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Edited by Janine Droese, Ulla Kypta, Uta Lauer, and Jörg B. Quenzer with the assistance of Laura Schmalfuß

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Editors

Prof. Dr Michael Friedrich
Universität Hamburg
Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg, Germany
Tel. no. +49 (0)40 42838 7127
Fax no. +49 (0)40 42838 4899
michael.friedrich@uni-hamburg.de

Prof. Dr Jörg B. Quenzer
Universität Hamburg
Asien-Afrika-Institut
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1 / Flügel Ost
20146 Hamburg, Germany
Tel. no. +49 (0)40 42838 7203
Fax no. +49 (0)40 42838 6200
joerg.quenzer@uni-hamburg.de

Translations and Copy-editing

Liz Carey Libbrecht, Traductions Savantes; Joe MacIntyre,
Hamburg; Peter James Pritchard, Lüneburg

Editorial Office

Dr Irina Wandrey
Universität Hamburg
Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg, Germany
Tel. No.: +49 40 42838 9420
Fax No.: +49 40 42838 4899
irina.wandrey@uni-hamburg.de

Layout

Nora Harms

Cover

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Article

One *Miserere* – Many Originators: Manuscripts of ‘Allegri’s *Miserere*’ as Originals

Oliver Huck | Hamburg

In 1514, Pope Leo X inaugurated the tradition of singing psalm 50 ‘in falsobordone’ in the Sistine Chapel at the end of the office in the Tenebrae – the service of the matins and the lauds on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday during the Holy Week (i.e. the week starting on Palm Sunday and ending on Holy Saturday before Easter Day).¹ The very first compositions performed on this occasion were destroyed by fire during the sack of Rome by Emperor Charles V in 1527, and in 1545 Pope Paul III prohibited such polyphonic music in the Tenebrae.² The tradition continued after his death in 1555.³ As of 1714, the *Miserere* of Gregorio Allegri was performed annually⁴ on Wednesday and Friday and that of Tommaso Bai on Thursday, with castratos for the high parts. In 1661,⁵ and respectively 1713, these compositions had become part of the Cappella Sistina’s repertoire. The exclusiveness and the atmosphere of the performances⁶ awarded an aura to these compositions that attracted travelers on their *grand tour*. Their travel reports⁷ drew even

more onlookers. This tradition of performing the *Misereres* (i.e. what the public considered the compositions of Allegri and Bai) was interrupted during the Napoleonic wars.⁸ From 1870 onwards, it was dying out when Pope Leo XIII decided to no longer preside over the Holy Week ceremonies after the occupation of Rome under Vittorio Emanuele II.⁹ At the end of his pontificate in 1902, Leo XIII abandoned the hiring of castratos, thus ending the practice of castrating boys before voice mutation to sustain their high voices. Terminating these acts of violence, which had been promoted for centuries, definitely inhibited singing the *Miserere* (i.e. what the public considered as the composition of Allegri) in the Tenebrae in the tradition of the Cappella Sistina.

1. The frame of copying – members of the Sistine Chapel as originators

At the very end of this tradition, Domenico Mustafà, who had joined the Cappella Sistina as a soprano in 1848 and acted as *direttore generale in perpetuo* since 1881, produced a manuscript (V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 375) and presented it to the choir on 8 March 1892.¹⁰ His aim was to document the choir’s practice of performing the *Miserere* when it was dying out. The title of this manuscript is ‘Miserere di Bai ed Allegri’ and indeed Mustafà presents a conflation of the two pieces, the *Miserere* of Allegri and that of Bai. On 16 March 1892, an internal performance took place in the Sistine Chapel.¹¹ It was not part of the Holy Week service, but Mustafà put this manuscript, a score and parts dated

¹ Cf. Baini 1828, vol. 2, 194–195 (n. 577): ‘Paride Grassi, maestro di cerimonie di Leone X. nel suo diario MS. ha segnato la preziosa notizia del primo anno, in cui i nostri cantori modulavano in falsobordone il salmo *Miserere* nel fine dei mattutini delle tenebre nella settimana santa.’ Cf. Sherr 1982, 252 and 262 (n. 31).

² Cf. Sherr, 258 and 262 (n. 41).

³ Cf. *Diario Sistino* 73 (18 January 1555), fol. 9r: ‘In questo giorno fu cominciato il contrapunto essendo stato tralasciato molto prima per ordine del defunto pontefice.’ Cit. after Rostirolla 1994, here 685. All manuscripts are listed in the appendix and are cited with their Répertoire Internationale de Sources Musicales (RISM) sigla <<https://rism.info/community/sigla.html>>. All volumes of the *Diario Sistino* (V-CVbav Capp. Sist. Diari. 1–299) are given with their respective number.

⁴ Cf. Baini 1828, vol. 2, 197 (n. 578), who notes as exceptions a *Miserere* of Pasquale Pisari sung in 1777, and since 1821 Baini’s own *Miserere*. Giuseppe Tartini’s *Miserere* in 1769 is an additional exception, cf. Rostirolla 1994, 742. A *Miserere* by Domenico Mustafà was added to the repertoire in 1856, cf. Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 170. The sequence Allegri (Wednesday) – Bai (Thursday) – Allegri (Friday) is first confirmed in the *Diario Sistino* 132 (1718), cf. Rostirolla 1994, 741.

