

Mozart's working methods: sketches, fragments, drafts, watermarks and the Berlin *Skizzenblatt*

Sketches, fragments and drafts for about 320 Mozart works have survived, and it is a matter of conjecture how much larger that total would have been had not Constanze destroyed an unknown number. As Maynard Solomon notes “To try to keep ahead of his commissions, as well as to jot down ideas as they occurred to him, [Mozart] would compose portions of some works in the expectation of completing them later on...Whereas in earlier works he often completed the scoring of each section and then moved on to draft the next, in Vienna he developed the practice of fixing the outer voices of an entire movement before returning to fill in the inner voices.”¹ This last is, of course, the method seen in the autograph of the Requiem. Some of these sketches are fairly large fragments of works, such as the Concerto for Bassett Horn in G K. 621b, which is almost 200 bars long. According to Braunbehrens, the fact that such substantial workings are left unfinished may not mean that Mozart was displeased with what he had written, more probably that the performance for which it had been intended was, for some reason, cancelled or did not materialise: “Most pieces ... were written on request or with a specific performance in mind, if not for the composer's own use. Mozart frequently emphasized that he would never consider writing something for which there was no such occasion. Indeed, hardly a single work of his was not written for a particular occasion, or at least for use in his own concerts.”²

At this stage it would be helpful to distinguish between the three terms ‘sketch’, ‘fragment’ and ‘draft’, since unfortunately they are sometimes used somewhat interchangeably when discussing incomplete Mozart manuscripts. It is clear, however, that they represent quite different stages of Mozart's creative process. ‘Sketch’ is the most embryonic, as it were, of the three. Over time Mozart developed what virtually amounts to a musical shorthand script almost always without clefs, or any attribution as to instrument or voice part, often seemingly written in great haste and difficult to read: much of the so-called Berlin *Skizzenblatt*, which will be discussed below, falls into this category. These might be scribbled melodic ideas, perhaps like an *aide-mémoire*, or workings for complicated contrapuntal passages or musical transitions in

¹ Maynard Solomon, *Mozart: A Life*, Harper Collins, 1995, p. 310

² Volkmar Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna: 1781-1791*, 1990, Grove Weidenfeld, p. 147

scenes, sometimes, in the operas, presumably as the result of needed changes arising from early rehearsals. In the second half of 1791, Mozart made extensive use of this working method.

A ‘fragment’ is much more fully developed, usually in a clearer hand with dynamics and even articulations, often quite lengthy (such as the bass horn concerto fragment mentioned above) where the principal melodic detail is indicated but little of the accompanimental material beyond the bass line, although sometimes an opening *tutti* might be more fully orchestrated.³ A fragment will often look like, and may well indeed be, an incomplete ‘draft’, which may be defined as a completed movement which is completely worked out in terms of form and melodic material, but with limited indication of accompaniment, and mostly, or completely, unorchestrated. By these definitions, most of the Requiem is a draft, but the *Lacrymosa* would be considered a fragment.

Mozart not infrequently returned to fragments at a later date and completed them, presumably when a new performance opportunity arose. Indeed, K. 621b is an excellent case in point, since Mozart returned to it, continuing the orchestral accompaniment in A major starting at bar 180, without bothering, at that stage, to re-write the opening in the new key.⁴ Whether this was the result of a change of heart on Mozart’s part regarding the solo instrument, or a change of preference on the part of the soloist, Anton Stadler, for whom the work was composed, may never be known.⁵ Eventually this fragment became the first movement of K. 622, of which, sadly, the autograph is lost, thereby depriving us of valuable insights into how a fragment becomes a draft. We can be sure that in the case of K. 622 there was a gap in time between the draft stage and being fully completed because Mozart wrote in a letter to his wife that on 7-8th of October 1791: “I told Joseph to...fetch me some black coffee, with which I smoked a splendid pipe of tobacco, and then I orchestrated almost all of Stadler’s Rondo.”⁶ This is notable not only as an insight into Mozart’s working methods, but for the fact that the task was apparently accomplished in a single evening! Mozart worked the same way in preparing the score of *Die Zauberflöte*, writing to Constanze in Baden asking her to have Süßmayr send him the score of Act I so he could orchestrate it.⁷

Alan Tyson has made the case that many works entered by Mozart in his Verzeichnis on a particular date were once fragments, and only completed when a firm opportunity arose for a

³ for example Mozart’s draft for the Rondo in D for horn, K. 412, discussed below

⁴ which had started, of course, in G major

⁵ The solo part, of course, didn’t need to be changed. It is worthy of note that even at this major turning point in his conception of the piece, he still only gave the barest minimum of hints as to what the accompaniment should be. See NMA V/14/4 p. 165-76 for a facsimile of the autograph.

