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The World of Natalie Cressman

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ON THE COVER

Natalie Cressman. Photo by Lauren Desberg

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A Fresh Look at Mozart's *Tuba mirum*

by Douglas Yeo

The trombone solo that opens Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Tuba mirum*, the fourth movement of his *Requiem* in D minor, K. 626, has stirred controversy since it entered the public's consciousness shortly after his death in 1791. While the work as a whole has been generally praised—notwithstanding the ongoing debate over the quality of countless completions/editions of the work, which Mozart did not finish—the *Tuba mirum's* trombone solo has mostly come in for criticism. By way of example, Cecil Forsyth, in his section about the trombone in his *Orchestration* (1914), threw down the gauntlet:

> It must be confessed that when not using the trombones in harmony one runs certain risks. Against Wagner's brilliant "solo" use of the trombones in the *Tannhäuser* Overture and the prelude to Act III of *Lohengrin*, and against Schubert's wonderful solo-passage for three trombones in unison (C major Symphony), one must set the dreadful *Tuba mirum* of Mozart. Only the first three bars appear to have been written by one who understood the instrument. The rest might be better described as *Tuba dirum spargens sonum*.[1]

It hardly needs to be said that Forsyth was not using *dirum* (terrible, dreadful, awful, ill-boding) as a compliment. He was not referring to the "great and terrible day of the Lord." Rather, Mozart's handling of the text was, in Forsyth's pithy assessment, utterly inept. Forsyth, as we shall see, was not alone in his view. However, a fresh look at the *Tuba mirum* seems overdue, a look that can perhaps redeem, in a small way, Mozart's well-considered compositional intentions, as well as inform future performances of the work.

The *Requiem* mass

The history of the *Requiem* mass for the dead and its many musical treatments over history has been addressed by multiple authors and a further, detailed study is beyond the scope of this article.[2] However, a few points should be mentioned to put Mozart's *Tuba mirum* into context.

The *Requiem*—literally "Rest"—as a dedicated part of the Roman Catholic funeral service (*Missa pro defunctis*) appeared in musical form as early as the tenth century, and its now familiar chant treatment was in place by the 1300s.[3] The Sequence, *Dies irae* [Day of wrath], depicts the Last Judgment. The *Tuba mirum* is the third stanza of the *Dies irae* (**Figure 1**) and it was formally added to the funeral liturgy at the Council of Trent (1543–1563) although it had been in use earlier in both chant and polyphonic treatments.[4] The text of the *Dies irae*, based in part on lines from the Bible's book of Zephaniah and which has long been attributed to Thomas of Celano (c. 1185–c. 1265),[5] was eliminated from the liturgy by the Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy at the second Vatican Council (1969–1970). The opening melody of the sequence, *Dies irae, dies illa*, has been frequently employed by composers to dramatic effect, notably by Hector Berlioz in the finale of *Symphonie fantastique* (where it is first intoned by four bassoons with serpent and ophicleide, or, in later editions, bassoons with two ophicleides), Gustav Mahler in Symphony No. 2 ("Resurrection"), Franz Liszt in *Totentanz*, and Sergei Rachmaninoff in *Isle of the Dead*, op. 29, and *Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini*, op. 43.

The text of the *Requiem* is generally divided into eight sections, two of which contain multiple parts:

I	Introitus—*Requiem*
II	*Kyrie*
III	Sequence
	Dies irae
	Tuba mirum
	Rex tremendae
	Recordare
	Confutatis
	Lacrimosa
IV	Offertorium
	Domine Jesu
	Hostias
V	*Sanctus*
VI	*Benedictus*
VII	*Agnus Dei*
VIII	Communio—*Lux æterna*

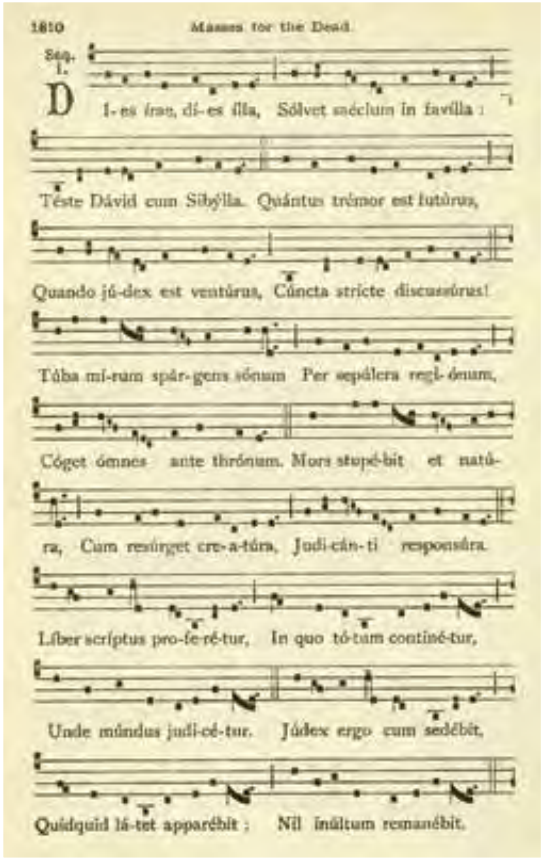


Figure 1. Ed. the Benedictines of Solesmes, "Masses for the Dead, Sequence 1 (incipit, six stanzas), *Dies Irae*," *Liber Usualis* (Tournai, Belgium: Desclee Company, 1962), 1810.

The *Dies irae* Sequence consists of nineteen stanzas in trochaic meter and its *Tuba mirum* section includes stanzas three through seven. In 1908, Hugh Thomas Henry reported that it had been translated into English over 234 times in both rhyming and literal renderings.

Latin original	William Josiah Irons (1849)[6]	*The Franciscan Archive*[7]
Tuba mirum spargens sonum	Wonderous sound the trumpet flingeth;	A trumpet sounding an astonishing sound
Per sepulcra regionum	Through earth's sepulchers it ringeth;	through the tombs of the region
Coget omnes ante thronum.	All before the throne it bringeth.	drives all (people) before the throne.
Mors stupebit et natura	Death is struck, and nature quaking,	Death will be stunned and (so) will Nature,
Cum resurget creatura	All creation is awaking,	when arises the creature (people)
Judicanti resonsura.	To its judge an answer making.	responding to the One judging.
Liber scriptus proferetur	Lo, the book, exactly worded,	The written book will be brought forth,
In quo totum continetur,	Wherein all hath been recorded,	in which the whole (record of evidence) is contained
Unde mundus judicetur.	Thence shall judgement be awarded.	whence the world is to be judged.
Judex ergo cum sedebit	When the Judge his seat attaineth,	Therefore when the Judge shall sit,
Quidquid latet apparebit,	And each hidden deed arraigneth,	whatever lay hidden will appear;
Nil inultum remanebit.	Nothing unavenged remaineth.	nothing unavenged will remain.
Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?	What then shall I say, wretch that I am,	What am I the wretch then to say?
Quem patronem rogaturus,	What advocate is there to speak for me,	What patron I to beseech
cum vix justus sit secures?	When even the righteous are not secure?	when scarcely the just (person) be secure?

