In Search of a Lost Composition by Beethoven: The Equale in A-Lid-49

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Abstract

It is well known that in 1812 Ludwig van Beethoven composed the Three Equali for Four Trombones (WoO 30) for the Linz Cathedral Kapellmeister Franz Xaver Glöggl. A letter from Glöggl to Robert Schumann, however, suggests that the composer originally composed four pieces. An examination of the autograph score of WoO 30 (D-B, Mus.ms.autogr.Beethoven, L.v., Grasnick 9), held by the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, seems to confirm this: one page of the manuscript most likely became detached.

In 2018, an anonymous example of an equale turned up in the Diocesan Archives in Linz. Although the newly found manuscript (A-Lld-49) is not in Beethoven’s hand, comparison with additions written on the autograph of WoO 30 identifies it to be that of Glöggl. The Linz source is a working sketch of an arrangement for three vocal parts made from a four-part trombone movement. One possible scenario is that Glöggl, who is not otherwise known as a composer, used Beethoven’s presumed fourth equale for this purpose. This is indicated by aspects such as key relationships and the identical, unusual key designation of all the compositions in question. It is more likely, however, that the rediscovered piece—a simple chorale—belongs to an older class of repertoire.
The Three Equali WoO 30

[1] In the autumn of 1812, Ludwig van Beethoven composed short pieces for trombones for Franz Xaver Glöggl (1764–1839), the Linz Cathedral Kapellmeister. These compositions are known as the Three Equali for Four Trombones WoO 30, and their genesis and reception history has been dealt with already in scholarly articles. The sources of the Beethoven equali seem to be clear at first glance, since they have been preserved both as an autograph, now in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, and in a contemporary copy, in the so-called Haslinger-Rudolfinische Sammlung of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. In addition, there are known arrangements of the Equali nos. 1 and 3 by Ignaz von Seyfried (1776–1841) with Latin texts, which were performed at Beethoven’s funeral in 1827 and published in the same year by Tobias Haslinger (1787–1842). The Equale no. 2, finally, was sung with a poem by Franz Grillparzer (1791–1872) at Beethoven’s grave in November 1827 and was also published in 1829 by Tobias Haslinger.

A letter from the commissioner Franz Xaver Glöggl to Robert Schumann dated July 19, 1838, confirms the transmission history but contains an additional piece of information that is not insignificant:

He [Beethoven] wrote several funeral pieces on trombones for me as well, which I gave to my friend Haslinger in Vienna, one of which was performed at his funeral. He wrote them in my room, and I reserved one of them for myself alone.

Glöggl had apparently passed on the autograph of the equali to his former student and collaborator Tobias Haslinger, presumably to enable an integration of the pieces into his handwritten Beethoven opera omnia project. Not without pride, Haslinger was then able to explicitly refer to the source accessible to him in the first edition of Equali 1 and 3 as male choruses after the funeral and confirmed in the preface that he owned the autograph. However, Glöggl’s statement that he had reserved a funeral piece for himself makes one wonder. Might Beethoven have composed a fourth, now lost equale in Linz in 1812?

The analysis of the autograph of WoO 30 seems to confirm this scenario. As Howard Weiner already explained in 2002, the manuscript consists of three folios, with folios 1 and 3 forming a double folio into which folio 2 was inserted (now bound). Equali 1 to 3, however, appear only on folios 1 and 2; folio 3 remained unused. It can be stated that the three known equali would also have fit on a simple double folio and that folio 2 originally also consisted of a double folio from which one sheet was detached. Thus, either Beethoven actually wrote a fourth equale on the no longer extant second sheet of folio 2, or Glöggl removed the blank paper in order to use it for other purposes. In any case, the apparently blank folio 3 had the function of a cover, as evidenced by the fold lines clearly visible on all leaves. If the second sheet of folio 2 had been blank, it could have served this purpose just as well; however, the assumption that Beethoven set down a fourth equale on it is supported by the statement of the primary witness Glöggl.

In Search of the Fourth Equale

The indexing of the Upper Austrian music archives for Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) in the course of a cataloging project at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in
2009-17 provided a starting point for the search for Beethoven’s presumed fourth equale.\textsuperscript{[11]} Indeed, a previously unknown copy of the extremely rare and locally limited musical genre equale was found in the historic Linz Cathedral Choir Archives in 2018.\textsuperscript{[12]} A simple four-part piece with the heading “Equal” appears at the end of a double leaf, neither paginated nor foliated, with an anonymous \textit{Liber scriptus} for four voices (SATB) and four trombones (AATB), marked “Mottetto ad Funera,” with the RISM signature A-LId-49 (see figure 1).

