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# Completing the Incomplete: The First Eight Bars of W. A. Mozart's 'Lacrymosa' in the 20th and 21st Centuries

## ABSTRACT

This paper concentrates on the reception history of just one small fragment from W. A. Mozart's *Requiem* in D minor, K. 626, the first eight bars of 'Lacrymosa'. Written in 1791, but left unfinished by the composer himself, this piece became a perpetual 'work in progress', ever open to all kinds of experimentation by those who dared to complete the legendary fragment, and/or record one of those completions. Changing the form and the character of the original score, these numerous arrangements and editions of the 19th–21st centuries incorporate their own ideas and approaches into Mozart's original conception, thus creating many new 'faces' of the famous work and revealing its complex reception history. This reception history, in turn, forms an integral part of performance practice: by recording various versions of the piece and adding their own interpretations to the already complicated mixture of Mozart's piece, different conductors and orchestras added new layers to the reception history that I aim to trace in my paper. In my analysis therefore, I will focus on Mozart's original score, several later versions of this score, and a few most important recordings of those later complete versions. By merging together some of the methods offered by various musicological disciplines, this study will propose a new multifaceted view of Mozart's original score, in which the attempts to complete and record the incomplete fragment made in the 20th-21st centuries, superimpose their own layers of (mis)conceptions and (mis)understandings on Mozart's unfinished work.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In 2012, Simon P. Keefe described Mozart's *Requiem* with a long sequence of contradictory characteristics, such as:

> a fragment but […] a completed work in performance, […] a multi-authored work but a Mozart masterpiece, […] a product of the late eighteenth century but one known to only a tiny number of people before the nineteenth. (Keefe 2015, 95.)

This combination of oppositions was definitely not supposed to be the *Requiem*'s universal characteristic; however, it contains all the main 'features' to describe this work in the best possible way. It is well known that Mozart managed to draft only 'Introitus', 'Kyrie', 'Sequence', and 'Offertorium'; and even in these movements he only wrote down fully the main orchestral voices, vocal parts, and a bass-line with scattered indications for upper strings and wind instruments. His student, Franz Xaver Süssmayr, completed this fragment and thus erected the foundation both for the 'traditional' *Requiem* edition, performed to this day, and also for numerous modern completions, produced since 1971. 'Lacrymosa', the last part of the so-called Sequence, represents the most famous section of this perpetual 'work in progress', ever open to all kinds of experimentations by those who dared to complete the legendary fragment, and/or record one of those completions. Changing the form and the character of the original score, these numerous arrangements and editions of the 20th and 21st centuries incorporate their own ideas and approaches into Mozart's original conception, thus creating many new 'faces' of the famous work and revealing its complex reception history. This reception and perception history, in turn, forms an integral part of performance practice: by recording various versions of the piece and adding their own interpretations to the already complicated mixture of Mozart's piece, different conductors and orchestras added new layers to the reception history that I aim to trace in my paper.

## 1. THE SCORE(S)

According to Süssmayr's statement, given in a letter to Breitkopf and Härtel in 1800:

> Mozart fully completed the four vocal parts and the bass with figuring for the Requiem [aeternam], together with the Kyrie – Dies irae [Sequence] – Domine Jesu Christe [Offertory]; but for the instrumentation he indicated motivic ideas only here and there. (Eibl 1978, 89; translation taken from Keefe 2015, 175.)

