter, of amassing his considerable fortune.

⁸ Although the author of the description is not named, Seyfried is the most likely suspect. In the “biographical notice” that opens the appendix of his book *Ludwig van Beethoven’s Studien im Generalbasse, Contrapuncte und in der Compositions-Lehre* (Vienna: Haslinger, 1832), Seyfried wrote: “At that time, an article about the funeral appeared, whose authenticity is vouched for by all eyewitnesses, and which, printed verbatim, shall form the conclusion of this biographical sketch” (p. 13; “Über das Leichenbegängniß selbst erschien damahls ein Aufsatz, dessen Authentizität von allen Augenzeugen verbürgt wird, und welcher, wörtlich abgedruckt, den Schluß dieser biographischen Skizze bilden soll.”) In Seyfried’s autograph this passage is followed by the note: “The foreword to the Miserere is to be inserted here” (“Nun wird eingeschaltet der Vorbericht zum Miserere”). Seyfried was obviously taking recourse here to a text he himself had authored. See Ignaz von Seyfried, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven*, facs. edn. (Bonn: Niemeyer, 1990). Besides his activities as composer and conductor, Seyfried is known to have published extensively in journals such as the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and the *Allgemeiner musikalischer Anzeiger*. See Bettina von Seyfried, *Ignaz von Seyfried. Thematisch Bibliographisches Verzeichnis, Aspekte der Biographie und des Werkes* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1990), pp. 99-105.

⁹ Franz Xaver Glöggel, *Kirchenmusik-Ordnung: Erklärendes Handbuch des musikalischen Gottesdienstes* (Vienna: Wallishauser, 1828), pp. 19-21. “Nach allerhöchster Stol-Ordnung haben drei Klassen bei Leichenbegängnissen Statt; die Trauermusik kann ebenfalls in drei Klassen, mit folgendem Unterschied, eingetheilet werden.

“In der ersten Klasse wird bei Ankunft der Geistlichkeit durch eine kurze Trauermusik (*Equal*) mit Posaunen oder andern Blasinstrumenten das Zeichen zur geistlichen Trauerhandlung für die Anwesenden gegeben, nach deren Vollendung sich der Leichenzug in Bewegung setzt, welches wieder mittelst der blasenden Trauermusik angezeigt wird, mit welcher dann während des Zuges die

Gesangsmusik, die ein drei- oder vierstimmiges *Miserere* singet, abwechselt bis zum Eingang der Kirche oder Grabstätte, wo vor der Einsegnung der *Vers.: Requiem aeternam*, gesungen wird. Nach erfolgter Einsegnung und dem allgemeinen Gebet wird eine Trauer-Motette gesungen.

“In der zweiten Klasse, wenn Blasinstrumente dazu bestellt sind, wird ebenfalls damit das Zeichen zur Trauerhandlung gegeben; während dem Leichenzuge aber hat nur das *Miserere*, mit Begleitung der Blasinstrumente, in Absätzen bis zum Grabe oder zur Kirche statt, wo wieder der *Vers.: Requiem*, gesungen wird.

“In der dritten Klasse ist das *Miserere* während dem Zuge zu singen.”

¹⁰ Wessely, “Geschichte,” p. 348.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 347. “Verzeichnis der ... für H: v: Glökl zur Probe eingesandten neuen Kirchenmusikalien ... Posaunenstücke. Ein Equale ... als Trauermusikstücke zu Leichenbegängnissen 1ter Classen.” This manuscript inventory was in Wessely’s possession at the time he wrote his article.

¹² Wenzel Lambel, *3 Equale für 3 Posaunen* and *3 Equale für 4 Posaunen*, ed. Karsten Parow (Gorxheim: Parow’sche Musikalien, 1992). “6 Trombon Stücke als Equale, zur Trauer oder Grabmusik.” The manuscript of his Equali is housed in the library of the Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum in Linz.

