

Walther Brauneis

“Dies irae, dies illa – Day of wrath, day of wailing”:
Notes on the commissioning, origin, and completion
of Mozart’s Requiem (KV 626)

Mozart had essentially finished about half of his Requiem when he died. Whether he looked on it as a “requiem for himself,” an existential *cri de Coeur*, is something we cannot say with certainty. For reasons having to do with the initial publication of the work by Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig and the not inconsiderable payments to be expected therefrom, Mozart’s widow Constanze chose deliberately to leave matters surrounding the commissioning, origin, and completion of the Requiem in obscurity. And coming at the very same time, the biography of Mozart written by Franz Xaver Niemetschek with ample assistance from Constanze fixed for posterity the legend of the anonymous patron and his mysterious messenger. It was, in short, a calculated attempt at obfuscation on the part of Constanze, one still reflected in the abundant kitsch literature that passes for Mozart biography.

Mozart’s Requiem is inseparably connected with the person who commissioned it, Count Franz Wallsegg (1763-1827)^{1/}. The Count lived in his country estate, Schloss Stuppach, near Gloggnitz in the southeastern region of the province of Niederösterreich (Lower Austria); he wanted a requiem composed to the memory of his young wife who had died on 14 February 1791. It was only four and a half years before (on 9 September 1786) that he had married Anna Prenner von Flammberg in the patron church (zu Maria-Schutz am Semmering) endowed by the Wallsegg family ^{2/}. The bride, who was born in September 1770 and thus still a minor, came from a family of the lesser nobility that had its residence in Schloss Niederfellabrunn in the Weinviertel district north of Vienna ^{3/}. In addition, her parents owned a handsome palais in Vienna’s inner city (then CNr.1102; today 1, Spiegelgasse 8 [the original structure has since been replaced by another]).

The young married couple had sumptuously furnished and decorated Schloss Stuppach. The material well-being of the family was founded not only on its agricultural and forestry holdings but especially on its possession of gypsum quarries near Schottwien, southwest of Gloggnitz. From the baptismal and death registers of the Gloggnitz parish, we are able to some degree to reconstruct the little household society presided over by Count Wallsegg: there were servants, gardeners, hunters, accountants, clerks, bailiffs, and, in 1791, even a court dwarf.

The country estate on the left bank of the Schwarza river still fundamentally reflects its origins in the late Middle Ages; it was somewhat remodelled in the 1640s (as evidenced, for example, by the early baroque plaster of Paris ornamentation in the style of Antonio Carlone executed in the manorial chapel then dedicated to St. Florian) and around 1735, it received its

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late baroque façade reminiscent of the work of Anton Erhard Martinelli. Inside the manor, which had also been generously remodelled and redecorated, Count Wallsegg's father, the Count Franz Anton Joseph Wallsegg, had been able to play host in 1760 to a future empress, Isabella von Parma, and in 1782, even to Pope Pius VI during his famous, futile trip to Vienna to confront Emperor Joseph II.

From a contemporary description, we obtain a vivid picture of the general setting 4/:

“Stuppach, a village named for the local gentry lying between Potschach and Glocknitz on the Schwarzau quite close to the main post road to Italy in a remarkably pleasant location, with an elegant mansion. A bridge over this limpid stream leads into a broad forecourt. The ancillary buildings are connected. The rooms for the family may not be opulent, but they are certainly comfortable and furnished in good taste.”

Around 1833, Franz Schweickhardt had this to say 5/:

“Once across the bridge over the river, a lovely allée of chestnut trees begins, situated in the midst of beautiful gardens, right and left, in the form of a park with enclosures for animals and pheasants, delightful walks, flower gardens and a pond fed by the Schwarzau. On the left a bit farther on stands a pretty little structure, a mill, and not far from it, on an open, gently rising slope, the lordly manse with its substantial, thoroughly modern architecture, facing the park and set off by a balcony and terrace.”

From the inventories dating back to the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, we get a good glimpse of the original appointments of the manor house 6/. The main kitchen, various supply rooms, and the servants' quarters were located on the first (or ground) floor. The second floor consisted of “seven rooms on the front, 3 of which have inlaid floors, and all are painted. 2 rooms on the west side. 3 rooms on the north side. 2 very small rooms on the corridor in back. A paved entrance way. 2 water closets.”

The family of the Count could hear the mass from the two oratories of the manor's chapel; the small balcony was reached through a narrow concealed door. The third floor was divided in much the same way as the second, but was of course much more plainly furnished. Of particular note is the large library which extended over three rooms 7/, with its volumes bound in morocco leather and stamped in gold with the Wallsegg crest and the date of acquisition. Among the titles found in the Count's collection is one which gives us an idea of the estate's baroque way of life: Johann Daniel Blümel's "*Lust=Feuerwerkerey*" (roughly, "The Fun of Pyrotechnics"), published in Strasbourg in 1765. Inventory items also worthy of mention are "1 old fortepiano with 5 octaves" and "miscellaneous pieces of music." In one of the closets in the attic, there were "2 horns and 2 bassoons" stored.

The young lord of the manor was an amateur musician in the best sense of the term, as we can see from musical specimens from his archives which have been partially preserved in private collections. Among the hand-copied scores we find chamber music arrangements of individual arias from works by Mozart ("Die Entführung aus dem Serail," "Le Nozze di Figaro," "Die Zauberflöte"), Salieri ("La grotta di Trofonio," "Palmira, regina di Persia") and Süßmayr ("Der Retter in Gefahr"), as well as by Martín y Soler ("L'Arbore di Diana"), Cherubini ("Die Gefangene"), Peter Winter ("Das unterbrochene Opferfest") and Joseph Weigl ("L'Amore Marinaro"). From the variety of musical parts and scores, we can also establish that performances had taken place of a symphony in D (Krebs 15) by Dittersdorf, three string quintets