The 'Lacrymosa', the last part of the *Sequence*, was begun by Mozart, but abandoned after the first eight bars, which set to music the three lines of the sequence's penultimate stanza (Table 1):[1]

| Latin original | English translation |
|---|---|
| Lacrimosa dies illa | Tearful [will be] that day |
| qua resurget ex favilla | on which from the glowing embers will arise |
| judicandus homo reus | the guilty man who is to be judged[2] |

**Tab. 1. Text set to music by Mozart in the 'Lacrymosa'.**

Furthermore, in this sketch, only 'motivic ideas here and there' were indicated. It starts with an instrumental introduction (bars 1–2) scored for violins and violas only, but with no bass support. It is an exposition of a significant *suspiratio* figure that serves as a melodic basis for the main theme. The two following bars introduce a 'theme of tears', sung by the choir, whereas bars 5–6, with their stepwise ascending melodic motion, visualise the main verb (*resurget*) of the two remaining lines of the Latin original. The music culminates in bar 8 after a brief but irresistible crescendo[3] in bar 7.[4]

[1] Stanza 18. The Sequence, ascribed to Thomas of Celano, consists of 19 stanzas.

[2] Literal translation; for alternative versions, see Chase (2003, 5–6) and Keefe (2015, 151).

[3] The second and last *crescendo* marked by Mozart himself in the score (the first is in *Tuba mirum*, see bar 59), see Chu (1979, 173), Maunder (1989, 171), Beyer (2005, XX) and Keefe (2015, 154).

[4] For a detailed analysis of Mozart's fragment, see Schmid (1997, 117–22), Ackermann (2006, 147) and Keefe (2015, 151–4).

In 1792, immediately after Mozart's death, Süssmayr completed and orchestrated this fragment: he adopted the *suspiratio* figure for the bars 3–8, duplicated choir voices with basset-horns and bassoons in these bars, intensified the climactic ending by using Clarini and Timpani, and added trombones *colla parte* in bars 5–8, seeking to support the corresponding voices (alto, tenor, and bass) by notes of longer value (dotted crochets instead of quavers).[5]

Süssmayr's completion has since become the most famous version of *Lacrymosa*'s beginning as well as a starting point for all modern editions of the *Requiem* produced since 1971. These new completions demonstrate different approaches and conceptions.[6] In some of them, the main melodic line, based on the *suspiratio* figure, undergoes dramatic changes;[7] in others, the role of basset horns and bassoons is strongly reduced.[8] One significant revision, though, is characteristic of all later editions: the elimination of trombone voices.

Considering the *colla parte* entry of trombones as Süssmayr's mistake, the editors pointed out that 'the held chords of such a 'woodwind organ', further thickened by the trombones, seem in direct opposition to the first haltingly stammering qua resurget ex favilla' (Beyer 2005, XXV), that it creates 'a most extraordinary effect, reminiscent of the ballroom scene in Don Giovanni or even the works of Charles Ives, of a distant bass band playing a quite different piece of music' (Maunder 1989, 170). Seeing also an obvious rhythmic discrepancy between the trombones and the vocal parts, the editors left the trombone voices out in bars 5–6 (1992, 185)[9] using them, 'due to the structure of the vocal parts' (Cohrs 2013, 311), only in bars 7–8.

The changing approaches towards the 'Lacrymosa' fragment were absorbed by the interpreters as well: from the first and only, Süssmayr's completion has gradually become just one of many adaptations of Mozart's sketch used in performance practice — a historical document, the earliest source of the composition and also an essential part of the critical discussion around *Requiem*'s genesis. Performing it, according to John Butt, the producer of the so-called reconstruction of *Requiem*'s first public performance,[10] was 'almost as controversial as performing a modern version' (Butt 2014, 5). Consequently, the *Requiem*'s practice underwent some serious changes, too. Some of these changes are discussed in the next part of my paper, which focuses on several recorded interpretations of both the Süssmayr's first completion and later versions.[11]

## 2. THE INTERPRETATION(S)

The very first survived recording of Mozart's 'Lacrymosa' was made by an unknown conductor with the Choir of St William's from Strasbourg in 1928.[12] The spectrogram[13] (Figure 1) visualises the main sonic characteristics of the 'Lacrymosa' fragment in this recording: whereas the tempo demonstrates a remarkable stability, the dynamics change constantly and may be split into four alternating sections (quiet – loud – quiet – loud) that separate from each other the instrumental introduction, two acclamations, the following rising melody and the final cadence).