⁶ See Daniel Heartz, *Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven, 1781-1802*. Norton, 2009, p. 304. It is true that the reference here is to the last movement while K. 621b is a draft of the first movement, but it seems clear that an identical process is in play

⁷ Letter to Constanze dated July 2nd, 1791. Presumably Süßmayr had it to make a copy for rehearsal purposes

première. He believes many works completed in 1791 fall into this category: "...I found there were a number of works, including the well-known piano concertos K. 449, K. 488 and K. 503, the first movements of which appear to have remained as fragments for well over a year before the movement and then the work was completed."⁸

An excellent example of a 'draft' is the famous Rondo in D for horn and orchestra K. 412 (368b). This work is particularly interesting, not merely because it shows Mozart's drafting process,⁹ or the fact that Tyson re-dates the work to mid 1791,¹⁰ but because it is generally best known today in a different version, K. 514, the autograph of which is now frequently suggested to be in Süßmayr's hand. However, not only is K. 514 fully orchestrated—that is, it is no longer a draft—but it contains such significant differences in structure and instrumentation as well as completely new melodic material that, in effect, it is virtually a new composition.¹¹ While there are many theories, a satisfactory answer to the question "why does K. 514 exist?" has yet to be proposed. Was there a planned performance of the concerto after Mozart's death, for which only the score of the first movement could be found? If such a performance were indeed the impetus for the preparation of the second version of the Rondo, from the many divergences between the two scores it would seem that Süßmayr was either unaware of Mozart's draft or did not have access to it.¹²

Whilst this is not the place for even a brief discussion of the many issues regarding this score—let alone one worthy of its many mysteries—a short discussion of just one of these differences is warranted because it has become part of the debate about the movements in the Requiem that Süßmayr claimed as his own, and may cast light on his working methods. I am referring, of course, to the inclusion in K. 514 of a Gregorian chant melody, associated with the Lamentations of Jeremiah, introduced in the horn part (doubled by first violins) in bar 70. Tyson puts this down as Süßmayr's "allusion ... to the lamentable death of Mozart four months earlier", or a reference to the supposed date of its completion, Good Friday.¹³ Levin makes the possible *homage* connection too.¹⁴ But, since the melody has no place in the Mozart draft (K. 412), it creates a real problem of authorship: if Süßmayr came up with the idea of his own accord it

⁸ Tyson, *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores*, Harvard, 1987, p. 32. See also p. 156 re K. 595

⁹ see NMA V/14/5 p. 127-134

¹⁰ see Tyson, p. 246 – 61.

¹¹ see Tyson p. 252-3, and Wolff, p. 44-50.

¹² Adding to the puzzle of K. 514 is the fact that clearly Süßmayr was not claiming the work as his own composition, or he would have signed it. But by adding the date April 6th 1792 at the foot of the score—long after Mozart's very well advertised death—he was also letting the world know that it wasn't by Mozart. Interestingly he did the same on the autograph of the Requiem, adding the date 1792 after faking Mozart's signature

¹³ Tyson, p. 259

¹⁴ Robert Levin, *Who wrote the Four-Wind Concertante*, Pendragon Press 1988, 151-54

represents rather a shockingly free use of his erstwhile employer's manuscripts. Even if the work were indeed finished on Good Friday as stated at the bottom of the last page of the score, what would induce him to introduce such an obscure reference in an otherwise lighthearted movement?

There have been many attempts to untangle this Gordian knot, and they present almost as absorbing a detective story as that of the Requiem itself. Of these, the only one directly relevant to the Requiem is Wolff's theory that Süssmayr included the *Lamentatio* in his version of the Rondo because a sketch for the melody may have been on the same sheet of manuscript paper as any material relating to the Rondo that he may have been using to prepare the score of K. 514: "... Süssmayr's work on the D-major horn rondo ... provides an exact parallel to the Sanctus and Agnus Dei of the Requiem: both times Süssmayr was faced with the task of composing something new on the basis of unfinished materials, left out of order and sometimes not intended to belong together."¹⁵ While the existence of the manuscript that Wolff is describing is conjecture, the possibility that Süssmayr constructed the movements of the Requiem which he claimed as his own in a similar way to K. 514 is indeed striking.¹⁶

Whatever the truth of the matter, the following observations can be made: first, that Süssmayr clearly had easy access to Mozart manuscripts and felt free to use them; second, that any papers he found, or was given, may indeed have contained "work for several compositions mixed up on the same sheet of paper;"¹⁷ and, third, that the confusion among the manuscripts of both Mozart and Süssmayr is not rare. K. 514 is on the same paper as parts of *Die Zauberflöte*, *La Clemenza di Tito* (final draughts and sketches) and the Masonic Cantata K. 623; in 1980 an earlier—and previously unknown—autograph version of the final forty-five measures of the Rondo of the piano concerto K. 386 was discovered among a collection of works by Süssmayr in the British Library.¹⁸ The fact that even Süssmayr works from early 1792 that have no relationship with Mozart's music were written on paper identical to the type used by Mozart in *La clemenza di Tito*¹⁹ is but a further indication of how closely the two men's musical lives were intertwined during Mozart's four last months. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that this frequent intermingling of Mozart's and Süssmayr's manuscripts is, to use Wolff's term, "assuredly not accidental".²⁰ While it is not surprising that two composers in the same city might have access to paper from the same supplier at the same time, the fact that in K. 514 it is

¹⁵ Wolff, p. 50

¹⁶ for a discussion of the differences in orchestration between K. 412 and K. 514 see Chapter 3

¹⁷ Wolff, p. 49

¹⁸ Tyson, p. 262 ff.