(P 108, 109, 112) by Michael Haydn, and six sonatas for two violins and violoncello by Johann Philipp Kirnberger. Count Wallsegg purchased these music pieces from various sources, including Laurent Lausch at CNr. 1085 in the Kärntner Strasse (today: 1, Kärntner Strasse 4 [new construction]) or in the music store of Leopold Kozeluch at CNr.1158 in the Untere Bräunerstrasse (today: 1, Bräunerstrasse 10 [new construction]). Among the items of printed music are sonatas for violin and viola (Opus 41) by Ignaz Pleyel as well as "Differents petites Pièces faciles pour le Piano-Forte" by Tobias Haslinger, and arrangements of individual numbers from operas and singspiels by Mozart ("Die Zauberflöte"), Franz Anton Hoffmeister ("Der Königssohn aus Ithaka"), Nicolo Isouard ("Aschenbrödel"), Wenzel Müller ("Die Schwestern von Prag"), and Joseph Weigl ("Die Schweizer Familie"). It is also of interest that there were compositions by amateur composers as well (Ernest von Ehrenthal, Sigmund Rizzi, Anton Herzog) 8/.

Writing about the musical life of the Count and his family at Schloss Stuppach several decades later, Anton Herzog (ca.1771-1850) 9/, formerly teacher at the patron school in Klamm, had this to say:

Count Wallsegg "was a passionate lover of music and theater. For this reason, quartets were played every week, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, three full hours each time, and on Sundays, theater pieces were performed in which the Count himself and the Countess and her sister as well took part, and all the clerks and officials and the whole, numerous staff of servants also had to play roles, each according to his abilities. To help with the quartet playing, the Count engaged the services of two outstanding artists, Johann Benard on the violin and Louis Prevost on the cello; in the string quartets, the Count played the violoncello and in flute quartets, the flute, and I usually played second violin or viola."

At the Count's musical soirees, rather insubstantial compositions of his own would be heard and, in addition, the works of well-known composers which he had obtained to let them appear among his circle of friends as though they were creations of his own hand. In such cases, the fee paid was clearly understood to be hush money which obligated the composer to keep mum as to who had commissioned the work. The relinquishing of all rights of ownership was the Count's basic stipulation in such "business" and was intended to keep the work from being printed with its consequent broad distribution and the name of its actual composer becoming known. "Because the Count never liked to play from printed music, however, he would have fair copies made on ten-stave paper, but never with a composer's name attached." But in fact, Count Wallsegg did not always go to such lengths to camouflage the actual composer, as shown by two pieces of music in the archives of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna 10/ -- the one, six flute quartets of Francois Devienne, the other, a flute concerto by Franz Anton Hoffmeister. In each case, the composer's name at the bottom is only pasted over with a narrow strip of paper on which is written "*Fr[ancois] C[omte] de Walsegg.*" The same handwriting is found in the date "22. Fevrier 800" that is found on the score of six string quartets which are privately held. Because this handwriting does not correspond to that of the Count, which is well known from various items out of his archives, and must therefore be attributed to one of his musicians, we may confidently assume that concealed behind the coverup tactics was more a spirit of fun and games than a frustrated case of compositional ambition.

On 14 February 1791, the seemingly carefree years at Schloss Stuppach came to an abrupt end when a "hitziges Faulfieber" (literally, "acute putrid fever"; it may have been an acute traumatic fever or puerperal sepsis) carried the Countess off in her 21st year 11/. Her death was registered in the records

of both the Gloggnitz parish which encompassed Schloss Stuppach and those of the Schottwien parish endowed by the Wallseggs. The death register of the latter adds that the body of the Countess was interred in the family vault there on 16 February. For Count Franz Wallsegg, his wife must have been the love of his life, for soon thereafter he had his legal advisor in Vienna, Dr. Johann Nepomuk Sortschan, order a memorial tomb from the architect Johann Henrici and the sculptor Johann Martin Fischer, to be erected in the wooded Stuppach meadowlands on the left bank of the Schwarza stream between the mansion and the village of Gloggnitz 12/.

Construction of the tomb's brick-walled vault must have been completed by 27 March, for the death register of the Gloggnitz parish notes that on this day the Countess's coffin was transferred from the family vault in Schottwien and consecrated anew with "omnibus Sacramentis prius rite provisum" ("all customary sacramental rites") in the Stuppach meadows. A little later, the sepulchral monument was completed as well. The cost of the sandstone sarcophagus, with its two adorning sculptures, is traditionally given as over 3,000 gulden. At some time soon thereafter the Count must have also conceived the idea of commissioning a prominent composer to write a requiem mass to be performed every year on the anniversary of the Countess's death.

The tragic events which had transpired at Schloss Stuppach were inevitably topics of intense discussion in the Vienna palais of the Wallsegg family located in the Hohe Markt CNr.522 (today: 1, Hoher Markt 1 / Bauernmarkt 15 /Landskronngasse 15 [new construction]), as were the rumors that this palais was to be sold. And ultimately rumor became reality, for on 19 December 1791, Count Franz Wallsegg did indeed sell his Vienna mansion -- in which the instrumental version of Joseph Haydn's "Sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze" ("The Seven Last Words") is said to have had its first performance on 26 March 1787 -- to the merchant Franz Wilhelm von Natorp 13/, whose daughters were among Mozart's piano students. One of the renters living in the palais was Michael Puchberg, the businessman who had repeatedly provided Mozart with substantial financial support in the last years of his life. He had a spacious apartment of several rooms on the third floor (in Austria, the second floor), and it was here that Constanze Mozart had once stayed briefly (for reasons still not clear) while her husband was away on his trip to Berlin with Prince Karl Lichnowsky in the spring of 1789.

It could well have been Michael Puchberg who offered Count Wallsegg the suggestion that he ask Mozart to compose this requiem mass. For one thing, Puchberg was fully aware of Mozart's financial difficulties; moreover, he probably was well informed about the generous fees the Count was prepared to pay on relinquishment of the rights of ownership to a composition.