\textbf{Figure 1: Equale in A-LId-49}

This sheet evidently served originally as a cover for the \textit{Liber scriptus}, as is clear from a comparison with similar materials in the Linz Cathedral Archives of the time and the old inventory number CCCCIX above the equale, as well as traces of folding. Another point in favor of the assumption that the movement was added later is that it is obviously a working sketch used to create a three-part arrangement of the text \textit{Parce mihi Domine} from a four-part equale.\textsuperscript{[13]} This is made clear by the addition of “a3,” the almost consistently crossed-out notes in the second voice, and modifications in the first and third voices. The exact syllabic underlay of the added text is indicated by vertical lines above the first voice, making clear the intention to transform half notes into quarter notes. The four-part equale in the modern score and a reconstruction of the arrangement as \textit{Parce mihi Domine a3} can be seen in figures 2 and 3.
Equal a4

A-LI d 49 (old inv. no.: CCCCIX)

Scribe: F. X. Glögg (1764-1839)

Figure 2: Equale a4
As with the motet *Liber scriptus*, there is no indication of the author, but a comparison of the handwriting indicates that the scribe of both pieces was Glöggel. As the director and organizer of Linz Cathedral music for many years, he was demonstrably responsible for its music archive, but the amateurish text underlay in *Parce mihi Domine* (e.g. mm. 13-14) and the open parallel
fifth between the second and third voice in mm. 4–5 cast doubt on whether the cathedral Kapellmeister actually composed the pieces.\textsuperscript{[15]} The Linz cathedral organist Johann Baptist Schiedermayr (1779–1840), who is actually represented in the music archive as composer and arranger, is also ruled out for stylistic and scoring reasons.\textsuperscript{[16]}

The Equale in A-LId-49 and the Beethoven Autograph WoO 30

[2] Several indications point to written connections between the manuscript in A-LId-49 and the autograph of WoO 30. The most obvious is the almost identical inscription with the title “Equal” (see figures 4 and 5).

![Figure 4: Ludwig v. Beethoven, Equale no. 1, D-B, Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v., Grasnick 9, f. 1r (detail)](image)

![Figure 5: Equale, A-LId-49 (detail)](image)

The description of the autograph of WoO 30 in RISM already specifies “by unknown hand,”\textsuperscript{[17]} but on the basis of the comparison of the handwriting, it may now be assumed with a high degree of probability that Glöggl was responsible for the additions on f. 1r (“Equal a 4 Tromboni [space] de v. Beethoven | Linz 2 9bri 1812”), which are not from Beethoven (see figure 4). Likewise, the scribe of the Latin numerals “CCCCIII” on f. 3v of the autograph can be identified with Glöggl (see figure 6).
As already explained, this otherwise blank sheet was used as a cover. The sheet with the Linz equale, in turn, shows the numbers CCCCIX (see figure 5) and was also originally used as a cover, which raises the suspicion that both manuscripts were originally inventoried by Glöggl. Further research in the historical Linz Cathedral archives revealed that there are still several works with old inventory designations beginning with CCCC—all presumably numbered by Glöggl. If one understands the numbers as *numerus currens* under the heading CCCC, it is noticeable that the first numbers of this inventory section are still largely present and that the Berlin Beethoven autograph of WoO 30 undoubtedly belongs to it. These are probably the fragments of the repertoire for funeral processions in Linz around 1820 (see table 1).

| CCCC | Laude pueri by Schiedermayr, autograph (score), dat. 1820, TTB (A-Lid-44) |
| CCCCIII | *Equall* a4 by Beethoven, autograph (score), dat. 1812, 4 trbs. AATB (present loc.: D-B, Mus.ms.autogr.Beethoven, L.v., Grasnick 9) |
| CCCCV | Miserere mei by F. A. Hoffmeister, autograph (score), SATB (A-Lid-45) |
| CCCCVII | Quoties diem illum by “Kellner” (parts), SATB (A-Lid-20) |
| CCCCVIII | Quantus tremor by Schiedermayr (score), SATB/4 trbs. ATTB (A-Lid-48) |
| CCCCIX | *Liber scriptus* I, scribe: Glöggl (score), SATB/4 trbs. AATB, and: *Equal/Parce mihi*, 4 trbs. AATB/ATB (A-Lid-49) |
| CCCCXI | Laude pueri, anon. (parts), SATB (A-Lid-16) |
| CCCCXII | *Liber scriptus* II, scribe: Glöggl (score), SATB/4 trbs. AATB (A-Lid-50) |
| CCCCXXIV | Miserere “di Hoffmeister per Schiedermayer arrangè,” scribe: Glöggl (score), TTBB (A-Lid-46); arrangement of A-Lid-45 |