¹⁹ Tyson, p. 253

²⁰ Wolff, p. 44

extremely challenging to separate the work of the two men is obviously of central importance to any appraisal of the parts of the Requiem which Süßmayr claimed as his own.

It would seem then that Constanze's observation that her husband was not very orderly with his papers²¹ extended to his use of manuscript paper as well: rather than buying a batch of paper and using it all up before buying another, he would apparently just use the nearest paper to hand, with the result that some types of paper were used over many years. The autograph of *Die Zauberflöte* contains no fewer than twelve different types of paper, one of which—Tyson's type 82—was also used, among other works, for parts of *Le Nozze di Figaro* (1786), two leaves of the C major string quintet K. 515 (1787), two leaves of the piano concerto in D major K. 537 (1788), and, relevant to the discussion above, both the second half of the Basset horn concerto fragment and the first four leaves of the first movement of the D major horn concerto K. 412. This not only makes the dating of incomplete works (which Mozart obviously did not enter into his Verzeichnis) somewhat challenging, but it also can be misleading when trying to determine order of composition for completed works that use more than one type of paper. This is especially true for paper types like watermark 82, which was used over a relatively wide period: no-one would suggest that Mozart was working on *Figaro* and *Die Zauberflöte* at the same time!

The Requiem presents just such a problem of 'continuity'. Mozart's autograph score uses two types of paper: Type I (watermark 62—TS 188-189 with a printed vertical line at the beginning and end of each line), and Type II (watermark 102, TS 189-190). Allocated the numbers I and II because of the order in which they appear in the Requiem score, Type II was, somewhat confusingly, actually the earlier paper, being used in works dating from March 1791 onwards.²² Apart from the Requiem, the only other places where Type I can be seen are the Overture and parts of Act II of *Die Zauberflöte*²³—some of the last music to be composed, entered in to Mozart's catalogue on September 28th—and the Masonic Cantata K. 623, dated November 15th.²⁴ This fact is usually now given as the reason to conclude that Mozart did not start to draft the Requiem until after his return from Prague, at the earliest around the middle of September, most likely after the première of *Die Zauberflöte* on September 30th.

²¹ letter to Stadler, 31st May, 1827

²² Type II is the only paper used in K. 612 (dated March 8th) and K. 614 (dated April 12th), and appears in K. 615 (April 20th) and K. 616 (May 4th), as well as much of Act I of *Die Zauberflöte*, two leaves of the Masonic Cantata K. 623 and the first movement of K. 412.

²³ No. 16 the trio "Sei uns zum zweitenmal willkommen", No. 17 the Pamina's "Ach ich fuhl's" and No 19, the trio "Sol lich, theurer" for Pamina, Tamino and Sarastro. None of these numbers are entered separately in the Verzeichnis, only the Overture and the Priest's march, which is on a different paper type.

²⁴ K. 623 also contains paper that Mozart used as far back as September 1789!

However, there are a couple of interesting anomalies that suggest it might not be quite as simple as that. Although the first number of Act I of *Die Zauberflöte* was orchestrated at some point in July,²⁵ the particella on which its trumpet parts were written is on Type I paper, which, if the traditional time line is correct, was not used until later in September or early October. Why the delay? Originally Mozart used trumpets and timpani in C to underscore the dramatic nature of this opening scene in which Tamino enters, chased by a monster. But at some point, he changed his mind: the ink colour used to cross out the first 39 bars of music for those instruments is the same as that of the rest of the orchestration of this number, suggesting that it was done at that time. Since the staves on which their music for bar 40 would have been written are taken up instead with music for flutes and clarinets (who had not participated up to that point and therefore did not have their own staves), a particella would of course have been needed, but why was it not written at the same time, on the same paper? Was there once a different particella of the new parts that has been lost? It would seem strange indeed to make the decision in July to reserve the entry of E flat trumpets and timpani for the first entrance of the Three Ladies (“Stirb, Ungeheur!”) but wait until the last minute, late September, to provide parts for them. Or did he start using paper Type I earlier than previously thought? It is also interesting to note that while the Overture to *Die Zauberflöte* is on Type I paper, the March of the Priests, entered into the Verzeichnis on the same day, is not. Again, if the traditional timeline is correct, should there not have been some Type I available? If the Requiem were indeed written down *after* the première of *Die Zauberflöte* on September 30th, the sixteen pages on which the *Requiem aeternam* was written would have been empty and available for the March (completed by the 28th), which required only 4 pages. And finally, the wind and trombone particellas to the Overture—which can only have been written after the Overture was completed—are not on Type I paper either. Why not, if he had just finished writing the Overture on that paper? There would seem to be three alternative possible explanations: Was Mozart just using the nearest paper to hand?²⁶; had he simply mislaid his supply of Type I? (unlikely); or, had he run out of Type I because he had used it for other projects? If so, the only project it could have been used for²⁷ is the Requiem. Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the original time line, according to which Mozart started work on the Requiem in June/July and stopped only to make the trip to Prague, might after all be correct: there are too any unanswered questions for it to be dismissed by paper type usage alone.