In his memoir, "The true and complete story of the Requiem of W.A. Mozart" 14/, written in 1839 and intended for publication, Anton Herzog recounted in broad outlines the steps leading to Mozart's receiving the commission, "for at the time the entire course of events was fully known to me through our chief administrator (Franz Anton) Leitgeb, who had to see that the fee for it was paid off through the Vienna office of the gypsum works." And in the person of Franz Anton Leitgeb, we recognize the "gray messenger" who is supposed to have met with Mozart three times and who was distantly related with the Austrian poet and dramatist, Franz Grillparzer, by virtue of his marriage to Anna Maria Margarethe Rizzi 15/. Speaking with the Mozart biographer Otto Jahn, the poet later described Leitgeb as "a tall, thin man dressed all in gray, with a somber look on his face, a striking apparition, perfectly suited to making a disconcerting impression." Whereas Count Franz Wallsegg has been known to us

up to now only through a youthful silhouette from the year 1781, two pastel portraits of Franz Anton Leitgeb and his wife Margarethe around the year 1797 have been preserved in a private collection 16/.

It must have been the middle of July 1791 when Mozart received the commission. Composition of the Requiem was a commission worth having to Mozart, who had found himself to a growing extent considerably embarrassed financially since 1788. Sources differ as to the amount of his fee. In an article appearing in the journal for women, "Zeitung für Damen und andere Frauenzimmer," of 18 January 1792, published in the city of Graz, a report speaks of a fee of 60 ducats (i.e., 275 gulden). On the other hand, Constanze Mozart, writing to Breitkopf & Härtel, said it was 50 ducats (225 gulden). An 1827 obituary for Mozart's friend, Benedikt Schack, named the same amount. The account written by Anton Herzog in 1839 states the fee was 100 ducats (or 450 gulden). Because, in connection with the fee, Constanze Mozart was able to quote the person who had ordered the work ("Moreover he also spoke of 50 ducats, which was his price for its purchase"), the sum of 225 gulden can almost certainly be regarded as correct. Taking into account the usual fees for composing an opera, so, for example, 200 ducats (900 gulden) for "Così fan tutte," a fee of 225 gulden can be regarded as quite reasonable.

Moreover, for Mozart, composing a requiem offered him the possibility of turning his hand to church music once again, something he had largely neglected since breaking with the archbishop in Salzburg in the spring of 1781. In this connection, one of his models appears to have been the Bohemian composer Florian Leopold Gassmann (1723-1774). During his Berlin trip two years earlier, in 1789, Mozart had mentioned him to Bach's student, Johann Friedrich Doles, saying: "As soon as I get home, I plan to study his church music carefully and I hope to learn a lot from it." And there are indeed striking thematic and harmonic similarities between Gassmann's requiem (which was also never completed) and Mozart's, as well as to the requiem mass for Emperor Joseph II written by the German composer Peter Winter (1754-1825).

Mozart certainly would not have left his patron uninformed of the fact that he could not count on immediate initiation of work on the Requiem. At this very moment, Mozart was up to his ears in work on "Die Zauberflöte" and he had accepted the commission to compose the coronation opera, "La clemenza di Tito," for Prague on short notice. And in addition, he was committed to writing a clarinet concerto for his friend Anton Stadler, the last movement of which was finished on 8 October or shortly thereafter. Only then was there time to devote to the Requiem, interrupted however by composing and writing down the so-called "little masonic cantata" which is the last completed work entered, with the date of 15 November 1791, in Mozart's hand-written catalog of his compositions.

At the time of Mozart's death on 5 December 1791, composition of the Requiem had progressed to the close of the Hostias in the Offertory. Mozart had composed ninety pages altogether in his characteristic *particella* form, although he had himself completed instrumenting only the Requiem aeternam of the Introit. Franz Jakob Freystädler instrumented the Kyrie, with the exception of the parts for the trumpets and kettledrums which clearly show the handwork of Franz Xaver Süssmayr. All the rest contains only the vocal parts and the figured basso continuo in Mozart's handwriting. In the instrumental parts, his musical intentions are indicated mostly in a few transitional passages. In this connection, it is noteworthy that Mozart broke off composition of the Lacrimosa after the first eight measures in order to go ahead with the Offertory, as though because time was pressing he did not want to spend it writing down what was for him (and probably for Süssmayr as well) a perfectly straight forward compositional task. But perhaps Mozart also wanted to see how the invocation "Requiem aeternam

dona eis” which he had first formulated for the Introit would fit with the Agnus Dei and only then close the Lacrimosa with the setting of the intercessory prayer “Dona eis requiem.” Whether the sketches of an Amen fugue, found by Wolfgang Plath in 1962 along with a Rex tremendae sketch, are related to this is not certain. What is certain, however, is that death did not cause the pen to fall from Mozart's hand as he was in the middle of working on the Lacrimosa. (For reference, the structure of the Requiem is given below.)

If Mozart's friend Benedikt Schack can be believed, the dying man had the score of the Requiem brought to his bed on that final evening so that he and Schack, together with Franz Hofer and Franz Xaver Gerl, could go through it once again:

"He (Mozart). . .sang the alto part; Schack, a close friend of the family, sang the soprano part as he always used to do, Hofer, Mozart' s brother-in-law, the tenor part, and Gerl, who was later bass at the Mannheim theater, the bass part. They had reached the first measures of the Lacrimosa when Mozart began to sob bitterly, laid the score aside, and eleven hours later at one in the morning passed away. . ."