[5] Süssmayr's completion was published as a part of the New Mozart Edition in Nowak (1965).

[6] For a detailed examination of the modern editions prepared by Franz Beyer, Hans-Josef Irmen, Richard Maunder, Howard Chandler Robbins Landon, Duncan Druce, and Robert D. Levin, see Korten (2000), McConnell (2002), Korten (2006, 455–81) and Keefe (2015, 234–48).

[7] See Maunder's (1989) and Cohrs's (2013) editions.

[8] See Maunder's (1989) and Levin's (2004).

[9] Or, at least, merely suggested to leave them out, see Robbins Landon 1992, 185.

[10] The recording aims to reconstruct the first interpretation of Süssmayr's version given at the Jahn-Saal in Vienna on 2 January 1793 as a benefit for Constanze Mozart and her children; for further information about this concert, see Mosely (1989, 216) and Keefe (2015, 3).

[11] For the purpose of my paper, the following recordings have been examined: an unknown conductor (1928), an unknown orchestra, Choir of St. William's, Strasbourg, Parlophone Records, xxP 6765, E 11082 (available online via the CHARM sound file search: <http://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/sound/sound.html>, accessed 28/06/2023); Bruno Walter (1937), Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Vienna State Opera Choir, first in 1986 on EMI, EG 29 0781 1B; Bruno Kittel (1940), Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Bruno-Kittel Choir, Deutsche Grammophon, 459 004-2; Victor De Sabata (1941), Rome and Turin Orchestras, Choirs of the Italian Broadcasting Authority, Naxos, 8.111064; Karl Böhm (1956), Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Vienna State Opera Choir, Philips, G 03088 L; Bruno Walter (1956), Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Vienna State Opera Choir, first released on CBS, 61302A, reissued on Orfeo (1996) C 430 961 B; Hermann Scherchen (1958), Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Vienna State Opera Choir, Westminster, WST 205, re-issued on Deutsche Grammophon (1998), 459-004-2; Herbert von Karajan (1961), Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Vienna State Opera Choir, Deutsche Grammophon, 0289 463 6542 7; Karl Böhm (1971), Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Vienna State Opera Choir, Deutsche Grammophon, 2530 143; Herbert von Karajan (1975), Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Vienna State Opera Choir, Deutsche Grammophon, 0289 477 7164 7; Neville Marriner (1977), Academy of St. Martin in the Fields, Academy of St. Martin in the Fields Chorus, London Records 417-133-1 LJB; Nikolaus Harnoncourt (1981), Concentus Musicus Wien, Vienna State Opera Choir, Art Haus Music / ORF, NTSC 107 295; Peter Schreier (1981), Staatskapelle Dresden, Rundfunkchor Leipzig, Philips, B0000040W1; Christopher Hogwood (1984), The Academy of Ancient Music, Westminster Cathedral Boys Choir / Choir of The Academy of Ancient Music, DECCA, 411 712-2; Herbert von Karajan (1986), Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Vienna State Opera Choir, Deutsche Grammophon, 0289 439 0232 8; Ton Koopman (1989), The Amsterdam Barock Orchestra, Koor van de Nederlandse Bachvereiniging, Erato, 2292-45472-2; Leonard Bernstein (1989), Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra, Bavarian Radio Chorus, Deutsche Grammophon, 427 353-2; Helmut Rilling (1991), Gächinger Kantorei Stuttgart, Stuttgart Bach Collegium, Hänssler classic, CD, 98.146; Roger Norrington (1991), The Schütz Consort, The Schütz Choir of London, Erato, 7 35296 2; Georg Solti (1991), Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Vienna State Opera Choir, DECCA 000250609; John Eliot Gardiner (1991), English Baroque Soloists, Monteverdi Choir, Philips, 074 3121; Martin Pearlman (1994), Boston Baroque Orchestra, Boston Baroque Choir, Telarc, 80410; Philippe Herrewege (1996), Orchestre des Champs-Élysées, La Chapelle Royale / Collegium Vocale, Harmonia Mundi France, 901620; Christoph Spering (2001), Das neue Orchester, Chorus Musicus Köln, Opus 111 / Naïve, OP 30307; Nikolaus Harnoncourt (2003), Concentus Musicus Wien, Vienna State Opera Choir, Deutsche Harmonia Mundi, 88697 3974 2; Donald Runnicles (2005), Atlanta Symphony Orchestra, Atlanta Chamber Chorus, Telarc, SACD-60636; Teodor Currentzis (2010), MusicAeterna, New Siberian Singers, ALPHA, Alpha 178; John Butt (2014), Dunedin Consort, Linn Records, CKD 449; Masaaki Suzuki (2014), Bach Collegium Japan Orchestra, Bach Collegium Japan Choir, BIS; BIS-2091.