²⁵ This music was not only entered into the Verzeichnis in July—suggesting that the work was complete—but on July 2nd Mozart wrote to Constanze asking her to tell Süssmayr to send him the score for Act I of “from the Introduction to the finale”


²⁶ The trombone particella for the Overture is on a different type of paper altogether, watermark 89.

²⁷ unless there were once another commission of which we are completely unaware and of which all evidence has vanished

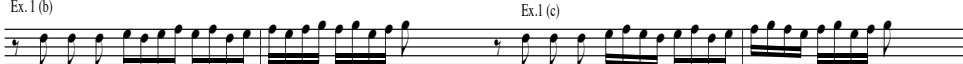
There is a similar, perhaps thornier, dilemma in the Requiem: as discussed above, although Type II is the ‘earlier’ paper, curiously it does not appear in the Requiem until the final page of the *Kyrie* fugue, only the last 7 bars. The beginning of the *Requiem aeternam*, the first sixteen pages of the score, was written on Type I, the ‘later’ paper. Furthermore, after the one page of Type II that was required to finish the *Kyrie*, Mozart left the rest of the sheet blank (there are three empty pages): the *Dies irae* is written on a new set of Type I paper. If there were more of Type I readily to hand, why not finish the *Kyrie* with it and continue directly to the opening of the *Dies irae*? This suggests quite strongly that he had already written down at least the beginning of the *Dies irae*—and probably much more—before he finished committing the final version of the *Kyrie* to paper.

Is there corroborating evidence to support this theory? A careful examination of the *Kyrie* in the autograph shows it is far from being a “clean” score, without errors or edits.²⁸ There are corrections to the underlay in the soprano part in bar 3 of leaf 6 (bar 9 of NMA), the alto part in bar 5 of the same page (=NMA b.11), twice in the bass part in the first bar of leaf 7 (=20 NMA). Somewhat astonishingly, the first entrance of the Handelian countersubject in the altos shows signs of corrections being made:

Ex. 1 (a) small notes corrected in autograph



Ex. 1 (b) Ex. 1 (c)



It seems that the countersubject may originally have been conceived not as it is in Ex. 1 (c), as we know it, but as 1 (b), the shape it takes in the Handel Dettingen Anthem (HWV 265):

Ex. 2



Mozart seems to have left it to the last possible moment, committing the final version to paper, to make this change from his model.²⁹

The autograph also shows evidence of ‘local’ edits to the soprano and tenor parts in bar 2 of the verso of sheet 6 (=NMA b.14), the alto and tenor in the next bar and the soprano in the last

²⁸ by contrast, the following Sequenz, though admittedly a less complex choral texture, has far fewer edits

²⁹ Another interesting insight into his working sequence here is that the organ continuo part (where the right hand doubles the alto part) was obviously added after the text of the choral bass part, because it was written in over the top of the text, obscuring it.

bar of that page. All of these lead up to the structural edit affecting all the voices between bars three and four of the verso of leaf 7:

The image shows a musical score for five voices. The second bar of the example is crossed out with a large 'X'. The lyrics are: Ky - ri - e e - le - i son e - le - i son. The edit affects the alto part, where the 'e' in 'eleison' is replaced by a note that creates a parallel octave with the bass. The corrected version is shown in the following bar.

As can be seen, the alto ‘eleison’ starting on the second quaver of bar 2 of the example was originally given to the tenors (it is impossible to see whether it was dotted or not).³⁰ The re-beaming in the tenor part of the previous bar shows some extra indecision. A comparison of the soprano and bass parts in the deleted bar with the final version in the next measure shows that the soprano part was unaffected, the bass part stopped after only two beats, but the alto and tenor bars are completely different. Originally the altos followed the sopranos a third lower pleasingly enough, but their last note, D (doubled by the tenors at the bottom of their downward run³¹), invalidates the basses’ entry by creating the wrong harmony on the third beat (and an impossible second inversion chord to boot). Perhaps Mozart realised this just as he was about to write in the next bass note, because the A is absent in the excised bar. Was he either copying and/or adapting (misreading, even?) a half-realised sketch as he was writing,³² or was he composing in full-flow as he went, realizing too late the wrong turn he had taken? This might be of only local concern were it not for the fact that the corrected version, the continuation and correct harmonisation of the bass entry, *is in a different coloured ink*. Unless, for some unknown reason, he simply began to use a different pot of ink, there would seem to be a gap in time between the crossed-out bar and the resumption of the autograph.