Mozart 's remains were consecrated on the afternoon of 6 December 1791 in the Crucifix Chapel ("Kruzifixkapelle") that had been built over the steps leading down to the catacombs which, since 1783, were no longer in use. Contrary to what is asserted time and again, the consecration did not take place at the Cross Chapel ("Kreuzkapelle") inside St. Stephen's cathedral; public access to it had been withdrawn because the victor over the Turks, Prince Eugene of Savoy, had been interred there. The actual burial would then in all likelihood have taken place only on the following day in a "common (i.e., ordinary) individual grave" ("allgemeines einfaches Grab"). In keeping with the usage of Josephinian times, the word "common" ("allgemein") must not be equated with "joint" or "communal" ("gemeinschaftlich"), but rather is intended to denote equality without respect to social status. Mozart's grave was neither a pauper's grave nor a mass grave. In their burial regulations promulgated on 13 December 1784, the Vienna city magistrates did not incorporate the relevant passage concerning the use of a single trench to bury several persons which was contained in the imperial court decree on the subject, after having earlier already protested strongly to the Lower Austrian authorities against such a burial practice on aesthetic grounds. Mozart's grave was a simple excavation in which, in contrast to the vaults, there was no right of ownership, meaning it could be cleared and reoccupied after ten years' time. In the course of the 19th century, the ritual surrounding funerals underwent a complete change, thus complicating our comprehension of the funeral and burial accorded Mozart; from the viewpoint of his contemporaries, however, it was a funeral and burial in the form customary for the vast majority of the people 17/.

Mozart's Requiem in D-minor, as completed by Süßmayr:

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| <p><i>I. Introitus:</i>
 <i>Requiem aeternam</i></p> <p><i>II. Kyrie eleison</i></p> <p><i>III. Sequenz</i>
 1. <i>Dies irae</i>
 2. <i>Tuba mirum</i>
 3. <i>Rex tremendae majestatis</i>
 4. <i>Recordare, Jesu pie</i>
 5. <i>Confutatis maledictis</i>
 6. <i>Lacrimosa dies illa</i></p> | <p><i>IV. Offertorium</i>
 1. <i>Domine Jesu Christe</i>
 2. <i>Hostias et preces</i></p> <p><i>V. Sanctus</i>
 1. <i>Sanctus Dominus</i>
 <i>Deus Sabaoth</i>
 2. <i>Benedictus</i></p> <p><i>VI. Agnus Dei</i></p> <p><i>VII. Communio:</i>
 <i>Lux aeterna</i></p> |
|---|---|

The parts of his Requiem which Mozart had finished before he died (Introitus and Kyrie) were heard for the first time during the requiem mass held for him in the imperial parish church of St. Michael's next to the Hofburg on 10 December 1791, as we can derive from newspaper reports of the time 18/. It could be too that the short organ score (which begins with the soprano solo, "Te decet hymnus. . ." in the Requiem aeternam and goes to the end of the Kyrie) that is preserved among the Süssmayr papers in the Szecheny national library in Budapest is also connected with this performance.

So far, it has not been possible to determine what other existing requiems in the repertory of the musicians in St. Michaelis church were drawn upon to supply the sections missing from Mozart's composition. However, the performance of a fragmentary work was nothing unusual in this period: even at the exequies for Michael Haydn in St. Peter's church in Salzburg on 14 August 1806, the requiem he began and never completed was heard. To fulfill the liturgical requirements, Haydn's fragment was, following the "Dies irae," supplemented by "an older requiem, a splendid composition also by Michael Haydn" (the so-called Schratzenbach requiem) 19/.

As the musical effects in his estate show, Count Franz Wallsegg was very familiar with the music scene in Vienna and, with a large townhouse in the middle of the city, he must have stayed well informed about what was going on there. He obviously would have learned about Mozart's death. And he could easily figure out for himself that too little time had remained for Mozart to finish the Requiem. He almost certainly pressed Constanze Mozart -- with an aside to the still outstanding half of the agreed fee -- to make sure he received something in a form that could be performed.

Constanze Mozart then decided, somewhat surprisingly, to entrust the completion of the Requiem to Mozart's student, Joseph Eybler, who appeared to her more experienced in matters of church music, and not to Franz Xaver Süssmayr. As Eybler himself later reported in the Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung of Leipzig concerning his relationship to Mozart:

„ . . . I had the good fortune to keep our friendship intact till the day he died, so that I was even able to help lift him up, lay him down, and nurse him, during his painful final illness. Together we went through so many works of the most worthy masters, especially Handel, with the greatest of care, learning a great deal from it and enjoying ourselves."

According to the acknowledgment Eybler signed, he received "the requiem mass begun by her late husband" from Constanze Mozart on 21 December 1791 for the purpose of finishing it. A notation on the lower half of the page, written in red pencil and later erased, from which only *GE* [Graf] *Walsegg* is still recognizable, has gone fully unnoticed until now. Eybler was supposed to have the Requiem completed and ready "by the middle of the upcoming Lenten season." The "middle of the Lenten Season" means the week before Laetare Sunday, the fourth Sunday in Lent, which in 1792 fell on 18 March. From this, we can infer it had been made unmistakably clear to Count Franz Wallsegg that a performance of the completed Requiem on the first anniversary of the Countess's death, that is, on 14 February 1792, was out of the question. In his biography of Mozart published in 1798, Franz Xaver Niemetschek wrote that the Count, through his messenger, received the Requiem even though it was incomplete. Query: had someone perhaps suggested to him that the memorial mass for the Countess could be held in a way similar to the exequies for Mozart in Vienna's St. Michael's church?

Eybler's efforts at completing the Requiem ended -- for whatever reason -- after the *Confutatis*. To the eight measures of the *Lacrimosa*, he added only two measures of the soprano part. At this point, he could have used the slips of paper with Mozart's sketches which are frequently mentioned. Perhaps Süßmayr -- whom Mozart had treated as his court jester -- had helped himself to the scraps of paper with sketches on them, feeling he was some sort of curator of Mozart's musical estate, and then, out of wounded vanity, deliberately not passed them on to Eybler. This might explain Constanze Mozart's remark (in a letter from Salzburg dated 31 May 1827 -- that is, some 36 years after the event -- to the Abbe Maximilian Stadler in Vienna): "I was indeed annoyed with Süßmayr at the time (I can't remember why)." When Eybler gave up, Süßmayr's moment of glory had arrived.