⁵ The first account of a performance is found in 1684 in the *Diario Sistino* 103 (1684), cf. Rostirolla 1994, 739–740.

⁶ Cf. Lütteken 1999 and Holzmüller 2020.

⁷ On these reports cf. Amann 1935, Heidrich 2001, and Schiltz 2016.

⁸ From 1798 to 1801 and from 1809 to 1814, cf. Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 25–29 and O’Reilly 2020, 122.

⁹ The castrato Alessandro Moreschi, admitted on 22 March 1883, reports that the only performance of the *Miserere* since the pope had decided to no longer attend the Tenebrae in 1870 was on 16 March 1892, cf. Berio 1913, 63. O’Reilly 2020, 172–175, assumes that Moreschi sang the *Miserere* for the first time on 23 March 1883 and that there were performances at least in 1884 and, after 1878, in 1892, and later.

¹⁰ Cf. *Diario Sistino* 294 (8 March 1892), fols 9v–10v in Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 246. On Mustafà’s career cf. Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 169–170.

¹¹ Cf. Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 75.

23 January 1892¹² in an envelope, which he addressed to the Papal singers and furnished with the request to the Pope to prohibit copying from it.¹³ In the dedication Mustafà wrote:¹⁴

Miserere di Bai ed Allegri in cui sono state accennate le tradizioni come se eseguivano nella Sistina dai Cappellani Cantori Pontifici. Nella sventura in cui viviamo per la mancanza delle Funzioni Papali e per conseguenza molto si può dimenticare, lo scrivente dopo quaranta cinque anni passata tra gli amati Colleghi, servendo Dio, il Sommo Pontefice e la Cappella, ha creduto di trascrivere le sud. te tradizioni (come ha potuto) tanto per chi dovrà dirigere che per i singoli Cantori, ondo dopo tanti anni non andasse perduto quell'effetto che rese tanto celebri l'Esecuzioni nella Sistina.

Miserere by Bai and Allegri in which the traditions were indicated as performed in the Sistine Chapel by the pontifical chaplain-singers. In the misfortune in which we live due to the lack of papal functions and in consequence much can be forgotten, the writer after forty-five years spent among his beloved colleagues, serving god, the supreme pontiff and the chapel, believed to transcribe the aforementioned traditions (as he has been able) both for those who will have to conduct and for the individual singers, so that after so many years the effect that made the performances in the Sistine Chapel so famous would not be lost.¹⁵

In 1883, Mustafà had already invited his colleague Innocenzo Pasquali 'a scrivere le ornamentazioni per assicurare e garantirne la vera tradizione'.¹⁶ But the title of Mustafà's manuscript only credits the two composers as the originators of the *Miserere*, even though the version he had written down differs significantly from those in the choir books of the Cappella Sistina (see below), which had been the reference for these compositions. The reason for not mentioning any of the singers, neither Pasquali nor himself, may be that his manuscript was for internal use in the choir only and that all

the singers felt part of a performance tradition that had lasted for centuries. But the originators of this 'true tradition' were no longer known. By signing the dedication in the manuscript with his authority *ex officio* 'D. Mustafà Direttore perpetuo della Cap. Pont. *Manu Domenici Mustafà scriptus Romae 23 ianuarii 1892*', Mustafà acted as an originator who was not only responsible for the material creation but also for the content.¹⁷

At the beginning of the tradition in the sixteenth century, the repertoire of the Cappella Sistina included several compositions of psalm 50; the oldest one that is extant was composed by Costanzo Festa in 1517. This and another twelve¹⁸ had been collected since 1631¹⁹ in two choir books written by six different hands (V-CVBav Capp. Sist. 205 and 206).²⁰ Each of these manuscripts includes only the music for one of the two alternating choirs, both of which alternate with the even verses being sung as plainsong. The last of these compositions, that of Allegri, was entered in 1661 by Giusto Romani and approved by the choir's then acting *magister pro tempore*²¹ Bonaventura Argenti. As was the custom in the choir books of the Cappella Sistina, both were explicitly mentioned on the preceding page after the pope confirming the admission of the composition as it follows to the repertoire of the chapel.²² Regardless of accounts that Allegri's composition dates back two decades²³ and regardless of what it may have looked like before,²⁴

¹⁷ Cit. after Llorens 1960, 388.

¹⁸ On later compositions of psalm 50 in Rome cf. Marx-Weber 1985.

¹⁹ Cf. V-CVBav Capp. Sist. 205, fol. 2': 'D. Loreto Vittore esistente pro tempore Magistro Capellae'. The singer and composer Loreto Vittori acted in 1631, cf. Llorens 1960, 126.

²⁰ Cf. the inventory in O'Reilly 2020, 26.

²¹ In the Sistine Chapel there was no director, but an annual alternation of a *magister pro tempore*. Romani was active as a scribe in the choir books from 1660 (V-CVBav Capp. Sist. 378) to 1669 (V-CVBav Capp. Sist. 99), cf. Llorens 1960, 389–390 and 147.