¹³ August Göllerich, *Anton Bruckner: Ein Lebens- und Schaffens-Bild*, completed and edited by Max Auer (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1928), II/1, 63. “...eines jener damals beliebten Stücke, die in St. Florian beim äußeren Stiftstore, wo die Leichen abgesetzt wurden, erklangen, bis der Priester die Einsegnung vornahm.” See also Anton Bruckner, *2 Equale für 3 Posaunen*, ed. Karsten Parow (Gorxheim: Parow’sche Musikalien, 1992).

¹⁴ Josef Fink, “Geschichte der Stadt Linz,” *Der Oberösterreicher* 21 (1875): 68-114, here 91. “Am Festtage aller Heiligen und am darauffolgenden Allerseeleentag wandeln die Bewohner der Stadt aller Schichten und Stände, jedes Alters and Geschlechtes hinaus auf den Friedhof, um dort die festlich geschmückten Gräber der Verstorbenen zu besuchen oder auch nur der Schaulust und Neugierde zu fröhnen. Am Abende des Allerheiligen- und am Morgen des Allerseeleentages rufen die Stadtmusiker vom Balkone des Rathhauses (früher vom Schmidthorthurme) mit Posaunen den Lebenden das ernste *Memento mori* zu.”

¹⁵ Wessely, “Geschichte,” p. 346.

¹⁶ For example, *New Grove Dictionary of Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), s.v. “Equale,” by Maurice J.E. Brown; and Barry Cooper, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 217.

¹⁷ Wessely, “Geschichte,” pp. 344-45.

¹⁸ Gräflinger, “Turnermeister,” p. 1.

¹⁹ Georg Kinsky, *Das Werk Beethovens: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner sämtlichen vollendeten Kompositionen*, completed and ed. by Hans Halm (Munich and Duisburg: Henle, 1955), p. 470.

²⁰ The unused half of the outer double folio, i.e., fol. 3, did not suffer the same fate since it served to make up the “folder” that held the manuscript together.

²¹ David Guion, *The Trombone: Its History and Music, 1697-1811* (New York, etc.: Gordon and Breach, 1988), pp. 282-83.

²² “Drei Equale für vier Posaunen,” *Beethoven Gesamtausgabe* 25 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888), pp. 315-16.

²³ *New Grove*, s.v. “Haslinger,” by Alexander Weinmann.

²⁴ Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, call number XVII 67000, vol. 37.

²⁵ Alexander Weinmann, “Tobias Haslingers ‘Gesamtausgabe der Werke Beethovens’,” *Beiträge zur Beethoven-Bibliographie: Studien und Materialien zum Werkverzeichnis von Kinsky-Halm* (Munich:

Henle, 1978), pp. 269-79, here 270. "Daß sämmtliche, in dieser von Herrn Tobias Haslinger veranstalteten vollständigen Sammlung meiner Tonwerke, enthaltenen Stücke, von mir componirt sind, bestätige ich der Wahrheit angemessen, indem ich diese Beglaubigung eigenhändig mit meiner Nahmens-Fertigung unterzeichne. Ludwig van Beethoven m.p."

²⁶ *Beethoven Gesamtausgabe* 25, p. vi.

²⁷ The four trombonists apparently received a total of four gulden for their services. See Stephan Ley, "Urkundliches über Beethovens Beerdigung und erste Grabstätte," *Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch* 10 (1942): 25-35, here 28; and Hanns Jäger-Sunstenau, "Beethoven-Akten im Wiener Landesarchiv," *Beethoven-Studien*, ed. Erich Schenk, pp. 11-38, here 26.

²⁸ According to Poensgen, there were two engravers by the name of Stöber in Vienna at this time, the father and son Joseph (1768-1852) and Franz Xaver Stöber (1795-1858). It is not known which one was responsible for this and another sepia-drawing showing Beethoven's coffin being carried up the steps into the Dreifaltigkeitskirche. See Georg Poensgen, "Beethovens Begräbnis: Zum 125. Todestag des Meisters, 26. März," *Musica* 6 (1952): 96-101.

²⁹ Seyfried's account supposedly corrects the erroneous and incomplete information that had appeared immediately after the funeral. For other accounts see Christopher H. Gibbs, "Performances of Grief: Vienna's Response to the Death of Beethoven," in *Beethoven and his World*, ed. Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 227-85; and Thayer/Forbes, *Life of Beethoven*, pp. 1052-55. Seyfried's account also appeared in the *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung zur Beförderung der theoretischen und praktischen Tonkunst* 13 (15 August 1827): 97ff.