Eybler's additions to the Sequenz had been entered in Mozart's own autograph score. For the copy that was to be delivered to Count Wallsegg, Süßmayr was able to use only the passages from the Requiem aeternam and the Kyrie prepared almost entirely by Mozart. The remainder of the manuscript copy -- the so-called "working score" -- from the *Dies irae* to the *Hostias*, he had to copy, including Eybler's completed instrumentation, and supplement. According to his own statement, he composed the last part (*Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, *Agnus Dei*, and *Communio*) himself. This intricate state of compositional affairs is accounted for today by three different sets of folio numberings, just to keep things straight 20/.

Exactly when the score of the complete Requiem finished by Süßmayr was delivered to Count Wallsegg cannot be clearly established. Süßmayr seems to have hastened to finish the tasks involved in completing the mass, however, for his own opera, "Moses oder Der Auszug aus Ägypten", which was scheduled for performance in Schikaneder's Theater auf der Wieden during the 1792 Lenten season had to be set back; the premiere finally took place on 4 May 1792. And on 6 April 1792, Süßmayr also completed the rondo for Mozart's D-major horn concerto (KV 514). Although the copy of the Requiem delivered to the Count included Mozart's autograph to the end of the *Hostias*, Anton Herzog reported in his memoir that Count Wallsegg had been assured that "Mozart had finished the Requiem up to the *Agnus Dei*." With this testimony in mind, then, it is possible that Mozart had also done some work on the two sections, the *Sanctus* (with the *Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth* and the *Benedictus*) and the *Agnus Dei*, which lie between the *Offertorium* and the *Communio*. This would be in line with observations made by Robert Levin at the international Mozart congress in Salzburg in 1991 21/. As Levin sees it, in both of these sections, there is a clearly discernible difference in stylistic treatment between the vocal parts and the instrumental accompaniment, which suggests Süßmayr was engaged in a task of completion here as well. Certainly the first time the Mozart requiem was heard in its Süßmayr version was in a benefit concert on 2 January 1793 organized by Gottfried van Swieten and presented in Jahn's Hall in the Himmelfortgasse in Vienna.

A performance under Count Wallsegg's auspices was some time in coming about. This apparently had to do with the requirement for two basset horns in the otherwise small orchestral setting (2 violins, viola, bass, 2 bassoons, 3 trombones, 2 trumpets, kettledrums, and organ). This is also confirmed in an account by Joseph Zawrzel, one of the former members of the Wallsegg orchestra, who had this to say in 1826 about the preparations for the performance and the writing out of the parts 22/: "I noticed the basset horns and said to the Count: we can't get instruments like this in (Wiener) Neustadt. His reply was: 'when he has the whole Requiem ready, then he will have the basset horns come from Vienna'." And in Vienna, the clarinetist (and good friend of Mozart) Anton Stadler and his younger brother Johann Nepomuk Stadler, both members of the court orchestra, would have been available for

such a setting. This prompts one to wonder whether Mozart -- who had been advanced from Kammermusik to Hofkomponist by Emperor Leopold II -- could have been thinking of another possible use for the Requiem: as a recommendation for his artistic abilities in connection with the position of second Hofkapellmeister he was trying to secure 23/. In such a position, Mozart evidently hoped to provide a new impulse to church music at the emperor's court and dissociate himself from Antonio Salieri, "for the very capable Kapellm[eister] Salieri has never devoted himself to the church style, whereas I have made this style wholly my own from childhood on. . ." (as he wrote in May 1790 in the draft of a letter to be sent to Archduke Francis).

The impetus for Mozart's renewed interest in sacred music could have been the gradual relaxation of Joseph II's restrictions on music in the church taking place under Leopold II. His application as a candidate for the post of Kapellmeister at St. Stephen's cathedral in the spring of 1791 must also be seen in this light. Mozart had obviously been occupying himself with compositions involving music for the church for a fairly long time 24/. Thanks to the new dates for many fragments provided by Alan Tyson, we now know of the following works in this regard in the period between 1787 and 1791 25/: Kyrie in G (KV 196a), Kyrie in C (KV 323), Kyrie in D (KV 422a), and Gloria in C (KV 323a). The autograph of the great Kyrie in D-minor (KV 341) is missing and therefore cannot be dated, but this work too obviously belongs with this group. There were, in addition, other signs which substantiate Mozart's interest in church music in this period: in 1787, he copied out a Kyrie in D and two requiem masses by Johann Georg Reutter; in 1788, he asked his sister Nannerl in Salzburg to borrow the scores for "2 tutti-masses and the gradual he has composed" from Michael Haydn; and in 1791, at Mozart's request, Anton Stoll in Baden sent him the performance parts for his *Missa brevis* in B-flat (KV 275) and a gradual in B-flat by Michael Haydn because he had been asked "to direct a mass at a church."

It was only on the 14th of December 1793 that Mozart's Requiem was finally performed for the first time in keeping with its actual commemorative purpose. The performance took place in the Neukloster parish church in Wiener Neustadt under the direction of Count Franz Wallsegg 26/. Joseph Krüchten, a lawyer from Budapest, later provided some particulars concerning the circumstances surrounding this performance 27/:

"A very precious young lady, related to me on the maternal side from Hungary and married with a nobleman, died in January (sic) 1791, was buried on the estate of her husband in a small wood near the mansion; a prominent artist received the commission to erect a monument to her memory over her grave. . . In 1791 during Holy Week, I myself paid a visit. . . to the gravesite I so revere."

According to his account, the Requiem was rehearsed at the home of his uncle, Dr. Anton Obermayer, a provincial physician and doctor at the military academy in Wiener Neustadt 28/.

"My uncle. . . and all his family were musical, and every week at their place there were quartet and orchestral events in which the then still living choir director of the mother church in this city, Herr Trapp, and all his musicians. . . usually were very active, by which it was possible to provide sufficient forces for large musicals with orchestra members and singers in my uncle's house. My. . . uncle was moreover both a personal friend and physician to Count Wallsegg's family in Stuppach."