²² Cf. V-CVBav Capp. Sist. 205, fol. 50': 'Sedente ALEXANDRO VII PONT. OPT. MAX | Bonaventura Argenteo Magistro Cappellae Pontificiae pro tempore esistente | Iustus Romanus Scriptor 1661', Allegri's *Miserere* V-CVBav Capp. Sist. 205, fols 50'–56' and V-CVBav Capp. Sist. 206, fols 54'–60'.

²³ Cf. O'Reilly 2020, 34.

²⁴ One can neither exclude nor prove that this earliest pair of manuscripts written after Allegri's death in 1652 already differs from Allegri's composition because the *falsobordone* is a technique of improvisational *contrappunto alla mente*. Sievers reports: 'Hrn. Baini's Meinung zu Folge, ist das *Miserere*, wie es von jeher und besonders, wie es seit Anfang des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts gesungen worden, keineswegs ein Product Allegri's. [...] Wie Hr. Baini meint, sollen die ersten achtzehn oder zwanzig Takte des Basses [...] die ursprüngliche, von Allegri gesetzte, Stimme, alles Übrige aber successive Zuthat der Sänger sein', Sievers 1825, 69–70. 'According to Mr. Baini's opinion, the *Miserere*, as was always sung and especially as it

¹² Facsimile of some of its pages in O'Reilly 2020, 176–180.

¹³ Cf. *Diario Sistino* 294 (8 March 1892), fol. 14' in O'Reilly 2020, 175 (n. 15).

¹⁴ V-CVBav Capp. Sist. 375, cit. after Llorens 1960, 388.

¹⁵ All translations from German and Italian by the author unless otherwise stated.

¹⁶ *Diario Sistino* 290 (24 March 1883), fol. 79', cit. after Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 75, 'to write the ornaments to ensure and guarantee the true tradition'.

only the version confirmed by the *magister* and the scribe passed as Allegri's *Miserere* once it had been included in the repertoire of the Cappella Sistina. As Andrea Adami reported in 1711, this composition soon became the most popular of all the *miserere*-settings.²⁵ From the very beginning, the performance practice may have included embellishments that had not been written down.²⁶ The practice of singing a different setting of the *miserere* on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday changed in the second half of the seventeenth century when Allegri's composition was always sung on Wednesday and Friday. On Thursday, Felice Anerio's composition was performed until Alessandro Scarlatti's new composition replaced it.²⁷ In 1711, Bai delivered a setting modelled on Allegri's composition that was then performed regularly on Thursday and canonised by copying it in V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 203 and 204 in 1713. The success of Bai's *Miserere* led to the decision to modernise Allegri's. This was the task of the alto and composer Giovanni Biordi who joined the chapel in 1717 and wrote his arrangement of Allegri's five-part choir in manuscript V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 263, fols 2^v–8^r (not later than 1725).²⁸ In 1731, it was copied by the scribe Giovanni Domenico Biondini into V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 185 and approved by the *magister pro tempore* Ansano Bernini.²⁹ By that time, four choir books were needed for the performance of the *miserere* in the Holy Week. In order to facilitate the handling of the music manuscripts,³⁰ once again Biondini produced a new pair of choir books in 1748, which the *magister* Francesco Colapauli (V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 340 and 341) approved, including both the *Misereres* (Table 1).³¹

has been sung since the beginning of the eighteenth century, is by no means a product of Allegri. [...] According to Mr. Bainsi the first eighteen or twenty bars of the bass [...] are the original voice set by Allegri, but everything else is the singer's successive addition.'

²⁵ Cf. Adami 1711, 37–38.

²⁶ Cf. O'Reilly 2020, 37–41.

²⁷ Cf. Adami 1711, 41 and Rostirolla 1994, 740–741.

²⁸ On the date cf. O'Reilly 2020, 41–42 with a partial edition 259–260.

²⁹ V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 185, fol. 1^r: 'SEDEnte | CLEMENTE XII | P. O. M. | Sub protectione Eminentissimi, & Reverendissimi D. Petri | CARD. OTTOBONI | S. R. E. ViceCancellarii | Episcopi Tusculanensis | | R. Dño. Ansano Bernini | Magistro Cappellae Pontificiae | pro tempore existente | Jo: Dominicus de Biondinis Tusculanus Scribebat | ANNO DOMINI | MDCCXXXI'. Biondini was active as a scribe in the choir books from 1719 (V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 326) to 1752 (V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 336), cf. Llorens 1960, 350 and 356.

³⁰ On the manuscripts in the Fondo Cappella Sistina cf. Llorens 1960, 206, 217–222, 299–300, and 359–361.