³⁰ In spite of the unequivocal statements here and in the previous quote—not to mention the music of the 1827 edition—that the trombones and the choir alternated in playing and singing the *Miserere* (and *Amplius*), Wessely strangely came to the conclusion that the trombones played *Equale 2* in alternation with the choir singing the *Miserere* and *Amplius*. See Wessely, "Geschichte," p. 344; see also note 34 below.

³¹ Haslinger's intention of publishing the *Miserere* had already been mentioned in the account of Beethoven's funeral that appeared in *Der Sammler* in April 1827. A translation of this account, by Scott Burnham, is published as an appendix to Gibbs, "Performances of Grief," pp. 264-66.

³² The relationship of the two texts escaped the notice of Robert Franz Müller ("Beethovens Begräbnis," *Reichspost* [26 March 1925], cited in Thayer/Forbes, p. 1054) and Christopher H. Gibbs ("Performances of Grief," p. 243), who seem to be under the impression that the "Miserere" and the "Amplius lava me" are separate texts. Thomas K. Scherman (*The Beethoven Companion* [Garden City: Doubleday, 1972], p. 747) even goes so far as to state that Seyfried "wrote Latin words to the first ("Miserere") and third ("Amplius lave me")."

³³ *Berliner allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 5, no. 18 (30 April 1828): 146.

³⁴ *Berliner allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 5, no. 2 (9 January 1828): 15-16. "In den ersten Tagen dieses Monats wurde die Versteigerung von Beethovens musikalischen nachlasse vorgenommen...

"In der darauf folgenden Woche wurde Beethovens Grabstein eingeweiht. Eine gewählte Versammlung, Freunde, Verehrer und Kunstgenossen des Verewigten wohnten dieser rührenden Feier bei. Der Hofschauspieler Anschütz hielt eine von Grillparzer entworfene, herrliche Gedächtnis-Rede, und derselbe Sängchor, welcher vor acht Monaten die sterbliche Hülle des unsterblichen Geistes zur Ruhe geleitete, stimmte eine noch unbekannte Original-Melodie an, welcher die einfache Worte unterlegt waren: 'Du, dem nie im Leben...'. " I am indebted to Christopher Gibbs for calling my attention to this source.

If the music performed in November 1827 to Grillparzer's words was indeed "a previously unknown original melody," as stated here by the *BAMZ*, the second *equale* was surely not performed at Beethoven's funeral [the previous March, as Wessely contends (see note 30)].

³⁵ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 30, no. 19 (7 May 1828): 310-11. "Heute nachmittags versammelten sich zur Jahresfeyer von Beethoven's Begräbniss mehre seiner Verehrer auf dem Friedhofe, woselbst unter einem einfachen nur mit dem Namen des Entschlafenen bezeichneten Denkstein, von einigen Spanne Erde bedeckt, die irdischen Ueberreste des Unsterblichen ruhen, und intonierten nach den Harmonieen eines Posaunensatzes einen feyerlichen Choral-Gesang, wozu Grillparzer rührende Worte gedichtet hatte. Requiem aeternam dona Domine!"

³⁶ There exist several slightly divergent versions of Grillparzer's poem. This is the version found in the original edition of the music.

³⁷ Cited in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1964), p. 507. "Wir waren nämlich in Währing, am Begräbnistag des vor einem Jahre verstorbenen Beethoven, um seinen Leichenstein anzusehen, und auch das Lied zu hören, welches seine Verehrer seinem Andenken weihten. Der Tag was himmlisch schön, das Lied auch sehr rührend und unter Gräbern gesungen, musste es einen tiefen Eindruck machen."

³⁸ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig) 31, no. 20 (20 May 1829): 328. "Am 26sten im landständischen Saale: Viertes Concert spirituel, enthaltend: 1. Beethoven's Symphonie in A dur.... 3. Hymne, von Grillparzer gedichtet zur Einweihung von Beethoven's Grabstein, mit Beybehaltung einer handschriftlichen Original-Melodie des verewigten Meisters als Vocal-Chor für vier Männerstimmen ausgearbeitet von Ritter von Seyfried."