Nor do the ‘local’ edits stop after this apparent hiatus: Mozart corrected the first alto note of the verso of leaf 8 from A to E (=NMA b. 39), the bass part four bars later originally had a minim for the syllable ‘-lei’ in bar 5 (=NMA b. 43) but was changed to a dotted crotchet-quaver

³⁰ But an even rhythm would result in a parallel octave with the bass

³¹ already not ideal since it leaves a somewhat perilous two octave chasm between alto and tenor

³² in a manner analogous to the sketch for the *Rex tremendae* (see below)

rhythm, and Mozart changed the underlay in the tenor of the last bar of the leaf and the pitches on the first bar of leaf 9, the first page in the new paper (=NMA b. 45-6: is this one edit?). Compared to these passages, the opening pages of the *Dies irae* are much more error- and correction-free, perhaps a sign of less haste and a higher level of confidence of having arrived at the final version? To borrow Tyson's phrase, is it too bold to suggest that Mozart paused not once, but twice during the planning of the Requiem? That before coming to a halt, famously, after eight bars of the *Lacrymosa*, he had also taken time momentarily here, in the middle of the *Kyrie* fugue, to make some final adjustments?

Why would Mozart have followed a different method in the Requiem than he had in the last two operas, where he worked on different sections concurrently, *but non-consecutively*, often starting each with a new set of paper, making the final adjustments of pacing and linkage only once the core of each number was fixed in his mind, often fairly late in the day?³³ Given what we know about Mozart's working methods, is it not more logical to assume that the Requiem was in the process of becoming a 'draft' on November 20th, than to assume that half of it was complete while the rest was just a 'fragment'?

The assertion by Leopold Nowak in 1973 that the orchestration of the *Kyrie* fugue is not in Mozart's hand³⁴ confirms its draft status. I will make the case in the next chapter that the same argument must be applied to the opening *Requiem aeternam*, that it too remained in draft form, with most of the instrumental staves left blank by Mozart.

This account of Mozart's working methods, the problems of chronology and issues regarding paper types lead inexorably to the one page of sketches related to the Requiem that has come to light so far, the so-called *Skizzenblatt*. So much has been written on the subject of what role one of these sketches has played in modern editions and reconstructions of the Requiem that a detailed discussion of its contents is warranted.

Although it consists of only 10 staves,³⁵ the single leaf, discovered at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek in 1960 by Wolfgang Plath, is on the same paper type as Type I used in the Requiem, and contains four sketches:

1) The first sketch is located in the upper left-hand corner, circled (occasionally in a dotted line) in an unknown hand as if to separate it from the rest of the page. The identity of the

³³ see Tyson's chapters 4 and 12 on *La clemenza di Tito* and *Così fan tutte* respectively

³⁴ 'Wer hat die Instrumental-stimmen in der Kyrie-Fuge des Requiem von W.A. Mozart geschrieben?' Mozart Jahrbuch (1973-74): 191-201

³⁵ Tyson watermark 62. It is curious that this 'identical' paper has only 10 staves, not the 12 staves of the rest of the Requiem

person who drew this circle is unknown, as is the time when it was done. The sketch takes up about a quarter of the first two staves in Mozart's "sketch shorthand"—hasty, scribbled and occasionally indecipherable writing without clefs or key signature. The first two bars of the bottom staff are empty, the second voice entering only under the third bar of the top staff:



The upper staff seems to be a sketch for the *Allegro* fugal section of the overture of the *Die Zauberflöte*. Assuming a treble clef, the first two measures seem to refer to the first violin part of the opening of the development section (b. 103-104, in which case the entry of the second voice would correspond with the cello entry in b. 105, although notated in the wrong clef). However, the syncopated repeated d flats of the next measure (in which there seems to be a missing beat) correspond with measures 53 and 54 of the exposition, though cadencing on an A flat rather than the A natural of bar 55 of the Overture. The last measure of the second staff corresponds harmonically with the second violin part of measure 54 of the final version as it appears in the complete score.

It seems then that this is an early version of what became measures 53–54 of the exposition in which, when Mozart came to put it into the final context, the imitative entry was dropped (perhaps to be used later at the opening of the development). That it seems to be a development of the motif rather than the first jottings of a fugal idea would suggest that Mozart was in the middle of the compositional process, since the idea was more fully thought out and integrated later. It is impossible to know when it was jotted down: while Mozart entered the final version into his catalogue on September 28th, one must always be aware of Tyson's observation that these dates are just completion dates and should not be understood to imply when work began. Given the preliminary nature of the brief sketch, it would seem likely that it must date from some days before 28th. It should be noted that this is not the only sketch for the Overture, so, since the *Allegro* in the first sketch, K. 620a,³⁶ is not fugal, the sketch on this leaf must date from some time after K. 620a³⁷ was rejected.