³¹ V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 340, fol. 2^r: 'SEDEnte | BENEDICTO XIV | P. O. M. | Sub protecone Eminentissimi, & Reverendissimi D. Alexandri | CARD ALBANI | S. R. E. Diaconi | R. D.no Francisco Colapauli | Magistro

The attribution of the *Miserere* to 'Greg. Alleg.' is stable in all these choir books. But while the music for the four-part choir is the same in all the choir books, the music for the five-part choir is Allegri's composition, which was canonised in 1661, and Biordi's arrangement of it, which was canonised in 1731; in the words of the chapel's later director Giuseppe Bainsi: 'fu variata e perfezionata da altri colleghi eccellenti esecutori, e compositori, che sopra vi studiarono, onde si ridusse nella esecuzione a quel gran perfetto, che in essa ammirò tutto il mondo fin dalla metà del secolo XVII.'³² Allegri was credited on the first page for creating the content as the composer. However, on the preceding page the acting pope, cardinal protector, *magister* and scribe were also credited as authorities enabling, planning and executing the production of the manuscript. Thus, these persons together comprise the originators of both versions.

During the nineteenth century, the conflation of Allegri's *Miserere* with the *Miserere* of Bai as codified in Mustafà's manuscript was looming. Lamenting about the quality of the choir after its reestablishment in 1814 during Pope Pius VII's restoration, the *Diario Sistino* reports on 29 March 1820 that 'è stato cantato in fine il *Miserere* di Tommaso Allegri'³³. The error of connecting Bai's given name with Allegri's surname is significant because the conflation of the two *Misereres* was already in progress (see below). As of 1815, for the Papal singers there was the '*Miserere della nostra Cappella*'³⁴, only outside the Vatican it was still considered Allegri's *Miserere* as in the past. Between 1748 and 1892, no updated manuscript was produced because the chapel was even more interested in keeping its secrets since the first publications of the *Misereres* (see below). Bainsi, basso in the choir since 1795 and its quasi-director since 1815,³⁵ stated that inside the Cappella Sistina the embellishments added in the performance to the written

Cappellae Pontificiae | pro tempore existente | Jo: Dominicus de Biondinis Tusculanus Scribebat | ANNO DOMINI | MDCCXLVIII.' For an edition cf. O'Reilly 2020, 261–269.

³² Bainsi 1828, vol. 2, 196 (n. 578), 'it was varied and perfected by other excellent fellow performers and composers, who worked through it, so that it was reduced in execution to that great perfection, which in it was admired by the whole world since the middle of the seventeenth century'.

³³ *Diario Sistino* 236 (29 March 1820), fol. 26^v, cit. after Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 216, 'at the end Tommaso Allegri's *Miserere* was sung'.

³⁴ *Diario Sistino* 231 (1815), fol. 35^v, cit. after O'Reilly 2020, 162, 'the *Miserere* of our chapel'.

³⁵ On Bainsi's career cf. Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 29–31 and 141–143. In 1830, he is mentioned officially as direttore for the first time, cf. Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 30.

Table 1: Choir books including the *Misereres* in use in the service in the Sistine Chapel (no. of choir book, fols).

	choir 1	choir 2
Wednesday	185, fols 2 ^v –9 ^r	206, fols 54 ^v –60 ^r
Thursday	203, fols 2 ^v –8 ^r	204, fols 2 ^v –8 ^r
Friday	185, fols 2 ^v –9 ^r	206, fols 54 ^v –60 ^r
from 1748	341, fols 3 ^v –9 ^r / 11 ^v –18 ^r	340 fols 3 ^v –9 ^r / 10 ^v –16 ^r

music until Mustafâ's manuscript 'mai non sono stati scritti affinché non possano comunicarsi a veruno, e si tramandano per tradizione in voce da cantore in cantore.'³⁶

2. The shame of copying – scribes as originators

Mustafâ's motivation to produce a definitive manuscript of the *Miserere* might have been stimulated by laments of his predecessor Bainsi about a print of the *Misereres* in 1840 that had been edited by the Vatican publisher Pietro Alfieri under a pseudonym.³⁷ Bainsi, who regarded the *Misereres* as 'le nostre privative composizioni'³⁸, felt uncomfortable with this edition due to several reasons: first, even when the *Misereres* were available to the public at the latest since 1771 thanks to a print edited by Charles Burney,³⁹ it was even

more pressing to keep the real substance, the performance practice of these compositions including embellishments, secret inside the Sistine Chapel.⁴⁰ Second, Bainsi found the embellishments in Alfieri's edition inappropriate and felt ashamed that these were related to the Cappella Sistina in the preface of the edition.⁴¹ Giuseppe Santarelli, soprano and acting *magister pro tempore* in 1770, whom Bainsi accused of enabling Burney's publication of the *Misereres* by providing the editor with a copy solely for financial gain,⁴² was well

verses sung in plainchant as *g* cf. F-Pn D-14624: 'Miserere a 5.e voci | del secondo tuono | Della Capella Pontificia | Di D. Gregorio Allegri Romano | Il Choro risponda Salmeggiando vocalmente nella corda di Gesolreut.' Cit. after RISM <<https://opac.rism.info/rism/Record/rism840000150>>, cf. Viret, 1992, 251 with facsimile of the first page and I-Bc Mus. Ms. V. 65 'Miserere a 5 voci secondo tuono della Capella Pontificia di D. Gregorio Allegri romano. Il Choro risponda salmeggiando vocalmente nella corda di Gesolreut' cit. after Amann 1935, 109. A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19451 indicates *b* for reciting the plainchant verses.