This information is confirmed by a list of works performed at the 1829 *Concerts spirituels* that appeared in the *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 6, no. 21 on 23 May 1829 (pp.164-165): "Grabgesang bei Einweihung von Beethovens Monument, nach einer Original-Melodie des Verewigten als vierstimmiger Vokal-Chor mit unterlegten Worten von Grillparzer bearbeitet von Ritter von Seyfried."

Bettina von Seyfried obviously overlooked the vocal arrangement of Equale 2 made by Ignaz von Seyfried. In her thematic catalogue of his works, she cited the former quote in connection with another arrangement of a Beethoven work made by Ignaz von Seyfried, the "Marcia funebre sull morte d'un Eroe," from the Piano Sonata in A♭ Minor, op. 26, for four voices and piano to a poem by Jeitteles. See Bettina von Seyfried, *Ignaz von Seyfried*, pp. 396-97.

³⁹ Alfred Pette, "Further Particulars of the Funeral of Beethoven, and an Account of his Miserere," *The Harmonicon* 8, no. 11 (London, 1830): 444-48.

⁴⁰ "Beethoven [Dirge sung over his grave]," *The Harmonicon* 8, no. 8 (London, 1830): 315-17.

⁴¹ *Musikalischer Haus-Freund* 8 (1829-30); 2-4. Although not dated, this double issue apparently appeared toward the end of 1829 or the beginning of 1830.

⁴² Ignaz von Seyfried, *Ludwig van Beethoven's Studien im Generalbasse, Contrapuncte und in der Compositions-Lehre* (Vienna: Haslinger, 1832).

⁴³ Ignaz von Seyfried, *Ludwig van Beethoven's Studien im Generalbass, Contrapunct und in der Compositionslehre*, rev. edn. by Henry Hugh Pierson (Edgard Mannsfeldt), (Leipzig, Hamburg, New York: Schuberth, 1853; rpt., Hildesheim: Olms, 1967).

⁴⁴ Ignaz von Seyfried, *Louis van Beethoven's Studies in Thorough-Bass, Counterpoint and the Art of Scientific Composition*, English translation by Henry Hugh Pierson (Leipzig, Hamburg, Berlin: Schuberth, 1853). The French translation by François-Joseph Fétis (*Études de Beethoven: traite d'harmonie et de composition* [Paris: Schlesinger, 1833]) does not include the material pertaining to Beethoven's funeral. The Italian translation (*Studii di Beethoven ossia Trattato D'Armonia e di Composizione* [Milan: Canti, n.d.]), which I was not able to consult for this study, is apparently based on Fétis' French translation.

⁴⁵ I am indebted to Stewart Carter for his help in obtaining photocopies of Pierson's English edition.

Pierson's translation of the description of Beethoven's funeral contains a number of errors. It was not used in the preparation of the translation found in the appendix of the present article.

⁴⁶ Bettina von Seyfried, *Ignaz von Seyfried*, pp. 23-55, 99-105.

⁴⁷ *Österreichisches Morgenblatt*, 1 September 1841, cited in Bettina von Seyfried, *Ignaz von Seyfried*, pp. 35-36. "Am jüngst verflossenen Sonntage fand das feierliche Leichenbegängniß des IGNAZ RITTER v. SEYFRIED, Professors der Tonkunst, Capellmeisters, jubil. Operndirektors, Ehren=Verdienst= und correspondierenden Mitglieds vieler in= und ausländischer Musik-Vereine, um halb sechs Uhr nachmittags statt...."

"Während des Zuges ist ein von dem Verblichenen zur Leichenfeier L. van Beethovens's (welche an demselben Tage des Monates März 1827 Statt fand) componirtes 'Miserere', begleitet von vier Posaunen ... von einem zahlreichen Männer=Chore abgesungen worden."