[12] The recording was released together with another part of Mozart's *Requiem*, 'Dies irae'.

[13] All spectrograms are made with the free sound analysis program developed at the Queen Mary University of London, Sonic Visualiser: <http://www.sonicvisualiser.org/>, accessed 28/06/2023.

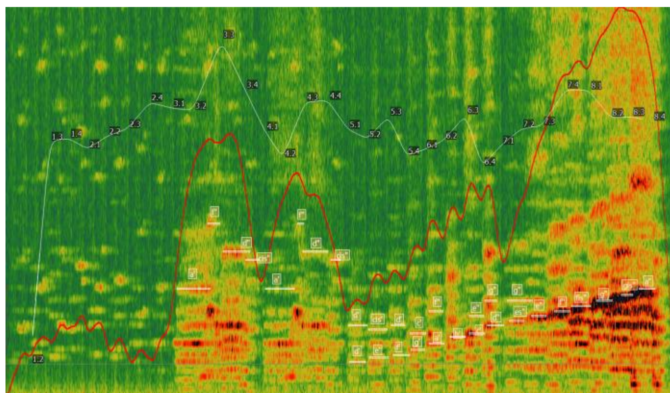

**Fig. 1. The sound spectrum of the first eight bars of 'Lacrymosa' in the Choir of St William's Strasbourg recording (1928); the white curve demonstrates the oscillations of tempo, the red curve indicates dynamics; the choir melody and the top voice of trombones are marked with short white lines.**

Reflecting the 'Lacrymosa' performance tradition of its time, this interpretation — similarly to Süssmayr's completion of this piece — may be viewed against some later versions recorded by the following generations of musicians. Thus, the sound spectrum the first eight bars of 'Lacrymosa' in a 1989 interpretation led by Ton Koopman may seem to reveal some similar characteristics at first glance (Figure 2).

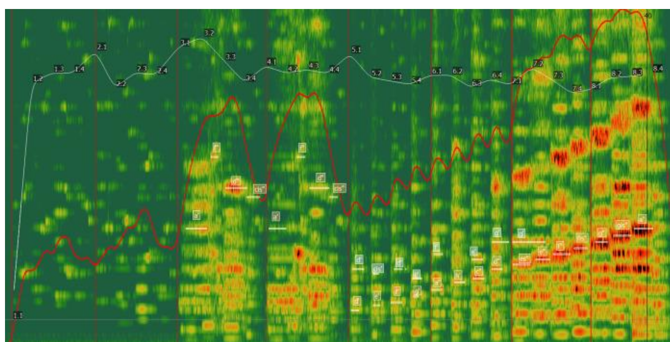

**Fig. 2. The sound spectrum of the first eight bars of 'Lacrymosa' in Ton Koopman's recording (1989).**

Nevertheless, such details as occasional *rubati* and dynamic fluctuations distinguish the earlier version from the later one. The most significant difference between the two lies, however, in the central section of the two spectrograms, which visualises bars 5 and 6 of Mozart's fragment.