⁴⁰ Cf. Bainsi's letter to Domenico Buttaoni, master of ceremonies of the Apostolic Palace dated 30 March 1841 (V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 658, fols 45^v–45^r): 'Li due Miserere della Cap[pella] Pont[ificia] di quella fama che ognun sa, erano sempre conservati gelosamente nell'Archivio della Capp[ella]. [...] Il Santarelli vendè all'ebreo le note semplice, lo scheletro dei due miserere; il s[igno]r ... vende all'Alfieri gli adornamenti, onde per tradizione verbale sono rivestiti: adornamenti, che io insegnai al s[igno]r ...', cit. after Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 208, 'The two *Misereres* of the pontifical chapel which are of that fame that everyone knows were always jealously preserved in the chapel's archive. [...] Santarelli sold the sheet music to the Jew, the skeleton of the two *Misereres*; Mr. ... sold to Alfieri the ornaments, which were only part of an oral tradition, ornaments, which I taught to the Mr' There is no hint who had passed the embellishments to Alfieri. A possible candidate could be the soprano Donato Leone, who had been demoted from *magister pro tempore* to *cantore* on 25 August 1839 and only reassumed the position of a *magister pro tempore* after Bainsi's death, cf. Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 164.

⁴¹ Cf. Bainsi's letter to Francesco Saverio Massimo: 'Li due Miserere dell'Allegri e del Bai che si ascoltano ogni anno nella Capp[ella] Pont[ificia] sono eseguiti con molti e squisiti abbellimenti che mai non sono stati scritti. [...] Ora l'Alfieri pretende di farli imprimere; e vantandosi di essere il primo a pubblicarli, li ha ridotti ad uno stato di miseria e di sconcezza da far onta alla Cappella, alle funzioni pontificie, alla fama che han sempre meritamente goduto.' Cit. after Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 210.

⁴² Cf. Bainsi's letter to Domenico Buttaoni: 'Un tal musico evirato G. Santarelli trovato il mezzo di nascostamente copiarli [the *Misereres* of Allegri and Bai], li vendè ad un ebreo inglese C. Burney, che tosto li fe' stampare in Londra con immenso lucro. Questo tradimento dispiacque a

³⁶ Bainsi's letter to Monsignor Francesco Saverio Massimo, secretary of state and prefect of the Apostolic Palace dated 4 April 1841 (V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 658, fols 48^v–49^r), cit. after Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 210, 'they were never written down so that they could not be communicated to anyone and are handed down by oral tradition from singer to singer'.

³⁷ *Il salmo Miserere* 1840. This edition of the Vatican publisher Pietro Alfieri appeared under a pseudonym, cf. O'Reilly 2020, 147 and 155 and the notice on the manuscript copy I-OS Mss. Mus. B 2988: 'Mantova, 23 settembre 1851. Questa copia, riveduta da me, fu tratta da un esemplare stampato, prestatomi dal Rev.o Sacerd.e Giovambattista Condotti Maestro di cappella in Cividale del Friuli, sul quale era scritto di suo pugno: Dono dell'Editore M.r Pietro Alfieri Romano nascosto sotto falso nome. Settembre 1846. Sacerdote Giuseppe Greggiati', cit. after RISM <<https://opac.rism.info/rism/Record/rism850609607>>, 'Mantua, 23 Settembre 1851. This copy, revised by myself, was taken from a print, lent to me by Giovambattista Condotti, maestro di cappella in Cividale del Friuli, on which was written in his own hand: Gift from the publisher Mr. Pietro Alfieri from Rome, hidden under a false name. September 1846. Priest Giuseppe Greggiati'.

³⁸ Bainsi's letter to Francesco Saverio Massimo, cit. after Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 209, 'our private compositions'.

³⁹ *La musica che si canta annualmente* 1771, 35–42. On the differences between Burney's edition and the Vatican manuscripts and the differences between his manuscripts noted by him in the first verse cf. O'Reilly 2020, 185–187, who suspects, that Martini's manuscript only contained one verse with music of each choir and has been 'corrected' by Martini. There are at least two eighteenth-century copies of the Biordi-arrangement, which in contrast to most of the manuscripts do not depend on Burney's edition and predate the copies for François Cacault and Louis-Hippolyte Mesplet (see below). In addition, they indicate in their titles the tone for reciting the even

aware that publishing the written music does not constitute a betrayal of the secret of the *Misereres*. And it seems that Pope Clemens XIV shared his views, given that Santarelli had not been excommunicated despite such threat having been made to the papal singers when copying music from the choir books and giving it away⁴³ and despite Burney publicly mentioning the scribe of his copy in his travel report published in 1771.⁴⁴ Santarelli told Burney an anecdote about the presumably first copy of Allegri's *Miserere*, according to which the pope at the time had not only permitted that it be given away, but had actually ordered it. He also reported on the misfortune of one of his predecessors who was responsible for the copy:⁴⁵

The Emperor Leopold the first, not only a lover and patron of music, but a good composer himself, ordered his ambassador, at Rome, to entreat the Pope to permit him to have a copy of the celebrated *Miserere* of Allegri, for the use of the Imperial chapel in Vienna; which being granted, a copy was made by the *Signor Maestro* of the Pope's chapel, and sent