Mozart's *Requiem*

Mozart composed his *Requiem* in 1791, his last year, and it was unfinished at his death. The circumstances surrounding the *Requiem*'s commission and the cause of Mozart's death have been the subject of both scholarly and fanciful treatments, and conspiracy theories abound. Simon P. Keefe neatly summarizes the situation:

> Absolute separation of fact from fiction on all matters of detail is neither possible nor (in my view) hermeneutically desirable where Mozart's *Requiem* is concerned. Over 200 years after the composition and completion it is impossible robustly to establish the truth-value of elements of the composite *Requiem* legend.[8]

The essential facts, however, have been confirmed and are well documented. The *Requiem* was commissioned by Count Franz von Walsegg through an intermediary to commemorate the death of his wife, Countess Anna von Walsegg, who died on February 14, 1791. The veracity of the myth of the "mysterious grey messenger" who delivered the commission to Mozart has been widely discussed and is, in any case, irrelevant for this discussion. Mozart set a fee of 50 ducats/225 florins, precisely half the fee he charged for writing his operas *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Le nozze di Figaro*, and *La clemenza di Tito* (450 florins).[9] Walsegg planned to pass off Mozart's work as his own, a practice for which the Count was well-known with works he had commissioned from other composers, and he did so at a mass in honor of his wife on December 14, 1793. At that time, Walsegg was unaware that the *Requiem* had already been performed on January 2, 1793—with full credit given to Mozart—in a performance to benefit Mozart's widow, Constanze, and their two children,[10] and portions, most likely only the *Introit* and *Kyrie*, may have been performed at a service in Mozart's memory on December 16, 1791, in St. Michael's Church (Michaelerkirche) in Vienna[11]

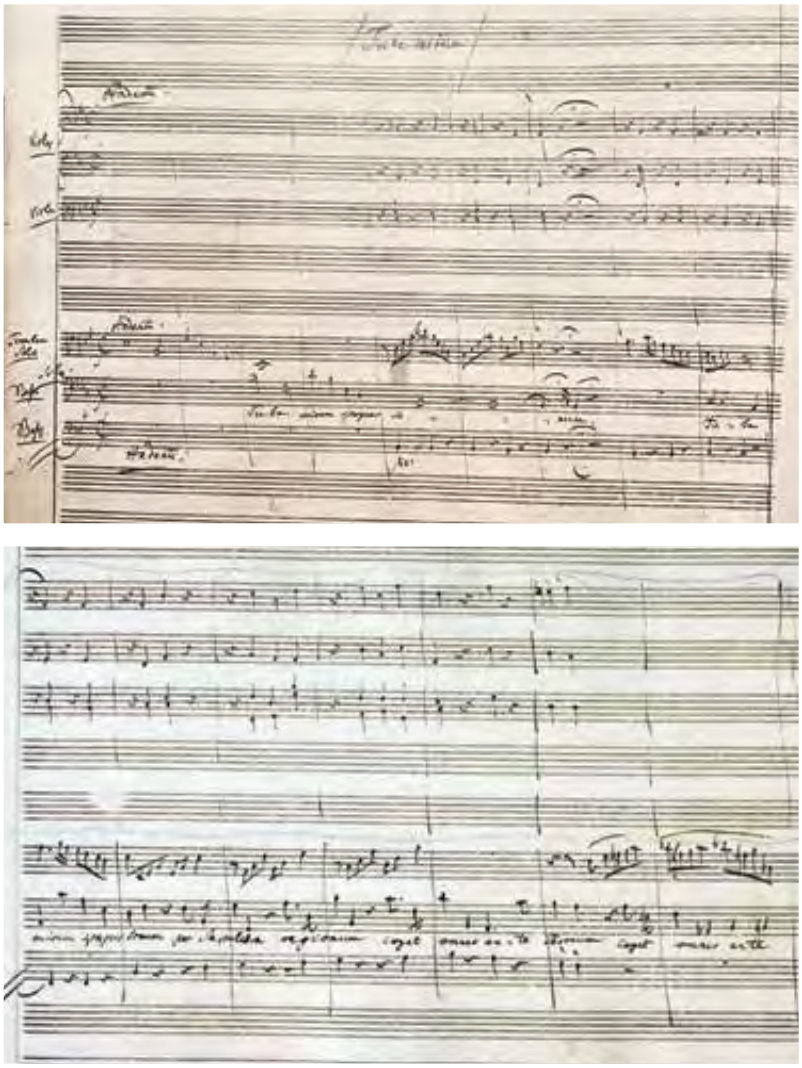
Because the *Requiem* was left unfinished at the time of Mozart's death, Constanze, needing to present a completed work to Walsegg in order to receive the second half of the commission fee, turned first to Mozart's student Franz Jakob Freystädler, then to his student Joseph Eybler, then to his friend, Abbé Maximilian Stadler, and finally to Franz Xaver

Süssmayr to complete the work. It is the version of the *Requiem* as completed by Süssmayr (and which Constanze represented to Walsegg as a work that was wholly original by her husband) by which the *Requiem* is most widely known, although changes to Süssmayr's work began almost immediately and the number of other editions that have been offered by composers, editors, musicologists, and conductors is legion.

The *Tuba mirum*

Mozart's unfinished score to the *Tuba mirum* consists of staves for soprano, alto, tenore, and basso solo, trombone solo (notated in tenor clef), a basso instrumental line (without figured bass), and a few measures of music for first and second violins (**Figures 2, 3, and 4**). The meter is *alla breve* 𝄵 and Mozart's tempo indication is *Andante*. There is no dynamic indication, and the only expressive markings are slurs in measures 15–17. The movement begins with a parody of the opening theme from the *Panis vivus* from Mozart's *Litanie de venerabili altaris, sacramento*, K. 213 (1776). It was not the only borrowing found in the *Requiem*. Scholars have frequently commented on the similarity of the beginning of Mozart's *Introitus* to George Frederic Handel's opening chorus, *The Ways of Zion do Mourn*, from his *Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline*, HWV 264 (1737). Likewise, the melodic contour of the fugue subject for Mozart's *Kyrie* is identical to that for Handel's chorus, *And With His Stripes* from *Messiah*, HWV 56 (1741), and the *Kyrie*'s second subject is similar to a subject in the final chorus, *We Will Rejoice*, from Handel's *Dettingen Anthem*, HWV 265 (1743).[12]

Mozart's *Requiem* manuscript contains completions by Eybler around which Stadler later drew circles to distinguish later additions from the composer's fragmentary original.[13] In his completion of the movement, Süssmayr—who made up an entirely new score while imitating Mozart's handwriting—continued the trombone solo in measures 24–34 but added no additional phrasing to the trombone solo in measures 1–18 beyond what was found Mozart's original score.[14]



Figures 2, 3, and 4.
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Requiem* (*Tuba mirum*), mm. 1–18. Manuscript, 1791.