In the spectrogram that illustrates the 1928 recording, we can see all four voices of the choir, doubled by basset horns and violins. However, they are combined with another distinct melodic idea, located above the choir melody in the spectrogram: it belongs to a trombone group, whose dynamics in this recording is comparable to that of the choir. There is another interesting detail in this performance: the vocal and instrumental melodic lines are equal in their length — there is no difference in the length of white lines that visualise the melodies: consequently, the rests between the single 'steps' of the choir melody disappear and, as a result, the quiet whisper of the choir in Mozart's original turns into a monumental chorale.

In contrast to this, in the sound spectrum of the 1989 recording it is the choir that plays the main role. The trombone chorale becomes equal in its length with the vocal chorus, which is evidenced by significant gaps between each of the trombone beats — the rests that are absent in Süssmayr's version.

It may be surmised that such different sonic conceptions represent an episode, a unique 'special case', rather than a general tendency, within the 'Lacrymosa' interpretation history throughout the 20th century. However, a comparison with other recordings demonstrates that such a contrasting interpretation of bars 5 and 6 from the Mozart-Süssmayr 'Lacrymosa' is not a coincidence but rather a rule.

The spectrograms below present the sound spectrums of bars 5 and 6 from the two 'Lacrymosa' interpretations recorded by Bruno Walter in 1937 (Figure 3) and John Eliot Gardiner in 1991 (Figure 4). Walter's performance shares some common features with the version recorded by St William's Choir, with its strong emphasis on the trombone group.[14]

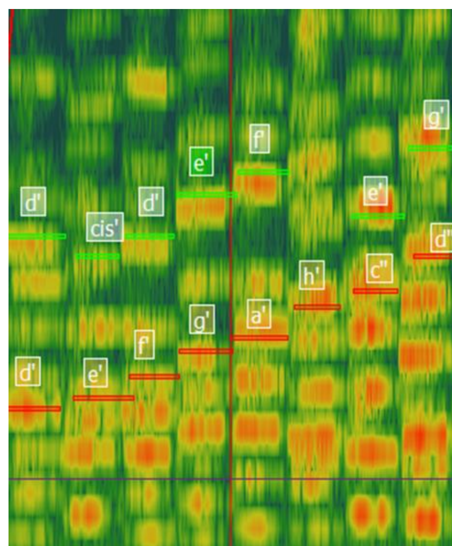


**Fig. 3. The sound spectrum of 'Lacrymosa', bars 5–6 in Bruno Walter's recording (1937).**

Gardiner's interpretation is much closer to Koopman's in its articulation of the choir melody cautiously accompanied by the trombone group (Figure 4).

[14] A change of trombone's top voice is clearly audible in this segment and visible in the spectrogram: the leap at the end of the melody $d^1$–$cis^1$–$d^1$–$c^1$–$f^1$ in bar 5 is replaced by a stepwise motion $d^1$–$cis^1$–$d^1$–$e^1$–$f^1$. Such an idiosyncratic interpretation of trombone's voices characterises Walter's later performances, too: thus, Bin Ebisawa drew attention to his 1956 interpretation in which the conductor 'had little use for the trombone and other *colla parte* instruments in the tutti choral sections' (Ebisawa 1992, 285).