In his 1839 memoir, Anton Herzog, who had been charged with rehearsing the singers, reported on the persons taking part and on the performance of the Requiem:

"One chose among the musicians so that the solo and most important parts were assigned to the best wherever they were found; thus it happened that the ones used were the soprano Ferenz from (Wiener) Neustadt, the alto Kernbeiss from Schottwien, the tenor Klein from Neustadt and the bass Thurner from Gloggnitz. The rehearsal took place on the evening of 12 December 1793 in the choirloft of the Cistercian parish church in Wiener Neustadt, and at 10 o'clock on 14 December, a mass was held in the same church at which this famous Requiem was performed for its specific purpose for the first time."

And Anton Herzog also reported on a second performance:

"On 14 February 1794, the anniversary of the death of the Countess, the Requiem was performed in the Count's patron church, zu Maria-Schutz am Semmering, and from this time on the Count made no further use of it except for arranging it as a quintet for strings."

But before this last performance took place, there had been extensive efforts to build up an orchestra at the church in Maria Schutz. The financial basis for doing so was provided by the "Andreas Schamperl music foundation" which came into being on 30 October 1791 29/, for according to the inventory of 20 February 1791 the church orchestra was in woeful condition 30/: "Four trumpets without accessories, 2 drums including keys, 2 violins, 1 cello, 1 double bass." The shape the instruments were in is made clear in an inventory receipt signed on 1 May 1791 by Leonhard Joseph Kainz, a school teacher in Schottwien, on assuming the duties of organist in Maria Schutz:

"4 D-sharp trumpets without mouthpieces, including 2 whole-tone crooks and 2 half-tone. 2 kettledrums without carrying strap but with sticks and key. 1 so-called Their double bass. 1 little cello. 2 violins (one of them in the parish house). All 4 of these string instruments are without nuts, strings, pegs and bows. As for music, nothing."

The gradual development of a functioning church orchestra can be clearly seen in the following entries: "In the year (1)792 the following have been bought or replaced by me with payment in cash. 4 trumpet mouthpieces for 30 kreuzer, 1 new yellow violin, including bow, made of India-wood for 4 gulden 30 kreuzer, 3 normal violin bows, also the 3 old violins have been reconditioned." Then in 1793 additional purchases took place: "1 violin and a cello bow. 2 new timpani sticks." 31/

After this last performance, we hear nothing more of the widowed Count until September 1799, when the announcement of the printing of Mozart's Requiem by the music publishers Breitkopf & Härtel appeared in the Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung in Leipzig.

With that, Count Wallsegg moved to assert his proprietary rights to the Requiem through his attorney Dr. Sortschan. Constanze Mozart had apparently only been able to bring Gottfried Christoph Härtel to go ahead with publishing the Requiem by saying that, although she conceded the ownership rights lay with a third party, this "*Anonymus*" "after the passage of seven years still had not shown up publicly." By then, it had been a long time since Count Wallsegg had had any active interest in Mozart's Requiem. He presumably was willing to settle for repayment of the original fee and the receipt of an autograph score from Mozart's musical estate. Twice he made the copy of the

Requiem he had received available: once for comparing with Constanze Mozart's copy, and once for checking the pre-publication proofs of the score.

When Count Wallsegg died in 1827, the bitter controversy over the genuineness of Mozart's Requiem was raging, set off by Gottfried Weber, publisher of the musical magazine "Cäcilia." The Count himself, however, never made any comments either on the circumstances surrounding the commission to Mozart or on the state of his knowledge regarding the additions made by Süßmayr. His sister, Countess Caroline Sternberg, arranged for the Count to be interred in the family vault in Schottwien and for his wife to be exhumed from her tomb in the Stuppach meadowland 32/. Her remains were brought to Schottwien on 30 November 1827. When the family vault was opened in 1889 in the course of a neo-Gothic redecoration of the church, the following entry was made in the parish history account 33/:

"To the right of the stairs is the sealed coffin of the last Count Wallsegg. With him, the family died out. The last of his line. The oaken coffin still very well preserved, as is the coffin of his wife who was exhumed in Stuppach & interred here. Anna, born Countess Sternberg (sic!). Sic transit gloria mundi."

In the church itself, only the splendidly decorated gravestone of Count Joseph Julius Leopold Wallsegg who died in 1742, located on the south wall of the presbytery, serves as a reminder of the aristocratic family which made its residence here for almost two hundred years 34/.

With the sale of the Wallsegg estate to Prince Johann I of Liechtenstein in 1830, the fate of the artistically conceived cenotaph in the Stuppach meadowlands was also sealed. At first, the area around the vault, which had been transformed into a war memorial, was still attended by gardeners 35/. Then, later, the entire site was cleared and levelled off. Recently it has been possible, working with documentary sources, to locate the original burial site in the Stuppach meadows and to excavate the vault which had been sunk in the gravelly soil of the Schwarza river lowlands 36/.

The administrator Joseph Leitner had acquired music and instruments once owned by Count Wallsegg from his estate 37/. Whether Wallsegg's copy of Mozart's Requiem was among them is still not clear. In any event, the autograph was found among the property left in 1838 by the clerk Karl Haag; the Vienna court library was able to purchase it for 50 gold ducats from Haag's sole heir, Katharina Adelpoller. And with that, all of the parts of the Requiem in Mozart's hand finally were joined together once more, after the section from the Dies irae to the Confutatis had been acquired earlier from Abbe Maximilian Stadler in 1829 and Joseph Eybler had presented the section from the Lacrimosa to the Hostias to the library in 1833 38/.

FOOTNOTES [The citations are given in the original German, with gists in English where appropriate.]

1. As was often the case in the then orthographically unsettled times, the spelling of the family name took different forms, such as Wallsseck, Walsegg or Wallsegg. The form used in this article -- Wallsegg -- was chosen from a personal signature made by the count on 29 September 1819. In any event, the form often found in Mozart literature, "Wal(l)segg-Stuppach," is genealogically false.

2. Pfarrarchiv Schottwien, Trauungsbuch 1786, fol. 2, records the marriage of Count von Wallsegg with Baroness Anna v. Flamberg on 9 September in Maria Schutz, with dispensation for her not yet being of age.