³⁶ see NMA II/5/19 p. 372

³⁷ This sketch is remarkable mostly for bearing no resemblance at all to the Overture as we know it in its final form, other than the shared key of E flat

2) The rest of the top two staves of the leaf is unique among the four sketches in that it is written in a much clearer hand and is complete with tempo indication,³⁸ clefs, key signatures (though the b flat seems to be missing in the LH staff), and articulation marks (slurs and staccatos). The note heads and stems are clearly delineated as in a final autograph. The differences in the quality of the handwriting, the attention to detail suggest that this sketch was written at a different time than the first, most likely, owing to its position on the page, after the first sketch. While the ink colour and thickness of the strokes suggest that No. 1 and No. 2 were written chronologically, it cannot be ruled out that, since in the third sketch below Mozart knew he was sketching a 3 or 4 voice *Amen* fugue, he started that sketch on the third staff to give himself room, leaving the possibility that sketch No. 2 was added in at a later, unknown date after sketch no. 3, simply because there was room on the page. The same logic would also lead to the possibility that it might equally well have been the last sketch to be added, after sketch No. 4.

It is in F major and consists of a simple repeated quaver motif on the top staff against a falling quaver scale in the bass in a rising sequence rounded off with an authentic cadence. It has the appearance of being a work for piano:



While to my knowledge this has not yet been definitively attributed to any known Mozart work,³⁹ Konrad Küster puts forward the theory that this is “a preliminary sketch for the Recordare”⁴⁰ [of the Requiem], but it seems highly unlikely that Mozart once considered an Allegro tempo for such a contemplative movement. It may be safest, therefore, to allow this sketch to remain unattributed and state simply that to whatever piece it may or may not belong, Mozart’s thinking went in a different direction.

3) The next four staves are taken up by the famous *Amen* fugue sketch, which many commentators and modern editor-completers⁴¹ think represent Mozart’s intention for the end of

³⁸ It is marked “Allo”, Mozart’s usual abbreviation for Allegro, with the superscript ‘o’ and pointed capital A. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the different types of capital A used in the autograph of the *Kyrie* fugue

³⁹ It is not unusual for there to be unidentified works on a Mozart sketch leaf: see Konrad Ulrich *Mozart’s Sketches*, *Early Music*, Vol, 20, No.1 Preforming Mozart’s Music (Feb., 1992) p. 122-23: “Illus.1 shows the verso of a folio... [which] contains a total of 11 entries. It has so far proved impossible to ascribe even one of these entries to a known work”

⁴⁰ See Küster, *Mozart, A Musical Biography*, Oxford, 1996, p. 377

⁴¹ Richard Maunder, Robert Levin, and Duncan Druce being the best-known examples

the *Lacrymosa*. Here the handwriting is again, like No. 1, almost scribbled, without clefs or signatures, and shows such evidence of reworking and haste that in places it is almost indecipherable. The fourth fugal entry comes in at the end of the line and is actually written on the same staff as the top part of Sketch No. 4 below it:

The image shows three staves of handwritten musical notation. The first staff contains a melodic line with several measures, including a complex passage with many beamed notes. Annotations above the staff include a question mark, the phrase "virtually indecipherable" with a bracket under a dense section, and "completely indecipherable" with a bracket under a later section. Below the first staff, the words "a" and "men" are written under the first and second measures respectively. The second staff continues the melodic line with similar complexity and includes a question mark above a later measure. Below the second staff, "a" and "men" are written under the first and second measures. The third staff shows a simpler melodic line with a question mark above a measure. Below the third staff, the text "the top line of the *Rex tremendae* sketch below is written on this staff" is written, followed by a single note on a five-line staff.

The continuity problem posed by this sketch is that if it were indeed intended to close the *Lacrymosa* of the Requiem, why is it above the *Rex Tremendae* sketch on the page, and therefore presumably written earlier? The *Rex tremendae* comes before the *Lacrymosa*, and should therefore have been sketched first. This placement on the page supports the assertion made above, that Mozart worked continuously but non-consecutively on the Requiem, even during the sketching stage. The autograph of the Sequenz suggests very strongly that the *Tuba mirum*, *Rex tremendae* and *Recordare* were written down continuously, that the transformation from sketching to draft (complete in final form and melodic content) was complete. There are no empty pages and no discernable change in ink colour or thickness of pen stroke. There isn't even a break in the flow of the manuscript after the change of paper type in the *Recordare*. It would seem therefore that the issues regarding the contrapuntal passage in the *Rex tremendae* on the *Skizzenblatt* had been worked out to Mozart's satisfaction by the time he came to commit the final choral parts to paper.