Roma, e dispiacque eziandio al som[mo] pont[efice] Clemente 13, che se non era impedito dalla morte, voleva darne al Santarelli il meritato gastigo.' Cit. after Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 208, 'A certain emasculated musician G. Santarelli found the means to secretly copy them [the *Misereres* of Allegri and Bai], sold them to an English Jew C. Burney, who immediately published them in London with an immense profit. This betrayal displeased Rome, and also displeased the supreme Pontiff Clement 13, who, if he was not prevented by death, wanted to give Santarelli the deserved punishment.' Bains is wrong in claiming that the death of Clemens XIII prevented the punishment of Santarelli. When Burney was in Rome and met Santarelli, his successor Clemens XIV was already acting.

⁴³ Cf. *Diario sistino* 169 (28 January 1752), fols 15^v–16^v: 'La provida, e speciale premura che hanno sempre mostrata i sommi pontefici per l'esatta, e segreta custodia de' libri, e composizioni musicali della sua papale Cappella serbati in un archivio particolare, e il rigoroso divieto da essi fatto, anche sotto pena di scomunica, non solo d'estrarre da quella i detti libri, e composizioni, ma anche di trascriverli in tutto, o in parte, e darne fuori le copie ci obbliga ad usare tutta la diligenza, acciò la pontificia volontà venga puntualmente adempita'. Cit. after Rostirolla 1994, 763, 'The provident and special care that the supreme pontiffs have always shown for the exact and secret custody of the books and musical compositions of the papal chapel kept in a particular archive, and the rigorous prohibition made by them, even under penalty of excommunication, not only to extract the said books and musical compositions from it, but also to copy them completely or partly, and to pass the copies outside, obliges us to use all diligence, so that the pontifical will is punctually fulfilled.'

⁴⁴ Cf. Burney 1771, 277: 'This composition used to be held so sacred that it was imagined excommunication would be the consequence of an attempt to transcribe it'; Burney 1771, 278: 'Signor Santarelli favoured me with another copy from the archives of the Pope's chapel', and Burney 1771, 270: 'to crown the whole, he joined to all these benefits, not only that of furnishing me with a true and genuine copy of the famous *Miserere* of Allegri, but all the compositions performed in the Pope's chapel during Passion Week.' In a letter to the actor David Garrick dated 17 October 1770 Burney wrote: 'Sig^r Santarelli the pope's Maestro di Capella [...] is now getting made out for me Copies of the best of the Compositions that are in constant use in the Pope's Chapel', Burney, *Letters*, ed. Ribeiro 1991, 65.

⁴⁵ Burney 1771, 279–281.

to the Emperor, who had then in his service some of the first singers of the age; but, notwithstanding the abilities of the performers, this composition was so far from answering the expectations of the Emperor and his court, in the execution, that he concluded the Pope's *Maestro di Capella*, in order to keep it a mystery, had put a trick upon him, and sent him another composition. Upon which, in great wrath, he sent an express to his Holiness, with a complaint against the *Maestro di Capella*, which occasioned his immediate disgrace, and dismissal from the service of the papal chapel; and in so great a degree was the Pope offended, at the supposed imposition of his composer, that, for a long time, he would neither see him, or hear his defence; however, at length the poor man got one of the cardinals to plead his cause, and acquaint his Holiness, that the stile of singing in his chapel, particularly in performing the *Miserere*, was such as could not be expressed by notes, nor taught or transmitted to any other place, but by example; for which reason the piece in question, though faithfully transcribed, must fail in its effect, when performed elsewhere. His Holiness did not understand music, and could hardly comprehend how the same notes should sound so differently in different places; however, he ordered his *Maestro di Capella* to write down his defence, in order to be sent to Vienna, which was done; and the Emperor, seeing no other way of gratifying his wishes with respect to this composition, begged of the Pope, that some of the musician in the service of his Holiness, might be sent to Vienna, to instruct those in the service of his chapel how to perform the *Miserere* of Allegri, in the same expressive manner as in the Sistine chapel at Rome, which was granted. But, before they arrived, a war broke out with the Turks, which called the emperor from Vienna; and the *Miserere* was never yet, perhaps, been truly performed, but in the Pope's chapel.

Thus, it was obvious to Santarelli that nobody would be able to reproduce the *Miserere* as performed in the Sistine Chapel if they had nothing but the sheet music in their hands. When this story was told in 1770, there is good reason to assume that he was right, which the fate of the manuscripts of the *Miserere* circulating at this time shows. In addition to the legendary copy for Leopold I, the composer Giovanni Battista Martini reported to Burney that two more copies of the *Miserere* had crossed the borders of the Vatican so far; one addressed to the late King of Portugal João V and