**Table 1: Fragments of the repertoire for funeral processions in Linz around 1820**
This can be confirmed by Glöggl's remarks in his *Kirchenmusik-Ordnung* of 1828. One reads there about funeral processions:
The funeral ceremonies (Conducten) are held differently according to the custom established in each place .... In the first class, on the arrival of the clergy, a short piece of funeral music (Equale) with trombones or other wind instruments gives the signal for the spiritual mourning ceremony for those present, after which the funeral procession starts to move, which is again indicated by the wind instruments, with which the choral music, singing a three- or four-part Miserere, then alternates during the procession until the entrance to the church or burial place, where the verse Requiem aeternam is sung before the benediction is given. After the blessing and the general prayer, a funeral motet is sung.

In the second class, if wind instruments have been ordered, the sign for the funeral ceremony is also given with them; during the funeral procession, however, only the Miserere, accompanied by the wind instruments, takes place in sections up to the grave or to the church, where again the verse Requiem is sung.

In the third class, the Miserere is to be sung during the procession.

At the funerals of children who have not yet received the holy sacrament of the altar, the psalm Laudate Pueri or a decent German hymn is sung instead of the Miserere.\[19\]

A comparison shows that the information from the Kirchenmusik-Ordnung is reflected in the remains of the old Linz funeral repertoire. Thus, both the Miserere and the equale mentioned by Glöggl can be found in it, as well as several pieces of music recognizable as funeral motets through the text and partly through the designation “Motetto ad funera.” Two Laudate Pueri, which were apparently used for children’s funerals, have also survived. The versicle Requiem aeternam was probably sung in unison from a prayer book and therefore does not appear. Two Laudate Pueri, which were apparently used for children’s funerals, have also survived. The versicle Requiem aeternam was probably sung in unison from a prayer book and therefore does not appear.\[20\] According to Glöggl, the instrumental equale and the vocal Miserere were performed alternately, and indeed only among the funeral motets are pieces with the combination of choir and trombones found. That these were only performed at first-class funerals is confirmed by the heading to Liber scriptus A-LId-50, “Mottetto ad funera soleniora” (motet for solemn funerals). Most of the surviving pieces in the reconstructed inventory are for four voices, although Glöggl explicitly speaks of a three- or four-part Miserere in the Kirchenmusik-Ordnung (see quotation above). At least one three-part variant may therefore be assumed under the inventory numbers CCCCCI, CCCCII, or CCCCIV, which no longer exist today. In addition, other four-part equali as well as equali a3 could have been among the inventory numbers in question. The reworking of the anonymous four-part equale in A-LId-49 into a three-part funeral motet, however, does not speak in favor of three-part versions—Glöggl would probably have preferred to text an already existing three-part equale instead of making a cumbersome arrangement. However, the process shows that three-part pieces were also used, probably for pragmatic reasons.\[21\]

One further observation on the fragmentary inventory and the partially reconstructable Linz funeral music repertoire should be mentioned: almost all of the pieces have survived in scores. It may be assumed that performance material was prepared in partbooks for daily use on the basis of the scores. The preserved repertoire and the reconstructed inventory, which incidentally also contains autographs by Schiedermayr and Hoffmeister in addition to the Beethoven equali, should therefore probably be understood as a collection and as a backup for the performance material.
Kirchenmusik-Ordnung.

Erklärendes Handbuch des musikalischen Gottesdienstes, für Kapellmeister, Regenschori, Sänger und Tonkünstler.

Anleitung, wie die Kirchenmusik nach Vorschrift der Kirche und des Staats gehalten werden soll.

In drei Abtheilungen.

Wien, 1828.

In Commission bei J. B. Wallishaußer.
Beethoven or not Beethoven?

[3] The crucial question now is whether the rediscovered Linz equale is Beethoven’s lost fourth. At first glance, the answer is clearly no. Stylistically, a comparison of the Three Equali WoO 30 with the new copy reveals no similarities whatsoever. The piece in A-LId-49 is a simple chorale movement in the style of the eighteenth century, whereas Beethoven’s equali contain polyphonic techniques, chromaticism, and modulations. However, some observations can be made to make Beethoven’s authorship seem at least possible.