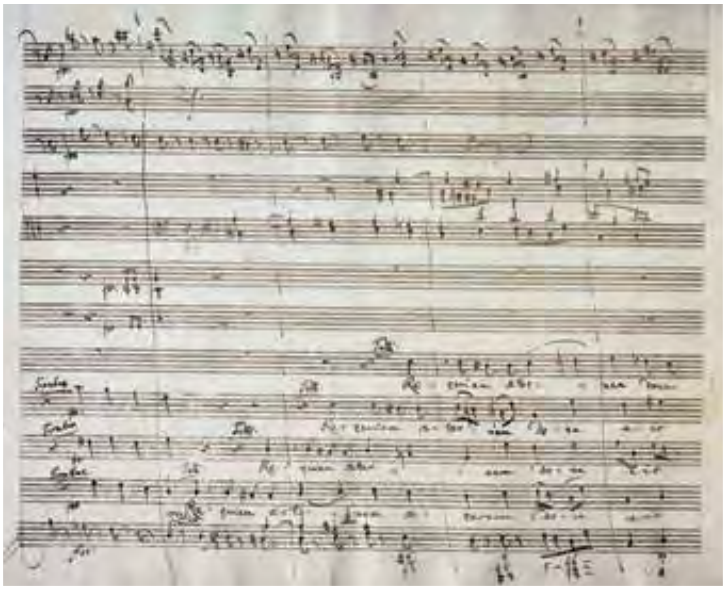


Figure 5. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Requiem* (*Introitus*), mm. 7–11. Manuscript, 1791.

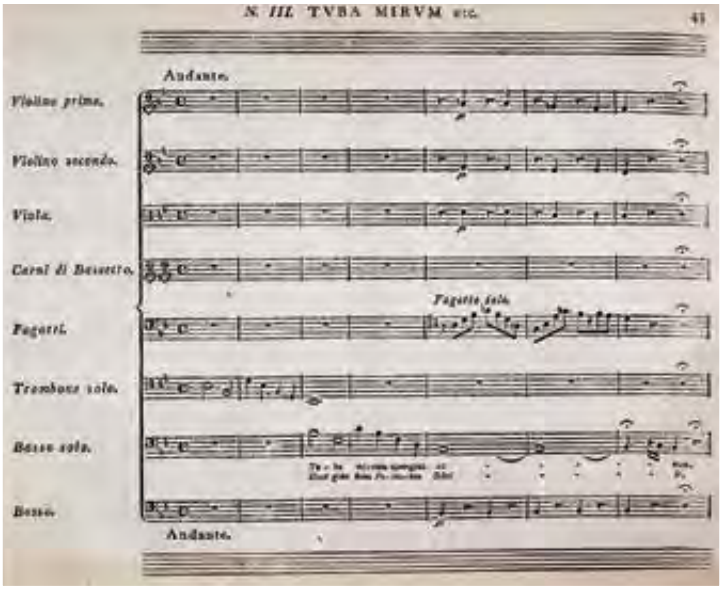


Figure 6. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Requiem* (*Tuba mirum*), mm. 1–7. First edition, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1800. Courtesy Handel and Haydn Society, Boston.

Mozart's specific instructions for inclusion of trombones in the *Requiem* are limited to the trombone solo in the *Tuba mirum* and an indication for three trombones to play four quarter notes in measures 7–8 of the *Introitus* followed by the indication for the trombones to play *tutti* (**Figure 5**). Süssmayr, following the Viennese tradition of trombones playing *colla parte* in choral movements (which Mozart also intended in his indication, *tutti*), included three trombones along with the chorus in all movements apart from the *Tuba mirum*, *Recordare*, and the opening of the *Hostias*.[15] In addition to playing *colla parte* in the other movements, Süssmayr added a few independent parts for trombones (including measures 1–2 of *Rex tremendae*, 19–21 of *Lacrimosa*, and several passages in *Benedictus*).

In the nine years between Mozart's death and the appearance of the first edition of the *Requiem* in 1800—published by Breitkopf und Härtel, Leipzig—the *Tuba mirum* saw several radical transformations, and later editions would continue to mangle Mozart's basic intentions.

Breitkopf's edition of 1800 (**Figure 6**) changed the meter of the *Tuba mirum* from *alla breve* to common time **C**. This was to have implications for the movement's performance tempo that continue to our time. Further, after the first three measures, the trombone solo was given over to a bassoon (*fagotto*).[16] The first edition also added phrase markings in measures 7–13 which became standard in many subsequent editions of the *Requiem*. While the 1877 Breitkopf edition—edited by Johannes Brahms—restored Mozart's *alla breve* time signature and does not include the additional phrase markings that are so commonly seen today, this and many other editions also include Süssmayr's addition to Mozart's trombone solo (beginning 7 measures after Rehearsal a).

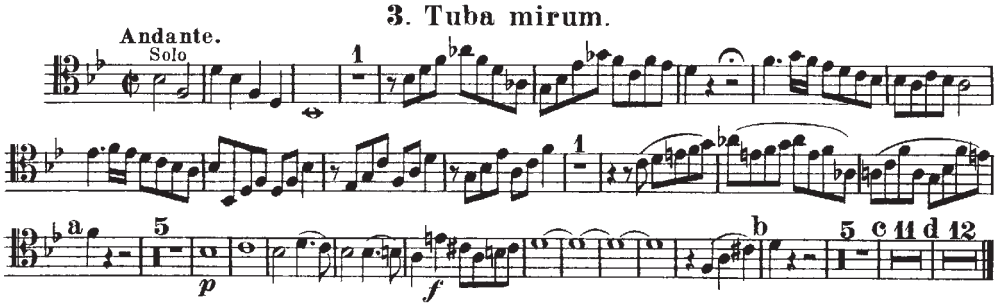


Figure 7. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Requiem* (*Tuba mirum*). Trombone Tenore (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1877).

Critical assessments of the *Tuba mirum*

After the *Requiem's* Leipzig premiere (1796) and publication of the first edition by Breitkopf und Härtel (1800), the generally accepted opinion of the *Tuba mirum* was positive. Friedrich Rochlitz, in his review of the Breitkopf edition (*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1801), declared the *Tuba mirum* to excel in its "simply beautiful, natural melodies and modulations."[17]

But leave it to Hector Berlioz to deliver the first all-out salvo against Mozart's treatment of the *Tuba mirum* text. Berlioz, who, in 1837, introduced the *Tuba mirum* into his *Requiem* with the grandest of musical gestures—four brass orchestras consisting of thirty-four players of cornets, trombones, tubas, and ophicleides (stationed around the orchestra at the points of the compass at its premiere in Les Invalides, Paris)—railed (in 1834 and 1835) against Mozart's use of a single trombone to accomplish the task of raising the dead at the Last Judgment:

> The effect of the *Tuba mirum* is generally flat, if not frankly disappointing. The opening phrase is sublime but goes nowhere, and the orchestration is pallid and weak. A single voice recites the verse. The terrible call meant to resonate throughout the world and wake the dead from their deep slumber is sounded by a single trombone. Why only one, when thirty, even three hundred would not be too many? . . . If Mozart's *Tuba mirum*, then, lacks strength and color, if it lacks the drama of the rest of his *Requiem*, it is because the work is unfinished, or poorly finished, or a failure. That's it.[18]

By the twentieth century, the *Tuba mirum* was under full assault. Criticism swirled around Mozart's presumed ineptitude in representing the Last Judgment with, after the opening, declamatory three measure fanfare, a florid, legato trombone solo. "Feste," writing in *The Musical Times* in 1926, felt that the *Requiem*, "Being good only in parts, it is not good enough." Of the *Tuba mirum*, he wrote:

> As for the *Requiem*, I can never hear it without chafing at its almost complete failure to rise to the height of its tremendous text. Think of that complacent trombone solo in the *Tuba mirum*, for example.[19]

The technical nature of the *Tuba mirum* solo was also a stumbling block for Mozart biographer Alfred Einstein (1945):

> We encounter doubtful elements again in the *Tuba mirum*, in which the text is divided in concertante fashion among the soloists, and in which Süssmayr carries on the solo trombone of the beginning long after it has called all the resurrected before God's throne. But this unquestionably Mozartean solo trombone is itself a painful matter—one cannot shake off the impression that the heavenly player is exhibiting his prowess instead of announcing terribly the terrible moment of the Last Judgment.[20]

Georges de Saint-Fox, in his five-volume study of Mozart and his music (1912–1946), asked, echoing his countryman, Berlioz, "what combination of instruments can adequately evoke the possibility of [the Last Judgment]? Are 40 trumpets in unison, or all the resources of the modern orchestra enough to depict this scene of dread?" As to the trombone solo, he dismissively quipped, "it nevertheless inspires more appeasement than majesty."[21]

The second half of the twentieth century brought more pointed criticism. Alec Robertson wrote (1967), "The tension so far established is completely dissipated in *Tuba mirum* by the notorious trombone solo, unaccompanied, succeeded by gentle phrases on the solo instrument after the second bar of the entry for the solo bass."[22] Arthur Hutchings (1976), employed an even harsher adjective than Robertson when he wrote, "After the solemn opening of the *Tuba mirum* for solo trombone, the same instrument continues with grotesque legato arpeggio accompaniments to the bass solo."[23] John Rosselli (1998) damned sections of the *Requiem* as "merely decorous," and singled out "the trombone solo at the *Tuba mirum* (the annunciation of the last trump), with its upward sequence that strains after majesty and fails."[24] "The trombone exhibits its skills by climbing up and down the tones of the seventh chord in its high range," wrote Daniel Heartz (2009), and he posited that "the composer himself perhaps realized that he had taken a wrong or inappropriate turn, for he discontinued writing the trombone's solo at this juncture, where the tenor voice enters."[25]

All of these writers complained of what they viewed as Mozart's fundamental problem in the *Tuba mirum*: his trombone writing was inadequate to depict the Last Judgment. In fact, such critics had a fundamental problem of their own: they understood neither Mozart's view of death nor how many of his contemporaries employed the trombone in the *Tuba mirum* movement of their *Requiems*.

***Tuba mirum* and the solo trombone**

On its face, the text of the *Tuba mirum* would seem to call

for a highly dramatic musical treatment. The *Requiems* of Berlioz, Giuseppe Verdi (1874), and Benjamin Britten (1961) achieved the zenith of such dramatic intensity in their settings of the text. Each scored for large numbers of brass players at fortissimo dynamics to introduce the *Tuba mirum* in their *Requiems*. Others showed them the way. Joseph Eybler's *Requiem* (1803) uses loud trumpets and trombones in a rising, fanfare figure at the entrance of the *Tuba mirum*. Antonio Salieri (1804) introduces the *Tuba mirum* in his *Requiem* with *fortissimo* fanfares on trumpets and trombones. Michael Haydn, in his unfinished *Requiem* in B-flat (1806), employs three trombones playing *forte* to announce the *Tuba mirum* text; its theme bears a striking resemblance to that of Mozart's *Tuba mirum*. Likewise, Luigi Cherubini's *Requiem* in C minor (1816), announces the *Dies irae* with a *fortissimo* brass fanfare (followed by a stroke on a gong), and the *Tuba mirum* follows in the same manner.

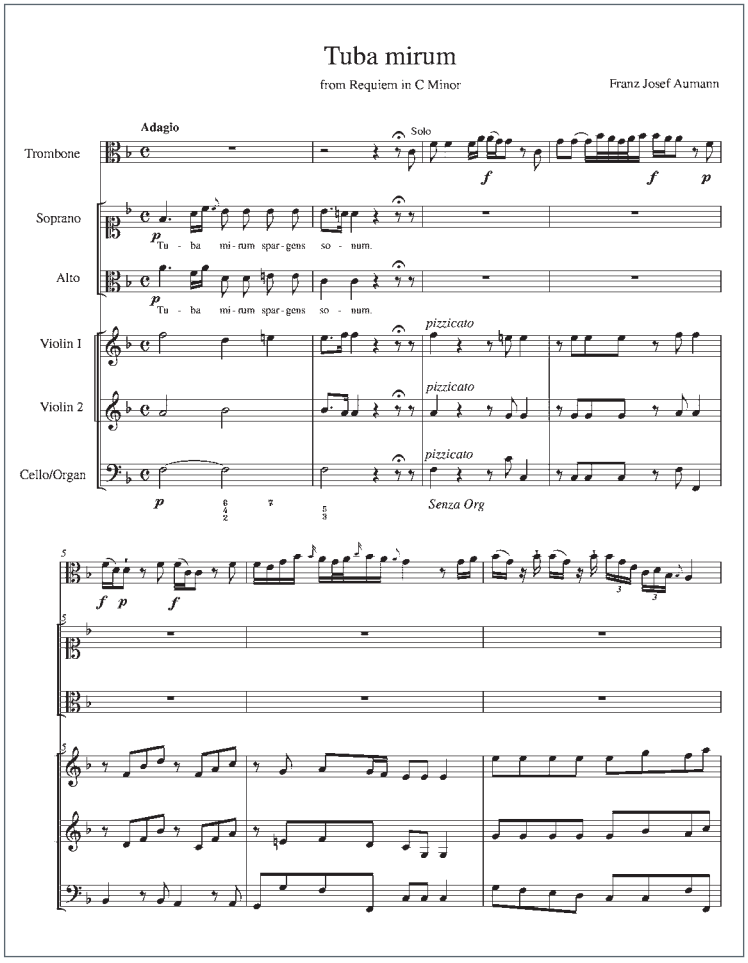


Figure 8. Franz Josef Aumann, *Requiem in C minor* (*Tuba mirum*), mm. 1–7. Score courtesy Howard Weiner.