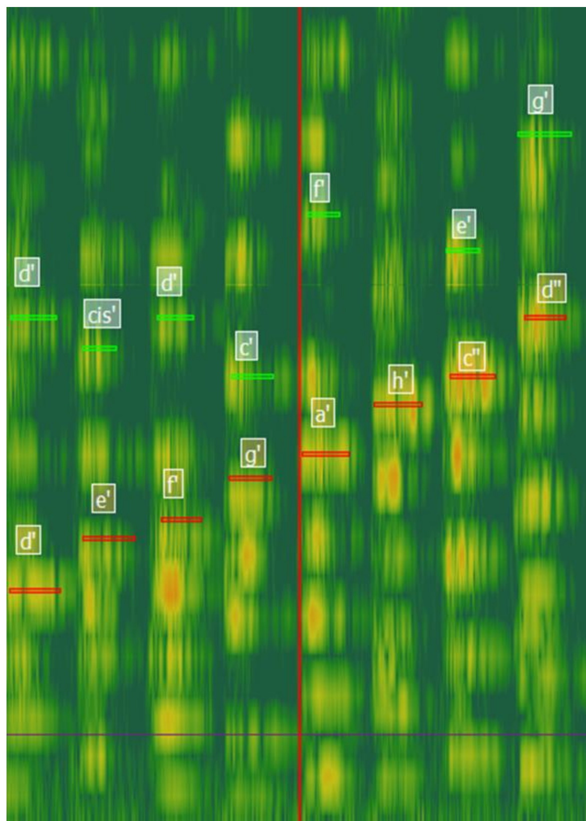


**Fig. 4. The sound spectrum of 'Lacrymosa', bars 5–6 in John Eliot Gardiner's recording (1991).**

In other words, in its performance history throughout the 20th century, the 'Lacrymosa' fragment underwent a similar process of transformation that can be evidenced in its history of completion: a gradual disappearance of trombones from its soundscape. From this point of view, it is important to note that another parameter of the soundscape of 'Lacrymosa' has changed dramatically in its recording history: its timing.

Originally, the 'Lacrymosa' movement does not contain any tempo indications (see Druce 1993, vii; Wolff 2003, 74; Levin 2004, XXIV; Beyer, 2005, XIX; Cohrs 2013, 302). Its character and its compound metre (12/8) speak for a rather slow tempo, either *Andante* or *Larghetto*, the two tempo indications given in the majority of *Requiem* editions.[15] However, a detailed examination of fragment's duration in the surveyed recordings reveals a clear tendency towards a gradual 'speed-up' in the later interpretations.

The average duration in the performances released from 1928 until the end of the 1970s by such conductors as Bruno Walter, Karl Böhm, and Herbert von Karajan is 54 seconds, which approximately corresponds to the metronome mark given by Marty and O'Neal. The conductors of the younger generations, though, performed this eight bar section much faster: on average, it takes only 47 seconds in the recordings made since 1980 — mostly by HIP conductors, such as Philippe Herreweghe, Nikolaus Harnoncourt, and John Butt (Figure 5).

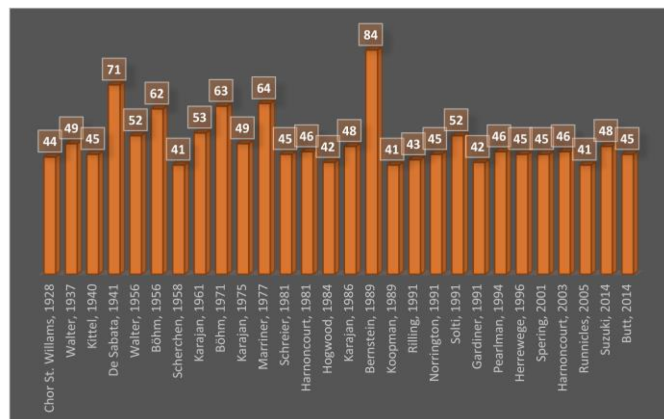


**Fig. 5. Duration of the 'Lacrymosa' fragment in surveyed recordings (in seconds).**

Together with a changed orchestration, achieved by lightening the texture and leaving the trombone voices out, the acceleration of the tempo up to dotted crochet = 44–46′ (for the average duration of 47 seconds),[16] represents part of a more global process of reconsidering the meaning of 'Lacrymosa' and its role in the whole *Requiem*. The next part of this paper aims to discuss the main reasons for this change and show some of its consequences.