one in Martini's own hands,⁴⁶ to which Burney added the manuscript Santarelli had passed to him. In contrast to the copies for the Portuguese court (see below), there is no evidence that the two other manuscripts had ever been used to prepare a performance of the *Miserere*. Burney, who missed the Holy Week in Rome,⁴⁷ based his edition on a copy of Martini's manuscript and compared it to the manuscript he had obtained from Santarelli.⁴⁸ But his account of how many copies were circulating is definitely wrong. Burney writes that he had rejected Francesco Giovanni Dreyer's offer to provide him with a manuscript of the *Miserere* that was to be copied from a manuscript in the archive of SS. Annunziata in Florence.⁴⁹ And Burney should also have known about the performances of the *Miserere* in the Academy of Ancient Music in London. On 27 February 1735, the *Miserere* was premiered in London thanks to a manuscript which Robert Hamilton had brought from Rome. There were also more performances (1743, 1749 and 1761) before the publication of Burney's travel report.⁵⁰ None of the manuscripts outside the Vatican mentioned so far are extant, but there are two pre-1771 manuscripts of the *Miserere* outside the Vatican. Both are based on the earliest version as in V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 205 and 206 and change the assignation of the verses to the two choirs in a different manner:⁵¹

⁴⁶ Cf. Burney 1771, 277–278: 'Padre Martini told me there were never more than two copies of it made by authority, one of which was for the late king of Portugal, and the other for himself'.

⁴⁷ Burney stayed in Rome from 28 September to 13 October and again from 11 to 21 November 1770 to pick up the manuscripts copied for him by Santarelli when Santarelli and some colleagues on 16 November 'were so obliging as to execute several beautiful compositions of Palestrina, Benevoli, and Allegri, in order to give me a true idea of the delicate and expressive manner in which they are sung in the chapel of his holiness', Burney 1771, 372.

⁴⁸ Cf. Burney 1771, 278: 'upon collating these two copies [Martini's and Santarelli's], I find them to agree pretty exactly, except in the first verse'. Burney's manuscripts were sold on 8 August 1814, one item in the catalogue is 'Allegri–Miserere, by Permission from P. Martini's copy, MS. 1770', Hyatt King 1973, 10. The copy obtained from Santarelli is not explicitly mentioned.

⁴⁹ Cf. Burney 1771, 243–244: 'upon my requesting him to favour me with a copy of the most celebrated composition performed in his church, he told me that it was the *Miserere* of *Allegri*, which is sung here, as in the Pope's chapel, only on Good Fridays, and that it should be transcribed for me immediately; but as I had already obtained a copy of that famous composition from Padre Martini, who had one made by the express order of the late Pope [Clemens XIII], I declined the acceptance of his obliging offer.' There is neither an account of a manuscript of the *Miserere*, nor about the performance of the *Miserere* in Florence c. 1770.

⁵⁰ Chrissochoidis 2010, 87.

⁵¹ The arrangement also differs from the Vatican manuscript V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 354, fols 13v–20r written in 1705 and assigns verses 1, 5, 9, 13, 17 and 20 to the music of the four-part choir, and only verse 3 to that of the

- a manuscript copied c. 1729–1739 by the composer Jan Dismas Zelenka, who died in 1745, only with the four-part choir bearing the title 'Miserere del S: Allegri', which was used in the service in Dresden where Zelenka was employed,⁵²

- a manuscript in the Abbey of Lambach predating 1768 written by the local organist Anton Obermayr attributing the *Miserere* to 'Authore Gregorio Allegri Famosissimo et Celeberrimo Pontif. Musico.'⁵³

One may doubt that the story as told by Santarelli has any historical background, but the inventory of the imperial chapel written by Kilian Reinhard in 1727 mentions a 'Miserere di Roma'⁵⁴. It had been performed regularly in the Holy Week in eighteenth-century Vienna, and there is no reason for doubting that it was Allegri's. At first glance, it seems obvious that Leopold I, himself a skilled composer, was interested in the famous *Miserere* and felt that the pope should share his property with the emperor due to its special status. Santarelli's report that a war against the Turks inhibited the teaching of the Roman singers in Vienna allows two dates for the preparation of such a manuscript: either c. 1663 or c. 1683. But, at that time, the *Miserere* had just been entered in the choir books of the Sistine Chapel and added to its repertoire. None of the travel accounts praising it had been published yet. If the Viennese 'Miserere from Rome' was a faithful copy (or a copy of the copy) of the choir books in the Sistine Chapel that the pope sent to Leopold I, it may have included readings prior to the earliest extant Vatican choir books, including the *Miserere* written in 1661. But the earliest extant Viennese manuscripts do not show any *lectio difficilior* and none of them date back to 1727 or earlier.⁵⁵ A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19452 is a fair copy of a print published by the Milanese publisher Giussani in the last decade of the

five-part choir. There is no evidence in the readings of this manuscript that any of the pre-1771 manuscripts outside the Vatican depend on this one.

⁵² D-DI Mus. 2-E-12, cf. Horn 1987, 106–108 and Hochradner 2022, 26 and 28. There is only the music of the four-part choir, in a set of parts related to this manuscript and written by Zelenka (now RUS-Mrg Φ.954 №92) the music is distributed to two choirs, but they are both given the text of all the uneven verses of the psalm (so that they are not alternating); in addition, bassoons and a *violone* are added and there are indications of dynamics.