However, the verso side of the last sheet of the *Confutatis*—the music immediately before the *Lacrymosa*—is empty, which implies a break in continuity. Why was the opening of the *Lacrymosa* not written on this blank page? It is hard to escape the conclusion that the page is empty because the opening of the *Lacrymosa* had already been written down when Mozart wrote the final bars of the *Confutatis* into the autograph. This gives more weight to the theory that the *Lacrymosa* was with certainty not the final music that Mozart composed, and supports the assertion that, planning far ahead, he was contemplating how to finish the Sequenz long before he had all the details of the individual movements worked out. If he were working on multiple

sections at the same time, he could easily have sketched an *Amen* fugue either before or at the same time as he began to work out some of the more intricate passages of the *Rex tremendae*.

Opinions about the contents of the sketch itself vary. Thomas Bauman found it ‘unworthy of Mozart’, containing ‘a constricted crisscrossing of voices as they slowly slide in a huddled clump from one plodding dotted half note to the next’,⁴² while Levin praises its ‘intricate, “difficult” counterpoint’.⁴³ Both these evaluations are perhaps emotional rather than analytical, and read a lot into what is a short and obviously embryonic sketch: who knows what it could have become if Mozart had returned to it? The most salient—and underdiscussed—point is that Mozart was unable to come up with a soprano part that pleased him, which could in itself be a good enough reason for him to abandon the sketch at a time when he had so many commissions to fill and so little time in which to do so. Clearly, Mozart did, at one point, begin an *Amen* fugue in D minor, but since there are sketches for two other works on the *skizzenblatt*, it is illogical to jump to the conclusion that the *Amen* sketch was definitively intended for the Requiem: this would be to fall into the trap described by Wolff mentioned earlier and infer too much from “unfinished materials, left out of order and sometimes not intended to belong together”. Even if Mozart did once consider an *Amen* fugue at the end of the Sequenz—the only occurrence of the word in the Requiem texts he had chosen—it is entirely possible that, when he sat down to contemplate the flow of the Requiem after returning from Prague he reconsidered his decision.

Nor can the thematic relationships between its subject and the Requiem be used to prove the claim. Another possibility is that this sketch is instead related to a performance of the Offertorium *Misericordias Domini* K. 222/205a (conducted by Salieri) on September 4th during the coronation festivities in Prague, for which he had composed *La Clemenza di Tito*.⁴⁴ It is hard to imagine that this performance took place without Mozart’s knowledge, since not only would he have wanted to be seen at any performance of his music at such a prestigious event—and there many performances of his music during the days surrounding the coronation⁴⁵—but Salieri must have contacted him to get the necessary performing materials. As Black notes “...Mozart had a set of parts for [K. 222/205a] in his possession.”⁴⁶ Salieri had been planning the details of this trip since May, and on June 10th was asked for a list of the names of the musicians he would be

⁴² Thomas Bauman, ‘Requiem but no Piece’, *19th Century Music* 15 (1991): 160

⁴³ Levin, xxv

⁴⁴ H.C. Robbins Landon, “Mozart’s Last Year”, Thames and Hudson, 1999, p 111-112 note 16

⁴⁵ Robbins Landon, *ibid*, Chapter IX, Coronation Diary

⁴⁶ see Black. p. 392. Interestingly, the church that was the location for Mozart’s funeral service on December 10th, St. Michael’s, also owned a set of parts for this work, though in the hands of a copyist. (p. 392)

taking with him,⁴⁷ ample time to consult with Mozart about the parts and remind him about the work.

One can easily see how the *Amen* theme (bottom line of the example) is not only an augmentation both of the semiquaver figure *a* from K. 222/205a and the slower *a'* from K. 626—indeed, with the addition of the A and B flat semiquavers before the falling A to D scale, K. 222/205a is closer to the *Amen* theme than K. 626—and how the melody for both the text ‘cantabo in aeternam’, ‘requiem aeternam’ can be derived from the Handel’s melody for ‘The ways of Zion do mourn’ (*b*):

K. 222/205a
can - ta - bo in ae - ter - nam

K. 626
Re - qui - em ae - ter - nam ae - ter - nam

Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline (transposed down a fourth and note values halved)
The ways of Zion do mourn

Skizzenblatt sketch No. 3
A - - - - - men

We do not know exactly when Mozart decided to base his opening movement on the Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline, but according to Stadler the work was well known to him before he received the Requiem commission:

“He found a very apt idea for a requiem in this anthem; used it as some sheets among his papers testified, worked it out in his own style, added the “Kyrie” in the manner suggested by Handel’s style, and then, when he actually received the commission to compose a requiem, he sought out his old sketches, put everything into his new score and developed it all in a masterly style.”⁴⁸

This account not only seems to imply that Mozart was actually contemplating a requiem before the commission arrived (“when he actually received the commission”), but also that there were

⁴⁷ Landon, p. 103

⁴⁸ Stadler, *Vertheidigung*, (1826), p. 16. He also mentions the *Misericordias* (p. 10)

sketches related to the funeral anthem among Mozart's papers ("as some sheets among his papers testified"), and that they were separate from the Requiem papers ("he sought out his old sketches"). Even allowing for the faulty memory of a man in his seventy-eighth year, the fact that the Handel anthem has motivic connections to more than one 'active' Mozart work (one being performed and one 'in progress') reveals the danger of asserting with certainty a link to only one of them.