However, whatever criticisms were leveled against Mozart for his writing a mellifluous trombone solo in his *Tuba mirum*, it should be noted that he was in good company. An examination of *Requiems* by several of Mozart's eighteenth-century contemporaries in and around Vienna shows something else. The *Tuba mirum* text was often treated in a pastoral manner, and a trombone solo or duet was frequently employed in the movement. This is the case in Johann Joseph Fux's *Requiem* K. 51–53 (c. 1720), where the *Tuba mirum* (*Andante*) is scored with a trombone solo to accompany the alto soloist.[26] George Reutter's *Requiem* in G minor (1753) features a *Tuba mirum* (*Andante*) with two trombones in a soloistic duet.[27] Reutter's *Requiem* in C minor (also 1753) employs a trombone soloist in the *Tuba mirum*. The part is both gentle and highly virtuoisic; the tempo is *Largo*, and it contains multiple trills and thirty-second notes.[28] In the *Requiem* in C minor (**Figure 8**) of Franz Joseph Aumann (1766), a solo trombone with a highly virtuosic part plays along with a soprano and alto duet in the *Tuba mirum* (*Adagio*).[29] Leopold Hofmann wrote his *Requiem* around 1785. Its *Dies irae* section is marked *Adagio non molto* and two trombones are used throughout. For eight measures before the *Tuba mirum*, a trombone duo plays a pastoral setting of the movement's opening theme.[30]

All of these *Tuba mirum* treatments have three things in common: They feature one or two trombones in a soloistic role, they all employ a slow tempo (*Largo*, *Adagio*, *Andante*), and all are set in a florid, non-dramatic style. Clearly, Mozart was not alone in setting his *Tuba mirum* for trombone solo and in a manner that was antithetical to the volatile *Sturm und Drang* of many other *Tuba mirum* treatments.[31] The question is: Why?

Eine schöne Leich and Mozart's view of death

Apart from the reign of Emperor Joseph II (1780–February 1790) when modernist reforms were put in place that severely altered and constrained many aspects of public life including church services,[32] eighteenth century funerals in Vienna were, at times, extravagant affairs.[33] The "good death" or "beautiful funeral"—*Eine schöne Leich*—was deeply engrained in Viennese society when Edward Young published his poem, *The Complaint: or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death, & Immortality*, between 1742 and 1745.[34] *Night-Thoughts* is a series of nine "Nights" of poetic musings in iambic pentameter on the themes of life and death. Young's poem was highly regarded in his time, and through the Victorian era, it was considered an important work of Christian devotion. Its standing increased in 1797 when bookseller Richard Edwards contracted William Blake to

make illustrations for the book. Of the 537 watercolors that Blake created for the work, Edwards chose forty-three for inclusion in his Volume 1 of *Night-Thoughts*—the only volume that came to print—which consisted of Nights one through four.[35]

Night-Thoughts was translated and published in German at least five times between 1751 and 1789.[36] As Young wrote, death was not the end but the beginning, something to be longed for:

> I pause——
> And enter, awed, the temple of my theme:
> Is it his death-bed? no—it is his shrine:
> Behold him, there, just rising to a god.
> The chamber, where the good man meets his fate,
> Is privileged beyond the common walk
> Of virtuous life, quite in the verge of heaven.[37]

For the virtuous person whose life had been lived in accordance with the demands of God, Young admonished readers against fear and dread:

> This dark incarcerating colony,
> Divides us: happy! that breaks our chain;
> That manumits, that calls from exile home;
> That leads to nature's great metropolis,
> And re-admits us, through the guardian hand
> Of elder brothers to our father's throne;
> Who hears our advocate, and, through his wounds
> Beholding man, allows that tender name!
> 'Tis this makes christian triumph a command:
> 'Tis this makes joy a duty to the wise;
> 'Tis impious in a good man to be sad.[38]

Did Mozart read Young's *Night-Thoughts*? One cannot say with certainty. We do know that Mozart owned a copy

of Moses Mendelssohn's *Phaedon, oder die Unsterblichkeit der Seele* (1767), an essay on the soul's simplicity and immortality.[39] But given the wide distribution of Young's poem in German editions (Goethe spoke highly of Young's work),[40] it is certainly plausible that Mozart was familiar with its themes. Evidence for this seems apparent in a letter Mozart wrote to his father, Leopold, on April 4, 1787, scarcely a month before his father's death:

> As death, when we come to consider it closely, is the true goal of our existence, I have formed during the last few years such close relations with this best and truest friend of mankind that his image is not only no longer terrifying to me, but is indeed very soothing and consoling! And I thank my God for graciously granting me the opportunity (you know what I mean) to learn that death is the *key* which unlocks the door to our true happiness. I never lie down at night without reflecting that—young as I am—I may not live to see another day. Yet no one of all my acquaintances could say that in company I am morose or disgruntled. For this blessing I daily thank my Creator and wish with all my heart that each one of my fellow creatures could enjoy it.[41]

In this, Mozart sounds very much like Edward Young. Death and the call to judgment are not to be feared. Mozart's *Tuba mirum* setting reflects this view. Critics are unfair to claim that the movement lacks drama. After the opening *Tuba mirum* awakens the dead, the character of *Mors stupebit* changes dramatically, to a B-flat minor version of the opening trombone fanfare. Death itself trembles at the Last Judgment, but at the movement's close, Mozart's setting of the text of *Quid sum miser* allows, in Hermann Abert's words, "the movement to end on a note of consolation no longer clouded by any hint of anxiety."[42] While the damned had reason to fear, the righteous did not.

Different views of Mozart's *Tuba mirum*

The withering criticism of Mozart's handling of the *Tuba mirum* text seems, in light of the Viennese embrace of *Eine schöne Leich* represented as it was in Edward Young's *Night–Thoughts*, and the composer's own stated view on death, to be both unjustified and uninformed. However, some writers—who, given their minority view, have been hiding in plain sight—have noted this. Hermann Abert, writing in 1923–24, commented that after the turmoil of the *Dies irae*, the *Tuba mirum* "brings with it a feeling of tranquility." "Mozart," he continued, "pictures the Lord not as a strict and implacable judge but as a lenient, albeit just and serious, god. This is entirely consonant with his other known views on the subject and explains the confident, even intimate, tone on which this section ends but which Mozart's admirers, including even Jahn, have found to be too lightweight."[43] While his criticism of the *Tuba mirum* has been noted earlier, Alfred Einstein (1945) concluded his assessment of the totality of the *Requiem* with a sentence that seems to have been lifted from Mozart own words, "Death is not a terrible vision but a friend."[44]

A few words on performance practice

Mozart's *Requiem* continues to enjoy popularity in concert halls around the world, and it is periodically performed in a liturgical context as the composer intended.[45] Such was the case on January 19, 1964, when the Boston Symphony Orchestra (Erich Leinsdorf, music director), performed it as part of a Solemn Pontifical Requiem Mass in memory of John F. Kennedy in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Boston. The service was presided over by Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston.[46] The *Tuba mirum* also has the distinction of being one of the most frequently required tenor trombone orchestral audition excerpts. Given its importance, it is worth discussing several issues of contemporary performance practice that, in light of the present analysis of the movement, may be helpful to performers and conductors.