3. Niederhollabrunn, baptismal record Tom.IV, fol.291, notes the birth in Fellabrun in the mansion on the 15th of September 1770 at 3 o'clock of Anna Magdalena Antonia -- paternal lineage de Flamberg, wife Francisca Magdalena de Waldberg.

4. Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv, Topographische Materialien. Viertel unter dem Wienerwald: Stuppach.

5. Franz Schweickhardt Ritter von Sickingen, Darstellung des Erzherzogthums Oesterreich unter der Ens. Viertel unterm Wienerwald, 6.Bd., Wien 1833, 190.

6. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv -- Verwaltungsarchiv, Sperrs-Relation nach dem am 11.Januar 1786 verstorbenen Franz Anton Graf Wallsegg; Fürstlich Liechtensteinsches Hausarchiv, Wien-Vaduz, Stuppach-Inventarium 1828, insbesondere fol. 176, 178, 187 (Musikalien und Musikinstrumente).

7. At the time that the father of the count who commissioned the Requiem died, the library already had 1,107 volumes, as well as "various theater pieces and other books, including almanacs." A small number of books from the Wallsegg collection are still to be found in the library of the estate of Prince Liechtenstein in Vienna.

8. Concerning the "compositore" Ernest von Ehrental: a piano arrangement of the aria, "Voll von seelischem Entzücken. . .," from the second act of his opera "Cora" has been preserved in the Wallsegg music archives. The story of Cora, the sun-virgin, was a favorite opera theme which had been set to music by Wenzel Müller and Mayr-Weigl, among others, and even brought out as a parody with music by Ignaz Schuster. Concerning Sigmund Rizzi (1758-1830): a lawyer living in Vienna and the oldest brother of Margarethe Leitgeb, wife of the Wallsegg administrator Franz Anton Leitgeb, he wrote the occasional work, "Die Einfalt." For Anton Herzog, see Note 9.

9. Anton Herzog (ca.1771-5 May 1850) later became school director in Wiener Neustadt. From 1806 on, he was active in the Neukloster parish church and later served as choir director for the Wiener Neustadt cathedral. A song from his Stuppach days ("Es blinkt durch Wolken die freundliche Sonne") still exists in a private collection. An "arietta pastorale in G" for two violins, organ and contrabass, dedicated to M.J. Scheibenreiter, a teacher from Seebenstein, has been preserved in the Heimatmuseum in Neunkirchen. More about Herzog's 1839 report concerning the Requiem is found in Note 14.

10. Otto Biba, "Par Monsieur Francois Comte de Walsegg," in: Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg 1981, 34 ff.

11. Pfarrarchiv Gloggnitz, Totenbuch (Nachtrag Ende März 1791), records the death of Anna Von Wallsegg, née Von Flamberg, from "hitziges Faulfieber," on 14 February; first entombed in the family vault in Schottwien and transferred to the new gravesite in the meadowlands on 27 March. Pfarrarchiv Schottwien, Protocollum mortuorum, fol.17, notes that Countess Anna v. Wallsegg died, 20 years old, in Schloss Stuppach on 14 February and was interred in the Schottwien family vault on the 16th.

12. Ulrich Thieme-Felix Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, Bd.12, Leipzig 1916, 37 (Fischer Johann Martin: Grabmal der Gräfin von Walsek nach Stubbach, nach Entwurf des Archit. Henrici).

13. Richard Perger, Der Hohe Markt (Wiener Geschichtsbücher Bd. 3, hg. von Dr. Peter Pötschner), Wien 1970, 74 ff. (family name mistakenly given as "Wolfegg").

14. Wiener Neustadt, Stadtarchiv, Lit. B. 1692. An identical, handwritten copy of the Herzog report from the papers left by Otto Jahn is held in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, in Berlin under the signature Mus.ms.theor.385. The Herzog report came into the hands of the city archives after the war as part of the archives of the Wiener Neustadt Musikverein. Otto Schneider is said to have discovered it there (see, for example, Otto Erich Deutsch, Zur Geschichte von Mozarts Requiem, in: Österreichische Musikzeitschrift 2/1964, 49 ff.). In fact, however, significant passages from the report had been known since 1864 from a publication by Ludwig von Köchel (Mozart's Requiem -- Nachlese zu den Forschungen über dessen Entstehen, in: Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik 48/1864, 753 ff.). And later on, Josef Heitzenberger called attention to the historical significance of the Herzog report in the daily newspaper "Reichspost" of 5 May 1925 and printed parts of it in summary form.

15. Andrea Worliz-Wellspacher, Der Bote des Requiembestellers, in: WGBII.4(1990) 197 ff.

16. Ausstellungskatalog "Zaubertöne -- Mozart in Wien," Wien 1990, Kat.Nr. VIII/30, 31, 32.

17. Walther Brauneis, Mozarts Begräbnis, in: Ausstellungskatalog "Zaubertöne -- Mozart in Wien," Wien 1990.

18. Walther Brauneis, "Exequien für Mozart. Archivfund über das Seelenamt für W. A. Mozart am 10.Dezember 1791 in der Wiener Michaelerkirche," in: Singende Kirche 1/1991, 8 ff. (Also in English translation by Bruce Cooper Clarke.)

19. Gerhard Croll -- Kurt Vössing, "Johann Michael Haydn -- Sein Leben, sein Schaffen, seine Zeit," Wien 1987, 150. As Karl Pfannhauser pointed out in his article "Epilegomena Mozartiana" which appeared in 1973, there was nothing unusual in the performance of incomplete or fragmentary church works in these times: for example, the uncompleted requiem of Florian Leopold Gassmann, with additions from Joseph Krottendorfer as well as P. Joseph Kaintz, remained in the repertory of the Hofburg chapel until well into the first half of the 19th century. And for the monastery at Kremsmünster, Abbe Maximilian Stadler had completed this work with movements of his own composition.