All three known equali are set in a different key. Equale no. 1 is in D minor but is led at the end to D major, the key of the second equale. There are no explicit contemporary statements about the tonal character of D minor in church music, but Gößgl, referring to Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, describes D major in his *Kirchenmusik-Ordnung* as the “tone of triumph, of hallelujah” (“Ton des Triumphes, des Halleluja”).

According to Gößgl, the key of the third equale, B♭ major, contains “cheerful love, good conscience, hope” (“heitere Liebe, gutes Gewissen, Hoffnung”)—both thus seem to correspond perfectly to the consolatory-sacred occasion of funeral processions. As is well known, some of Beethoven’s works can also be associated with the theory of key characteristics. It would therefore fit very well into the key design if the presumed fourth equale were equivalent to the anonymous Linz piece in E-flat major, according to Gößgl “the tone of devotion, of mournful conversation with God, expressing through its three B-flats the sacred triad.”

The most striking similarity between the Linz equale and WoO 30, however, lies in the clefs. Usually, trombone parts are notated in alto, tenor, and bass clefs according to their respective registers. In the anonymous equale, however, the second trombone part in the tenor register is notated in alto clef like the first part. The identical, unusual clef notation is also found in Beethoven’s autograph of WoO 30. The ranges of voices one to three are also similar in all four pieces. In contrast, however, it must be noted that the bass part of the anonymous equale has a lower range (E flat₂–G₃) than the corresponding part in the three Beethoven pieces (G₂–D₄).

Howard Weiner and David Guion have already noted in their analysis of the Equali WoO 30 that the successive pieces seem to slacken in both length and compositional elaboration. If the first equale still numbers 50 measures or 100 half notes and, in addition to the movement designation “Andante,” gives precise dynamic and performance instructions, the second equale (“Poco Adagio”) is considerably shorter at 38 measures or 76 half notes and only has “dolce” as a performance designation in the first measure. In the third movement, “Poco sostenuto,” which is extremely abbreviated at 16 measures in 3/2 time and 48 half notes, there are no further performance indications at all. Beethoven’s declining motivation during the creative process is also clearly evident in the autograph. From the first page (41m.; 7–9m./line) to the fourth page (16m.; 3–4m./line), the notation becomes continuously more restless and hectic, as if Beethoven wanted to finish the commission quickly. The simplicity of the anonymous equale—at 20 measures or 40 half notes also the shortest of the four—could thus well be seen as a continuation.
of the decreasing complexity of the three known pieces.

In this context, the provenance of the source is probably significant. As we know, Tobias Haslinger acquired the autograph directly from Glöggl, obviously in order to be able to integrate the compositions into his Beethoven *opera omnia* project. All the pieces in the Haslinger-Rudolfinische Sammlung were personally authorized, as evidenced by an enclosed declaration by the composer:

> That all the pieces contained in this complete collection of my tonal works, organized by Mr. Tobias Haslinger, are composed by me, I confirm truthfully by signing this certificate with my hand and name. Ludwig van Beethoven m.[anu] p.[ropria].\(^{27}\)

Could this be an explanation for the strange process of Glöggl’s presumed retention of the fourth equale? If Beethoven really had written a compositionally primitive piece analogous to the anonymous Linz equale on the second leaf of folio 2 in the autograph of WoO 30, it would certainly not have been included in the collection he authorized. It is possible, however, that when the manuscript was handed over to Haslinger, a fourth, meaningless equale was detached and returned to Glöggl.

**Conclusion**

Although there is some evidence for it, according to the current state of research it is not certain that Beethoven actually composed a fourth equale in 1812. On the basis of comparative analyses, the identification of the presumably lost piece with the anonymous equale in A-LI-d-49 seems unlikely. Rather, it could be a specimen of an older, as yet undocumented layer of repertoire.\(^{28}\) Until a concordance of the notorious piece appears, however, the findings presented here suggest that Beethoven’s authorship should also be considered.\(^{29}\) After all, new philological findings could be made with regard to the autograph of WoO 30: It is almost certain that the additions to the manuscript that do not originate from Beethoven—and thus also the genre designation as equale—originate from Franz Xaver Glöggl.