The question of tempo stands tall among problems to be solved. Mozart prefaced the *Tuba mirum* with the tempo indication, *Andante*; the metronome had not yet been invented at the time. Until roughly the last decade of the twentieth century, many conductors preferred a tempo that can only be described as lugubrious. In this, the time signature misprint in the Breitkopf edition of 1800—common time rather than *alla breve*—may well be in play. A survey of several representative recordings shows a range of tempi, but with slow tempos favored until the late 1980s:[47]

Victor De Sabata (1941)	♩ = 56	
Thomas Beecham (1954/56)	♩ = 58	ed. Beecham
Eugen Jochum (1955)	♩ = 72	
Bruno Walter (1956)	♩ = 64	
Erich Leinsdorf (1964)	♩ = 54	
Herbert von Karajan (1975)	♩ = 60	
Christopher Hogwood (1983)	♩ = 76	ed. C. R. F. Maunder
John Eliot Gardiner (1986)	♩ = 90	
Roger Norrington (1992)	♩ = 104	ed. Duncan Druce
Martin Perlman (1994)	♩ = 92	ed. Robert Levin
Christoph Spering (2001)	♩ = 92	
Bernard Haitink (2002–live)	♩ = 96	

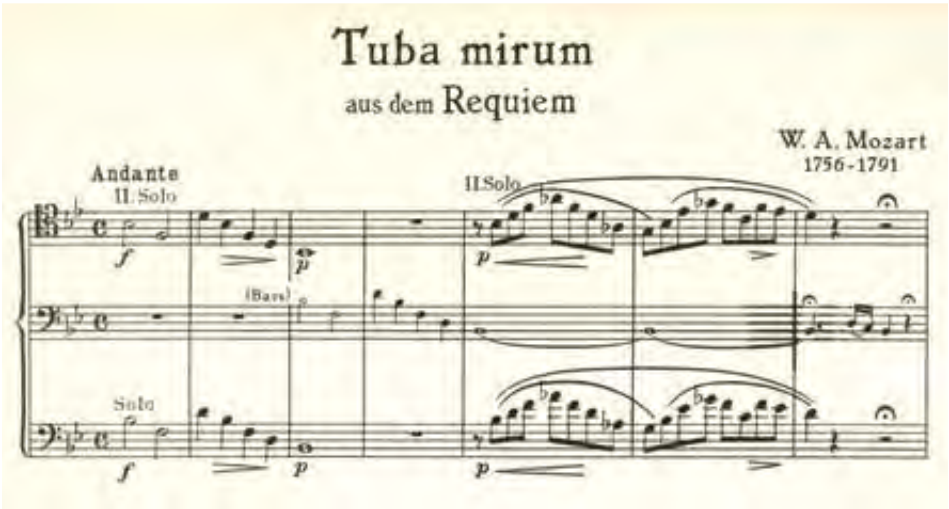


Figure 9. Alfred Stöneberg, *Moderne Orchesterstudien für Posaune und Baßtuba*, Vol. 1 [Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Requiem* (*Tuba mirum*), incipit, mm. 1–7] (Cologne: Hans Gerig, 1954).

The predilection for slow tempi for much of the twentieth century was reinforced by several orchestral excerpt books for trombone—including volumes by Alfred Stöneberg (**Figure 9**), Keith Brown (**Figure 10**), and Johann Doms—which perpetuated the common time error. Untold numbers of trombonists were schooled for auditions at a tempo that was overly slow and required a heavy pulse of four beats to a measure, and with phrasing that had been highly edited.[48]

What to do? Jean-Pierre Marty, in his book, *The Tempo Indications of Mozart*, undertook a thorough (if not a somewhat labored and controversial) survey of all of Mozart's music in order to assign a metronome marking to every tempo in each work. Based on a comparison with Mozart's other *Andante* movements in *alla breve*, Marty concluded that the *Tuba mirum* should be performed at ♩ = 88 or 𝅗𝅥 = 44.[49] This puts the tempo in the range of many late twentieth century recordings, although Norrington's pace of ♩ = 104 makes him an extreme outlier. Melinda O'Neal may have summed up the *Requiem*'s tempo conundrum best when she stated:

> The evidence does lead to the assertion that nineteenth-century performance concepts have slowed down modern performances of eighteenth-century music. *Adagios* and *Andantes* were faster than we presently imagine, minuets should go quite a bit faster; finales to symphonies likely just a bit slower. Numerous contemporary treatises indicate that church music was performed more slowly than theatre or chamber music, and that to Mozart, both the tempo indication and the meter were indications of tempo.[50]

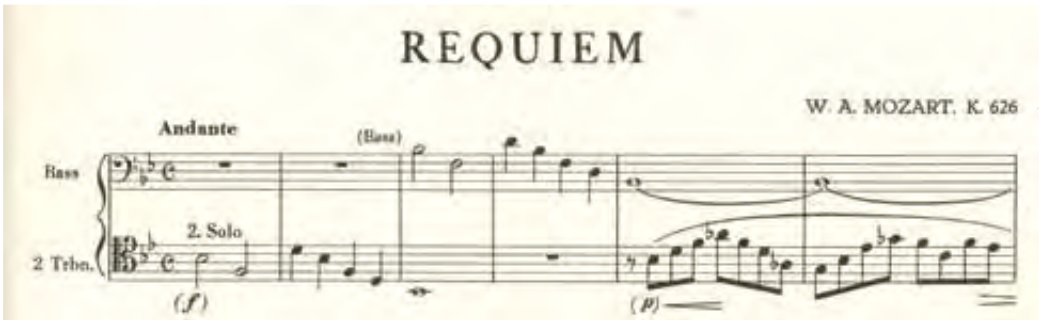


Figure 10. Keith Brown, *Orchestral Excerpts from the Symphonic Repertoire for Trombone and Tuba*, Vol. 1 [Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Requiem* (*Tuba mirum*), incipit, mm. 1–6] (New York: International Music, 1964).

Likewise, the question of articulation must be addressed. Mozart provided slurs only in measures 15 through 17 of the *Tuba mirum*; Süssmayr added no more to Mozart's original. However, many editions of the *Requiem* which proport to represent Süssmayr's completion have added additional slurs in measures 8 to 13, and some editions add slurs in measures 5 to 7 (see **Figures 15 and 16**). Some conductors prefer the entire *Tuba mirum* solo to be articulated by the tongue in a separated, non-legato manner, while others call for a smarmy legato throughout. If we accept that Mozart's concept of the *Tuba mirum* is one where he intended its opening measures (up to *Mors stupebit*) as a welcome call for the righteous dead—who had nothing to fear—to approach the judgment throne, a tasteful legato approach after measure 3 and a tempo of 𝅗𝅥 = 44—with a definite pulse of two beats to a measure—seems quite reasonable. However, wise trombonists have learned that the only truly acceptable reply to a conductor's mandate is, "Yes, maestra," so when it comes to the *Tuba mirum*'s tempo and articulation, prudent performers will prepare the trombone solo in a range of tempi and articulation styles, and engage in a conversation with the conductor before the first rehearsal. For auditions, a "mainstream" approach as suggested above would be a good starting point given the current trend in performance style.