## 3. THE MEANING(S)

The 'mysterious disappearance of trombones' is first to be considered. In fact, by adding these instruments to Mozart's score, Süssmayr did not commit an error, but simply followed a practice that was widespread in Austrian church music up to the beginning of the 19th century: to use these instruments as a support for the corresponding voices of the choir: alto, tenor, and bass.[17]

This practice, however, soon fell into oblivion and was completely unknown both to musicians and musicologists up to the beginning of the 1970s. Thus, for Hermann Abert in 1924, Süssmayr's orchestration demonstrated 'a plentiful usage of trombones' that 'may appear strange to any adept of the Magic Flute and *Requiem*'s authentic movements' (Abert 1924, 873). Similarly, Friedrich Blume, working on a new *Requiem* edition in 1932, was 'not yet aware that this practice [of using trombones *colla parte*] was very general in the 18th century' (Blume and Broder 1961, 162); for him, trombones in Mozart's music bore an important symbolic meaning, being 'the last resort for exciting shivers from the afterlife' (Blume 1932, VII) comparable to that in the *Don Giovanni*. As a consequence, he found it necessary to cross these instruments out nearly from the whole score except for 'the few places where they departed from mere doubling'[18] (Blume and Broder 1961, 162). In the 'Lacrymosa', though, none of trombone's notes written by Süssmayr were altered.

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[15] For instance, Jean-Pierre Marty and Melinda O'Neal suggest Adagio with the metronome indication 'dotted crochet = 30' (Marty 1988, 2005; O'Neal 1991, 54).

[16] The metronome marks are given approximately, without considering fluctuations within the section.

[17] In Mozart's church music, trombones were mostly specified only in some passages performed by trombones solo, see Bayer (1927, 54–5), Biba (1971, 70) and Mac Intyre (1984, 268). Their participation in the *Requiem* is made clear by their entry in bar 7 of 'Introitus' in the manuscript.

[18] These 'places' are listed in the supplement, see Blume (1932).

It is obvious, therefore, that for him — as well as for such musicians of his time as Walter, Böhm, and Karajan — a monumental sound of trombones in this ‘Lacrymosa’ section was an essential component of its original conception, a certain ‘fatal symbol’ which, similarly to its role in the *Don Giovanni*’s final scene, should proclaim the inevitable end: the death is already here!

Interpreting it this way, musicians seemed to follow a popular legend created by the misleading annotation on the upper right margin of the first leaf of ‘Lacrymosa’, noted down by Mozart’s friend and the owner of this part of the autograph until its donation to the Austrian National Library in 1833, Joseph Eybler — ‘the last manuscript of Mozart’.[19] This short phrase has apparently been (mis)interpreted as ‘the last notes written by Mozart’.

As a consequence, the majority of performers considered the ‘Lacrymosa’ as a ‘final destination’ of the whole composition. This theory culminated in Peter Shaffer’s and Milos Forman’s *Amadeus* (1984), which uses ‘Lacrymosa’ as a symbolic end of Salieri’s narrative and Mozart’s life.[20] Similarly, the same view of ‘Lacrymosa’ as Mozart’s final piece of music might be sensed in all concert performances of the *Requiem* led by Karajan: the only rest the conductor made occurred exactly between ‘Lacrymosa’ and the following ‘Domine Jesu’, as if ‘in the remembrance of the fact that it was the last piece composed by Mozart’(Hehn 1970).[21]

One might view the tendency, evident in some earlier recordings, to slow down the tempo of ‘Lacrymosa’ in the same light, as an attempt to prolong, and by prolonging to put more weight on, Mozart’s ‘last notes’. From this point of view, it is symptomatic that the 1956 *Requiem* version recorded by Walter has long been ranked among the best of all time exactly for its ‘Lacrymosa’ played ‘slowly and with […] infinite feeling’ (Harvey 1973, 380). It is also significant that the majority of these slower ‘Lacrymosa’ versions were originally performed live, with the impact of *Requiem*’s characteristically tragic mood being particularly strong and unmediated.