⁴⁸ The documents quoted here are located in a private collection in Graz, Austria, and cited after Till Gerrit Waidelich, "Joseph Hüttenbrenners Entwurf eines Aufsatzes mit der ersten biographischen Skizze Schuberts (1823) und zwei Fragmente seines ungedruckten Schubert-Nachrufs (1828)," *Schubert: Perspektiven* 1/1 (2001): 37-73. I am indebted to Christopher Gibbs for calling my attention to this article.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59. "Während der Einsegnung in der Kirche zu St. Joseph führte Hr. Domkapellmeister Gänsbacher eine \trefliche/ *Motette* seiner *Composition* auf, worauf ein zahlreicher *Chor* dem Verblichenen das *Miserere* u *non amplius* von Beethoven sangen –"

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67. "Sechs jugendliche Kunstfreunde trugen nun den Sarg \in der Kirche/ worauf während der Einsegnung ein zahlreicher Sänger *Chor*, Freunde des Verewigten unter Direktion des Hr. Domkapellmesiters Gänsbachers eine feyerliche *Motette* von dessen *Komposition*, u: alsdann *Beethovens* ergreifendes *Miserere* u: das \himmlische/ *non amplius* sangen –"

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁵² Daniel Jacobson and Andrew Glendening, "Schuberts D 936A: Eine symphonische Hommage an Beethoven?" *Schubert durch die Brille* 15, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut (1995): 113-26.

⁵³ Brian Newbould, "Schuberts D 936A: Eine symphonische Hommage an sich selbst?" *Schubert durch die Brille* 16/17, Internationales Franz Schubert Institut (1996): 123-29.

⁵⁴ They combine, for example, Franz Xaver Glöggel and Franz Göggel into one person (pp. 114 and 125, n. 7) who not only commissioned the *Equali* from Beethoven, but also acquainted Seyfried with them (p. 114; Tobias Haslinger seems to have gotten lost in the shuffle). The funeral procession supposedly took nearly three hours to get from Beethoven's residence in the center of the city to the Währing Cemetery, with Schubert supposedly being subjected to the *Equali* over and over again during this whole time (p. 125, n. 6; Beethoven's residence at the time of his death, the Schwarzspanierhaus, was located outside the center of town [on the glacis], and the destination of the procession was the Dreifaltigkeitskirche. According to the notice "Beethovens Leichenfeyer" in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* 1827, no. 43 (10 April 1827): 349-50, the ceremony began at 4 o'clock [Seyfried: half past three], with the procession arriving at the church at half past four; the *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 4, no. 21 (23 May 1827): 167-68, states that it took the procession over an hour and a half to get to the church. As widely divergent as the contemporary reports might be, Jacobson and Glendening's figure of over three hours is clearly exaggerated. [I recently strolled from the site of the Schwarzspanierhaus to the Dreifaltigkeitskirche in six minutes.] The cemetery was reached by carriage, and without trombones, after the ceremony in the church.) They also state that Schubert did not have the possibility of consulting the music in written form, since it was only published in 1832, four years after his death (p. 116; it had been widely reported in the published accounts of Beethoven's funeral that the manuscript belonged to Haslinger, who was one

of Schubert's publishers, and thus hardly inaccessible; moreover, the *Miserere* was performed again twice in the weeks following Beethoven's funeral, and the first edition appeared in June 1827, a year and a half before Schubert's death.)

Having used the version of the *Equali* found in the 1832 edition of Seyfried's book as their source (correspondence to the author from A. Glendening, 21 March 2000), and therefore unaware that Seyfried had actually left the trombone parts untouched (aside from the transposition and the addition of some performance markings), Jacobson and Glendening incorrectly postulated an arrangement of the trombone parts mirroring Seyfried's vocal arrangement (pp. 115-16).

⁵⁵ H. Abert, "Ein weiterer neuer Beethovenfund," *Zeitschrift der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 13, no. 7 (1912): 218-21, supplement: 1-5. The "cantata" is scored for SATB voices, three clarinets, three horns, and three trombones.

⁵⁶ H. Abert, "Zur 'Charfreitagskantate' Beethoven's," *Zeitschrift der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 13, no. 9 (1912): 311-12.

⁵⁷ *Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library to 1980* (London, Munich, etc.: Saur, 1981), 4:244.