Figure 11. Statue of Mozart by Ludwig Schwanthaler (1842) in Mozart Square, Salzburg. Photo courtesy Rafa Esteve.

Conclusion

James Weldon Johnson, in his funeral sermon, "Go Down Death," from his book of poems, *God's Trombones* (1927), portrayed the moment of Sister Caroline's death:

> While we were watching round her bed,
> She turned her eyes and looked away,
> She saw what we couldn't see;
> She saw Old Death. She saw Old Death,
> Coming like a falling star.
> But Death didn't frighten Sister Caroline;
> He looked to her like a welcome friend.
> And she whispered to us: I'm going home,
> and she smiled and closed her eyes.[51]

Mozart, Edward Young, and Johnson all portrayed death and the last judgment in much the same way: as the peaceful portal from earthly life to the heavenly realm. For those who trusted in God, this was not to be feared. Mozart, following in the tradition of *Eine schöne Leich*, delivered the celestial summons by following another Viennese tradition—using a gentle trombone solo—to sound the call to bring the believer to heaven.

The importance of Mozart's *Tuba mirum* was immortalized in a statue of the composer that was erected in Salzburg's Mozart Square in 1842.[52] Designed by Ludwig Schwanthaler, it shows Mozart in a toga, looking pensively into the distance with a pen in his right hand. In his left hand is a manuscript with the opening measures of the *Tuba mirum*. A greater tribute to the importance of Mozart's trombone solo cannot be imagined.

But at the same time, we note—with some irony—that the meter on the bronze manuscript in Mozart's hand is not *alla breve*, but common time. Alas.

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Notes

1. Cecil Forsyth, *Orchestration* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1914), 149.
2. Alec Robertson, *Requiem: Music of Mourning and Consolation* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968); Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2003).
3. Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music*, 1–2.
4. The earliest surviving polyphonic treatment of the *Requiem* with the *Dies irae* Sequence is by Engarandus Juvenis. His four-part *Requiem,* in which the Sequence stanzas alternate between polyphony and chant (the *Dies irae* is polyphonic), dates from the late fifteenth century. The manuscript is part of the Staffarda Codex (Ris. Mus. I 27), now housed in the National University Library of Turin. See Alberto Basso, "The Treasures of the Piedmont series," *Il Codice di Staffarda, secolo XV.* Opus 111, OPS 30-162, CD, 1996.
5. "The great day of the Lord is near, it is near, and hasteth greatly, even the voice of the day of the Lord: the mighty man shall cry there bitterly. That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of the trumpet and alarm against the fenced cities, and against the high towers." (Zephaniah 1:14-16, King James Version). Authorship of the *Dies irae* text is not settled and has been ascribed to at least ten authors. See Hugh Thomas Henry, "Dies Irae," *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. IV (New York: Robert Appleton, 1908), 787–788.
6. William J. Irons, "Dies Irae" [Day of Wrath!], *A Hymnal Authorized and Approved for Use by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America* (New York: H. W. Gray, 1916), 72–78.
7. Translation by Brother Alexis Bugnolo and used with permission of Bugnolo, Save Old Saint Mary's Catholic, and the Franciscan Archive. www.franciscan-archive.org/de_celano/opera/diesirae.html.
8. Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart's Requiem: Reception, Work, Completion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 8.
9. Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart's Requiem,* 2.
10. Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart's Requiem,* 3.
11. Christoph Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents, Score* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 4.
12. Christoph Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem,* 74–81. Also, Alec Robertson, Requiem, 69–70.
13. Alfred Schnerich, "Erläutert," *Mozarts Requiem: Nachbildung der originalhandschritf COD. 17561 der K. K. Hofbibliotheck in Wien in Lichtdruck* (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Graphische Industrie, 1913), 22. The author owns number 36 of 156 published copies of this facsimile and commentary; it was previously owned by the Musikhistorisches Institut der K. K. Universität, Wien, and contains Schnerich's handwritten (pencil) corrections. Also, Christoph Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem,* 16.
14. This article does not address Süssmayr's wholly original addition to the *Tuba mirum* trombone solo in measures 24–34. It is enough to say that Süssmayr's addition has been widely condemned by scholars.
15. Leopold Nowak, "Forward," *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Requiem, completed by Franz Xaver Süssmayr, in its traditional form* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), xi.
16. The *Requiem* had its first performance in Leipzig on April 20, 1796, conducted by Johann Adam Hiller. A bassoon was used for the trombone solo at that performance in the absence of a capable trombonist, and the erroneous indication for bassoon may have come into the Breitkopf edition via Hiller's performance score. The practice of using a bassoon for the solo continued into the 1880s. See W. A. Mozart, *Requiem,* ed. Franz Beyer (Lottstetten: Edition Kunzelmann, 1979) ,17. Also, Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart's Requiem,* 3, 82. Also, Christoph Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem,* 155, 160. Also, Trevor Herbert, *The Trombone* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 159.
17. Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart's Requiem,* 44.
18. Hector Berlioz, ed, Katherine Kolb, trans. Samuel N. Rosenberg, *Berlioz on Music: Selected Criticism 1824–1837* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 88, 170–171. Also, Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 220. Berlioz had previously tested out the use of a large force of brass instruments to introduce the Last Judgment as stated in the Nicene Creed, *Et interim venturus est cum Gloria, judicare vivos et mortuos* (And [Christ] shall come again, with glory, to judge the living and the dead) in the *Resurrexit* of his *Messe solennelle* (1824). The mass was premiered in 1825 and performed again in 1827 after which Berlioz withdrew the work and claimed he had burned the score. However, a copy was discovered in Antwerp in 1992. The work is notable for its low brass orchestration that includes parts for three trombones, buccin (dragon bell trombone), serpent, and ophicleide. See Hugh Macdonald, "Preface," *Berlioz: Messe solennelle* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993), np.
19. Feste, "Ad Libitum," *Musical Times,* Vol. 67, No. 998 (April 1, 1926), 315.