The *Amen* sketch on the *skizzenblatt* is proof only that the contrapuntal possibilities of a step-wise motif in d minor to that text was present, in extremely embryonic form, in Mozart's creative imagination at the time, perhaps even suggested by the *Misericordias*. But to assert with certainty that it was Mozart's intention to finish the *Lacrymosa* with a fugue on this subject, or that the sketch represents his final thinking is to vastly overstate the case. To my knowledge, none of the modern editor-completers who include such a fugue in their completion have come up with a satisfactory answer to the question: "if that was Mozart's plan, why did he not continue the *Lacrymosa* up to the point where the fugue was to begin?" If it were the working out of the fugue that made him pause, that is surely what he would have done. The fact that he paused earlier suggests very strongly that the fugue itself was not the sticking point. It is far more logical to assume that, as was the case with all the other sketches on the page, during the process from sketch to draft, Mozart's thinking evolved.

4) The last sketch is a sketch for the *Rex Tremendae* from the Requiem. The handwriting, like Nos. 1 and 3, shows much haste, and is again without clefs or signatures. Unlike No. 3, there is no text, but the melodic material shows it to be for the *Rex Tremendae*. Most interestingly, as Wolff has noted,⁴⁹ the first two quavers, which correspond to the syllables "-sta-tis" are as they appear in the final version of the movement, which strongly suggests that Mozart paused after writing those notes into the autograph to work out how to continue. It is not hard to see the similarity with the process used in the *Lacrymosa*, which paused too to consider how to continue.

However, there are significant differences between this embryonic sketch and the passage as it appears in Mozart's autograph. The counterpoint (already corrected once in the sketch) was extensively re-worked in the final version, parts have been exchanged, a second motif has been added (also treated imitatively), and instead of cadencing on the dominant of the dominant there is a much more satisfying journey through the cycle of fifths to cadence on the tonic:⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Wolff, *ibid*, p. 32

⁵⁰ An independent line for the orchestral bassi, derived from the opening unison figure, has also been added (not shown in the example).

Sketch

Autograph

This is the working method as we also saw it in the *Kyrie*, and is well described by Ulrich Konrad:

We can also see ... the relationship between a sketch and the final version of an individual passage or excerpt. Writers on Mozart are fond of claiming that he often came very close to the final version in his sketches. In theory this is true. But it is worth looking at the problem from the opposite standpoint and suggesting that, although Mozart comes close to the final version, as a general rule he never actually reaches it. This approach makes it clear that a further thought process took place between the sketch and its realization and that, in his sketches, the composer reached an initial plateau which, often already high, none the less generally required him to take an extra, decisive step which would allow him to complete the piece. Sometimes this step came at a relatively late stage.⁵¹

Like sketch No. 1, the *Rex tremendae* sketch represents an early stage of an idea that was more fully thought out and integrated later. Even if one excludes the unidentified sketch No.2 from the argument, the most salient feature of the *skizzenblatt* is that not one of the jottings represented Mozart's final thinking: each idea evolved, with elements both added and excluded. Therefore to state with certainty that the Amen sketch proves that Mozart intended to conclude the *Lacrymosa* with a fugue on that subject—extended or otherwise—is not only to overstate the case, but

⁵¹ Konrad Ulrich, *Mozart's Sketches*, Early Music, Vol, 20, No.1 Performing Mozart's Music (FsZeb., 1992) p. 126

actually goes contrary not only to the evidence of the *skizzenblatt* itself, but against Mozart's working methods. In my chapter on the *Lacrymosa* I shall argue that Süßmayr's simple plagal cadence at the ending of the movement is an elegant and appropriate closure, and correct from the standpoint of the overall form of the work. For the modern editor-completer, to use his ending avoids a considerable and entirely avoidable intrusion into a historical document on the basis of evidence that does not stand up to scrutiny.



During these first four chapters I have tried to describe some of the contexts of K. 626 for Mozart, the composers engaged by Constanze to complete it and for modern editor-completers. Part II will go through Mozart's torso movement by movement, describe and evaluate the contributions to each movement that were not made by Mozart and lay out the foundations for the changes I have made to the traditional version of that movement. At the end of each chapter there will be a hyperlink to the on-line version my edition-completion of that movement.

In Part III, Süßmayr's claim that the last three movements—up to the repurposed reprise of earlier material—were entirely of his own devising will be examined in some detail, and I will suggest that there are sufficient relationships with, and ties to, not only known Mozartian material but established Mozartian practice that their inclusion in a modern edition is both entirely possible and completely necessary. Again, at the end of each chapter, the reader will find a link to my completion-edition of that movement.