It is also noteworthy that some of these slower interpretations were originally parts of mourning ceremonies dedicated to Mozart: one of the longest versions ever (1 minute 11 seconds) performed by Victor de Sabata in 1941 formed part of Italian Radio’s Commemorative Ceremony for the 150th Anniversary of Mozart’s death; Georg Solti’s interpretation (52 seconds) was incorporated into the so-called *Requiem for Mozart* which took place at St Stephen’s Cathedral in Vienna on 5th December 1991 to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Mozart’s death.

For the interpreters of younger generation, though, Eybler’s words seemed less influential as a source of information about Mozart’s piece. For them, many later studies — such as Friedrich Blume’s work on *Requiem*’s genesis (Blume and Broder 1961) or Mozart’s fragment itself[22] — were already available. At that point, it was clear that Eybler’s words come into conflict with the words of one of the most important and reliable witnesses of the composition, Abbé Maximilian Stadler: ‘the last words which he [Mozart] wrote in the Domine after the Hostias were Quam olim da capo’ (Brosche 1990, 34). Moreover, for them the ‘Lacrymosa’ was often not the last part of the Sequence, but just a ‘short continuation of the ‘Confutatis’, leading to the ‘Amen’ fugue’ (Maunder 1989, 169), whose sketch was identified by Wolfgang Plath in 1962 (Plath 1963). As a result, the meaning of this short fragment has also changed dramatically along the way.

For the musicians of younger generations, such as Philippe Herreweghe or Nikolaus Harnoncourt, the first eight bars of ‘Lacrymosa’ did not represent the last notes ‘weeping from him’[23] and *Requiem*’s ‘final destination’, but were viewed as nothing else but a simple illustration of the corresponding Latin line: ‘a man shall arise from the ashes’.[24] A dramatic, expressive and picturesque conception was not in vogue anymore. This has brought dramatic changes to the way ‘Lacrymosa’ was viewed temporally and sonically.

## 4. CONCLUSION

Even now, the process of change in soundscape and meaning of ‘Lacrymosa’ is still under way. Removing its numerous layers in order to reveal Mozart’s original, some performers now prefer to abandon any post-Mozartian completion or orchestration and perform only that part of ‘Lacrymosa’ which was written by the composer himself. Such an experiment was carried out by Teodor Currentzis in his recording released in 2010: his performance starts with a quiet and gentle whispering of Mozart’s sketch, which is then followed by the traditional Süssmayr version. Is this approach symptomatic of a larger concern for a new ‘authenticity’ then? And if yes, are we witnessing here another profound change in the performer’s approach not just to this short fragment, but also to the classical culture in general?

## KEYWORDS

Music Analysis, Performance Studies, Reception History, Requiem, Mozart.

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[19] ‘Letztes Mozarts Manuscript. | Nach meinem Tod der k:k: Hofbibliothek vermacht | von Joseph Eybler mpa’, compare the manuscript still kept in the Austrian National Library under the shelf-mark Ms. Hs. 17.561b and its facsimile edition in Borsche (1990).

[20] For more information about this episode from the *Amadeus*, see Keefe (2009, 52) and Keefe (2015, 39).

[21] ‘Zum Gedenken daran, daß es das letzte von Mozart gefertigte Stück ist’, from a description of Karajan’s concert which took place on 25 March 1970 in the Salzburg Great Hall.

[22] A part of the New Mozart Edition in Nowak (1965).

[23] ‘Weint aus ihm das Lacrymosa seines ‘Requiem’’ (Walter 1950, 55).

[24] The question about Mozart’s ‘last notes’ remains open. Some scholars argue that Eybler’s inscription refers to all the materials that the d’onated manuscript contains, the ‘Lacrymosa’ and the whole ‘Offertory’. According to this version, the ‘Lacrymosa’ fragment was not the very last written (see Wolff 2003, 35; Berke, Litschauer and Wolff 2007, 20); others suggest that Mozart might have worked on ‘Lacrymosa’ and ‘Offertorium’ simultaneously and turned back to ‘Lacrymosa’ after having started ‘Offertorium’: this theory would rather confirm Eybler’s words (see Schmid 1997, 129).

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