Notes – *continued*

20. Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945), 354. The reference to an "unquestionably Mozartean solo trombone" is to the extensive trombone solo in the fifth movement, *Jener Donnerworte Kraft,* from Mozart's *Die Schuldigkeit des Ersten Gebots,* K. 35 (1767).
21. George de Saint-Foix, *W.–A. Mozart: sa Vie Musicale et son Œuvre,* Vol. V, 1789–1791 (Paris: Desclée, 1946), 286–287.
22. Alec Robertson, *Requiem,* 71–72.
23. Arthur Hutchings, *Mozart: The Man, The Musician* (Baarn: Phonogram Int., 1976), 118.
24. John Rosselli, *The Life of Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 160.
25. Daniel Heartz, *Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven, 1781–1802* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009), 264.
26. Johann Joseph Fux, ed. Klaus Winkler, *Requiem* K. 51–K. 53 (Graz: Akademische Druck u Verlagsanstalt, 1992), 44–51.
27. C. Robert Wigness, *The Soloistic Use of the Trombone in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Nashville: The Brass Press, 1978), 30–31.
28. Georg Reutter der Jüngere, *Kirchenwerke,* ed. Norbert Hofer, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 88 (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1952), 67–68.
29. Peter Dormann, *Franz Joseph Aumann* (1728–1797): *Ein Meister in St. Florian vor Anton Bruckner* (Munich and Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1985), 171–175.
30. Leopold Hofmann, ed. Allan Badley, *Requiem* in C minor (Wellington, Artaria Editions, 2016), 30–44.
31. Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music,* 184.
32. For summaries of the reforms of Joseph II, see Otto Biba, "Die Wiener Kirchenmusic um 1783," *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts,* I. Band, 2. Halbband (Eisenstadt: Jahrbuch für Österreichische Kulturgeschichte, 1971), 7–79. Also, Reinhard G. Pauly, "The Reforms of Church Music under Joseph II," *The Musical Quarterly,* Vol. 43, No. 3 (July 1957), 372–382. Also, Volkmar Braunbehrens (trans. Timothy Bell), *Mozart in Vienna,* 1781–1791 (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1986/1989), 215–225. The myth of Mozart being buried in a linen sack in a pauper's grave—a legend that grew from Joseph II's reforms on burials— has been deconstructed. See Michael Lorenz, *Mozart and the Myth of Resuable Coffins* (July 1, 2013). michaelorenz.blogspot.com/2013/07/mozart-and-myth-of-reusable-coffins.html.
33. Michael Lorenz, *Haydn Singing at Vivaldi's Exequies: An Ineradicable Myth* (June 9, 2014), michaelorenz.blogspot.com/2014/06/haydn-singing-at-vivaldis-exequies.html. Also, Michael Lorenz, *Fux Documents* (September 8, 2016), michaelorenz.blogspot.com/2016/09/fux-documents.html.
34. Edward Young, *Night Thoughts* (London: C. Whittingham, 1798). Also, John Uebersax, *Edward Young's Night Thoughts: The First, Second, Third, and Fourth Night: New Edition with Introduction and Notes for Modern Readers* (San Luis Obispo: El Camino Real eBooks, 2015), www.john-uebersax.com/books/Edward-Young-Night-Thoughts.pdf.
35. Edward Young (text) and William Blake (illustrations), ed. Robert Essick and Jenijoy LaBelle, *Night Thoughts or, The Complaint and The Consolation* (New York: Dover Publications, 1975).
36. Alexandra Besson, *Edward Young's Night Thoughts: Deutsche Übersetzungen, Deutsche Leser* (Weimar: Klassik Stiftung, 2013), 7, www.academia.edu/9808925/Edward_Youngs_Night_Thoughts_deutsche_Übersetzungen_deutsche_Leser.
37. Edward Young, *Night Thoughts,* Night II, lines 629–635.
38. Edward Young, *Night Thoughts,* Night IV, lines 665–675.
39. Cliff Eisen, "Mozart's leap in the dark," *Mozart Studies,* ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 10.
40. Cliff Eisen, "Mozart's leap in the dark," *Mozart Studies,* 8.
41. Translated in Alec Robertson, *Requiem,* 64. Robertson notes that the parenthetical reference, "you know what I mean," is to Free Masonry, and that Mozart had attended a lecture at his Lodge "about man and death more appealing to him than the prevailing Catholic teaching." The letter was first published in Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts* (Leipzig, 1828, reprinted Heldesheim: Georg Olms Verlagbuchhandlung, 1964), 524–525.
42. Hermann Abert, trans. Stewart Spencer, ed. Cliff Eisen, *W. A. Mozart* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 1324.
43. Hermann Abert, trans. Stewart Spencer, ed. Cliff Eisen, *W. A. Mozart,* 1323–1324.
44. Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work,* 354.
45. I note, by way of example, that during my twenty-seven-year tenure as the Boston Symphony Orchestra's bass trombonist (1985–2012), I performed Mozart's *Requiem* on sixteen occasions, conducted by Christopher Hogwood, Seiji Ozawa, Robert Spano, Robert Shaw, Bernard Haitink, Hans Graf, Keith Lockhart, James Levine, Shi-Yeon Sung, and Michael Tilson Thomas.
46. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Requiem* [A Solemn Pontifical Requiem Mass in memory of John F. Kennedy]. Boston Symphony Orchestra, Erich Leinsdorf, conductor. RCA Victor LSC-7030, LP (January 19, 1964).
47. Mozart *Requiem* recordings: Victor De Sabata, Italian Broadcasting Authority Rome and Turin Orchestras, Naxos 8.111064, CD (1941); Thomas Beecham, Royal Philharmonic

Orchestra, Sony SMK89808, CD (1954/1956); Eugen Jochum, Vienna Philharmonic, Deutsche Grammophon 18 284, LP (1955); Bruno Walter , New York Philharmonic, Columbia ML 5012, LP (1956); Erich Leinsdorf, Boston Symphony Orchestra, RCA LM-7030, LP (1964); Herbert von Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, Deutsche Grammophon 477 7164, CD (1975); Christopher Hogwood, Academy of Ancient Music, L'Oiseau-Lyre 411 712-2, CD (1983); John Eliot Gardiner, English Baroque Soloists, Bärenreiter Classics 420 197-2, CD (1986); Roger Norrington, London Classical Players, EMI CDC 7 54525 2, CD (1992); Martin Perlman, Boston Baroque, Telarc CD-80401, CD (1994); Christoph Spering, Das Neue Orchester, Opus 111 OP30307, CD (2001); Bernard Haitink, Boston Symphony Orchestra, live performance (2002).

48. Trombone orchestral excerpt books that perpetuate the common time misprint for the *Tuba mirum* include Alfred Stöneberg, *Moderne Orchesterstudien für Posaune und Baßtuba,* Vol. 1 (Cologne: Hans Gerig, 1953), 3; Keith Brown, *Orchestral Excerpts from the Symphonic Repertoire for Trombone and Tuba,* Vol. 1 (New York: International Music, 1964), 63; and Johann Doms, *Orchesterstudien für Solo–Posaune* (Berlin: Verlag Prof. Johann Doms, 1985). The most widely used trombone orchestral book in print today, Megumi Kanda, *The One Hundred: Essential Works for the Symphonic Trombonist* (Maple City, Michigan: Encore Music Publishers, 2014), correctly prints the meter as *alla breve.*
49. Jean-Pierre Marty, *The Tempo Indications of Mozart* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 3–14, 111, 209, [appendix] 43.
50. Melinda O'Neal, "An Introduction to Performance Practice Considerations for the Mozart 'Requiem,'" *The Choral Journal,* Vol. 31, No. 9 (April 1991), 53.
51. James Weldon Johnson, *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* (New York: Viking Press, 1927), 21.
52. Otto Jahn, *Life of Mozart,* Volume 3, trans. Pauline D. Townsend (London: Novello, 1882), 396–397.