**References**


4. Ignaz von Seyfried, arr., *Trauer-Gesang bey Beethoven’s Leichenbegängnisse* (Vienna: Tobias Haslinger,


8. Seyfried, Trauer-Gesang: “Arranged ... from Beethoven’s manuscript” (“Aus Beethoven’s Manuscripte ... eingerichtet”); preface: “the present publisher was later so happy to be able to enrich his collection, which had become invaluable to him through several autographs of the great composer, with this manuscript [WoO 30] as well” (“der gegenwärtige Verleger war später so glücklich, seine durch mehrere Autographen des grossen Tonsetzers ihm unschätzbar gewordene Sammlung auch mit dieser Handschrift [WoO 30] bereichern zu können”). ↑


10. In addition to Howard Weiner, Othmar Wessely also speculated about the existence of a fourth equali by Beethoven. However, on the basis of an anecdote by Glöggl’s son Franz Glöggl (1796–1872), which he wrote down shortly before his death, Wessely assumes that the lost piece must have had a different instrumentation. Glöggl junior reports that his father had asked the composer to write an equali for six trombones, since he still had a soprano and a bass trombone in his collection of old musical instruments that were no longer in use. Cf. Wessely, “Geschichte des Equals,” 344–45. In fact, Glöggl’s musical instrument inventory from 1824 contains a total of seven trombones, and the two discarded trombones from Linz mentioned by Glöggl junior were purchased by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna that year; however, it is unlikely that the anecdote was truthfully reported 60 years after the event. Glöggl junior’s report is implausible above all because he speaks of only one piece, although the autograph source includes (at least) three equali. ↑

11. See the project description, accessed October 14, 2021. ↑

12. Apart from the Three Equali WoO 30 by Beethoven, for a long time only six pieces with the same designation by Wenzel Lambel (1788–1861) and two by Anton Bruckner (WAB 114 and 149) were known. Recently, however, in addition to the Linz copy described here, another equali by Adolph Müller (1801–86) was found in a Viennese library. Cf. Thomas Aigner, “Ein Aequale von Adolf Müller sen.,” Mitteilungen des Anton Bruckner Instituts Linz 19 (2017): 10–14. ↑

13. A melodic fragment in tenor clef at the bottom of the page also speaks in favor of the sketch character. ↑

14. Documents signed by Glöggl, such as inventories and letters, were used for the manuscript comparison. ↑

15. Glöggl has not yet been documented as a composer in any other way either. ↑

16. A manuscript comparison of Schiedermayr’s signed autograph of a Laudate pueri (A-LId-44) and his
arrangement of a *Miserere* by Hoffmeister (A-LId-45) also confirms his authorship for a motet entitled *Quantus tremor* (A-LId-48) from the Linz Cathedral Archives (see table 1). Both the *Laudate pueri* and the *Quantus tremor* are stylistically very different from the equale in A-LId-49 (for example chromaticism and diminished chords in *Laudate pueri* and *Quantus tremor* versus much simpler harmonic progressions in the equale), and above all the use of the clefs of the four trombones in the *Quantus tremor* (ATTB) is strikingly different from the clefs in the equale in A-LId-49 (AATB). On the clefs of the equale, see also below in the main text. ↑

17. See the source description in RISM online, Beethoven Equali, D-B, Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Grasnick 9, ID no.: 464000286. ↑

18. The sheet shows characteristic traces of folding. ↑


21. A total of five three-part equali written later by Lambel and Bruckner have survived. ↑


28. That equali already existed in Linz before Beethoven’s compositions is obvious and is confirmed by the following account of the creation of the pieces by Franz Xaver Glöggl’s son Franz: “My father approached Beethoven to write him an equale for 6 trombones ... . However, Beethoven wished to hear an equale like those blown at the funerals in Linz: so it happened that my father ordered three trombonists one afternoon, since Beethoven was dining with us anyway, and had such an equale blown.” Original wording: “Mein Vater sprach Beethoven an, ihm ein Aequal für 6 Posaunen zu schreiben ... . Beethoven wünschte aber ein Aequal, wie es in Linz bei den Leichen geblasen wird, zu hören: so geschah es, daß mein Vater an einem Nachmittag 3 Posaunisten bestellte, da Beethoven ohnehin bei uns speiste, und ein solches Aequal blasen ließ.” Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben: Nach dem Original-manuskript deutsch bearbeitet von Hermann Deiters*, vol. 3, *Mit Benutzung von hinterlassenen Materialien des Verfassers neu bearbeitet und ergänzt von Hugo Riemann* (repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1971), 342. See also note 10.

29. Numerous collections of four-part chorales as well as one-part song melodies from the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century have so far been examined without any results for concordances with the equale in A-LId-49. However, due to the abundance of relevant material, it cannot be ruled out that such will emerge in the future.