20. Süssmayr's claim as to the extent of his contribution to Mozart's Requiem can only be seen in relation to the work as a whole. The inclusion of more or less coherent musical ideas of Mozart which he had been called upon to complete did not, in his eyes, impinge on his contribution as composer. Süssmayr spelled out his own role in the undertaking, as he saw it, in a letter of 8 February 1800 to Breitkopf & Härtel: "*Das Sanctus – Benedictus – und Agnus Dei – ist ganz neu von mir verfertigt; nur hab ich mir erlaubt, um dem Werk mehr Einförmigkeit zu geben, die Fuge des Kyrie, bei dem Verse – cum Sanctis etc. zu wiederholen.*" ("The Sanctus – Benedictus – and Agnus Dei – is entirely newly made up by me; I only allowed myself to repeat the fugue of the Kyrie at the verse – cum Sanctis etc., to give the work greater unity." [Translator's note: it has become traditional to translate Süssmayr's verb

verfertigen as “to compose,” but the most common meanings of the verb tend to lie in the direction of “to make” or “to manufacture,” that is, to put together from other materials; Süssmayr's usage is ambiguous; whether this was deliberate is hard to say in the absence of other examples of Süssmayr's use of the word.]) In this connection, it is interesting to note that the parts for a performance of the Requiem at the Benedictine abbey of Kremsmünster in 1796 were originally placed in the archives there separately under Mozart and Süssmayr, respectively.

21. Robert Levin, *Zur Musiksprache der Süssmayr zugeschriebenen Sätze des Requiem KV 626* in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1991*

22. Gottfried Weber, *Mozarti Missa pro defunctis*, in: *Cäcilia*, 6.Bd./1827, 212. Joseph Zawrzel was engaged as first oboist in the Dutch national theater in Amsterdam at the time. In 1822, the *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* had devoted an obituary to his talented son Carl Eugen following his untimely death.

23. Mozart, *Die Dokumente seines Lebens, gesammelt und erläutert von Otto Erich Deutsch*, Kassel 1961, 322 f.

24. For Anton Stoll, the choir director in Baden bei Wien, Mozart had composed his *Corpus Christi* motet, “*Ave verum corpus*” (KV 618), on 17 June 1791.

25. Christoph Wolff, *Mozarts Requiem*, Kassel 1991, 41(Anm.98). In this connection, it should also be pointed out that even at the time when Antonio Salieri was Hofkapellmeister, three Mozart masses (KV 258, 317, and 337) had entered the repertory and archives of the Hofmusikkapelle. In addition, the court musicians may also have performed the two motets (KV 222, Anh. 121) (see Karl Pfannhauser, “*Mozarts Krönungsmesse*,” in: *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 11/1963, 3 ff.). Certainly this must mean that Mozart's style of composing for the church was entirely compatible with the demands of the Viennese court.

26. The memorial plaque erected by the Wiener Neustadt Singverein and Musikverein and the Neukloster church choir in the inner court of the Neukloster church was unveiled on 13 December 1936 (see the announcement in the Wiener Neustadt newspaper of 12 December 1936).

27. Gottfried Weber, *Weitere Nachrichten über das Mozartsche Requiem*, in: *Cäcilia*, 4.Bd./1826, 302 (Nr.XXI), 305 f. (Nr.XXVI); Joseph Krüchten, *Berichtigende Notiz. Die Entstehung des Mozart'schen Requiems betreffend*, in: *Cäcilia* 5.Bd./1826, 237f.; Gottfried Weber, *Mozarti missa pro defunctis*, in: *Cäcilia* 6.Bd./1927, 217ff., 221ff.

28. At the time, Dr. Anton Obermayer lived at Neunkirchner Strasse 15 (I 186, II 194, III 209).

29. Pfarrarchiv Maria Schutz, *Stiftung Protocoll der Pfarre Maria-Schutz am Semmering: Stiftbrief der Andreas Schamperl'schen Musikstiftung von 30.Oktober 1791*, fol.23f.

30. Pfarrarchiv Maria Schutz, *Pfarr Protokoll von Maria Schutzeerrichtet in Jahre 1794: An Instrumenten zur Musik*, fol.27.f.

31. Of all these instruments, only a pair of kettledrums (59.5 cm and 61.5 cm in diameter) have survived. As for the organ built in 1741 by the Vienna-based organ builder Johann Henke, only the original housing still remains.

32. Pfarrarchiv Schottwien, Totenbuch 1827, records that Count Wallsegg died on 11 November and on 30 November was entombed in the family vault with his wife Anna, who had been disinterred from her grave site in the meadowlands and newly interred.

33. Pfarrarchiv Schottwien, Gedenkbuch IV, fol.50.

34. In the catalog of the exhibition, „Requiem -- Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart 1791/1991“ (Kat.Nr. VI/26), held in Vienna in 1991, the memorial plaque is erroneously attributed to the Count Wallsegg who commissioned the Requiem.

35. Fürstlich Liechtensteinsches Hausarchiv, Wien-Vaduz, Herrschaft Schottwien und Stuppach: Ausweis Über in den Zeitraum vom 1.July bis Ende Dezember 1835 stattgehabten Auslagen für Fuhr- und Taglohn bey den Gärten, Park- und Natur Anlagen diese Hft. bezirktes.

36. Herbert Pusterhofer, Die Auffindung einer Grabstätte in der Stuppacher Au; Wolfgang Haider-Berky, Das Grabmal der Anna von Walsegg-Stuppach. Beide Aufsätze in: Ausstellungskatalog „Graf Wallsegg und das Mozart-Requiem,“ Enzenreith bei Gloggnitz 1991, 40ff., 43ff.

37. Franz Lorenz, Geheimgeschichte des Mozart'schen Requiem, in: Deutsche Musik-Zeitung vom 30.November 1861, 380ff.

38. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Requiem KV 626. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe der Originalhandschrift in zwei Teilen nach Mus.Hs: 17.561 der Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, herausgegeben und kommentiert von Günter Brosche, Graz-Kassel 1990 (Documenta Musicologica II/27).

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