⁵³ A-LA 1930, cf. Hochradner 2022, 27–28 with a partial facsimile, 30. The distribution of the text is different to the Roman practice, choir 1 has verses 1, 4, 7, 10, 13, 16 and 19, choir 2 verses 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18 and 20a, both choirs verse 20b.

⁵⁴ Cf. Riedel 1977, 109 and 253.

⁵⁵ Cf. Hochradner 2022, 18–23 with partial facsimiles of all three manuscripts.

eighth century. It was edited by the composer Václav Pichl, who had been in the service of Ferdinand Karl, Archduke of Austria-Este in Milan since 1775, and was based on the earliest version in V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 205 and 206 with the addition of the indication of the *messa di voce*.⁵⁶ A-Wn Mus. Hs. 15849 and A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19451 share the difference in the order of the choirs as A-LA 1930, but in contrast to the latter, the other two have dynamics. It is evident that these three manuscripts depend on the same manuscript tradition, and it is likely that it was the ‘Miserere from Rome’ mentioned in the inventory in 1727 because A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19451 names no author whereas A-LA 1930 and A-Wn Mus. Hs. 15849 do so as ‘Miserere [...] | Del Gregorio Allegri’. The title of A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19451 is similar to the one in the inventory ‘Miserere | Per la settimana Santa [...] | Di Roma’. D-Dl Mus. 2-E-12 is independent from the three Austrian manuscripts.⁵⁷ Zelenka was in Vienna from 1716 until 1719. Possibly, he copied the *Miserere* there, but his extant manuscript is supposed to date from between 1729 and 1739.⁵⁸ Both traditions could only have depended on the manuscript of the ‘Miserere from Rome’ if it had been a faithful copy of V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 205 and 206. Given that Zelenka only adds the dynamics in the parts and does so differently than in the Viennese manuscripts gives rise to the question whether he may have once copied from a manuscript with dynamics, but, instead of copying them into his score, tried to add them from memory when writing out the parts. In any case, Zelenka is the originator of a version of the *Miserere* performed in Dresden in which all the uneven verses are sung by two choirs to the same music accompanied by some instruments. This version is as different from the Roman

service as is the version in A-LA 1930 and the two Viennese manuscripts (changing the distribution of the verses to the two choirs and the ‘clero’ singing the verses in plainsong), whose originator is unknown, and had been performed in Vienna, and perhaps in Lambach, too. Neither of the originators of these versions are mentioned in the respective manuscripts. It would be mere speculation to conclude that the dynamics in the Vienna manuscripts reflect advice given to the court musicians of Leopold I by a Vatican scribe or singer in the seventeenth century. And even if so, these dynamics do not represent the contemporary performance practice in Rome at the beginning of the nineteenth century at all as Franz Sales Kandler (who subsequently translated Baini’s *Memorie*) proclaimed in 1817 in his edition where he superposed Burney’s edition with the indications of the dynamics taken from one of the Viennese manuscripts.⁵⁹

3. The fame of copying – listeners as originators

Beyond the small number of authentic manuscripts, Burney mentions ‘spurious copies’ of the *Miserere* that had been circulating. In these manuscripts, the top voice resembles that of Allegri’s composition (or Biordi’s arrangement) to which other parts were added single-handedly.⁶⁰ One can assume with Burney that this kind of manuscript had been produced by writing down the top voice from memory after attending the performance and setting the other parts to it single-handedly according to the memorised harmonic progression. One such manuscript, whose whereabouts and originator is unknown, must have been the antigraph of the publication of the ‘Miserere del Sgr Allegri’, which appeared in 1767 in Charles-Henri de Blainville’s *Histoire générale*.⁶¹ The first choir is reduced to four voices, the canto primo has embellishments that are not written in any of the choir books of the Sistine Chapel, but may have been sung

⁵⁶ *Il salmo Miserere mei Deus s. a.* That this print is not based on A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19452 is evident due to an error in the latter (one note missing in bar 8 in the second cantus of the second choir) which is not to be found in the print. Other manuscript copies depending on this print are D-B Mus. ms. 30086 (with a slightly different preface) and D-Rp Pr-M Allegri 26, facsimile of the first page of the latter in Schiltz 2016, 231. The latter is not a copy of A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19452 as Schiltz states, because it does not show the error.

⁵⁷ None of them gives the beginning of the second choir, ‘amplius lava me’, with the same readings as V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 206, there is a shared error between A-LA 1930, A-Wn Mus. Hs. 15849, and A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19451 (one additional bar in the first half of the music of the second choir), but none with D-Dl Mus. 2-E-12. The lost antigraph may have included the dynamics then eliminated in A-LA 1930 because the division of the long note at ‘et peccatis’ to be found in this copy would not have been eliminated in copying but is not found in A-Wn Mus. Hs. 15849 and A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19451. The dynamics added to RUS-Mrg Φ.954 №92 and those added to A-Wn Mus. Hs. 15849 and A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19451 differ significantly.

⁵⁸ D-Dl Mus. 1474-E-3

⁵⁹ Cf. *Miserere di Allegri* 1817. Kandler states that the dynamics are ‘aus einem zuverlässigen Manuscripte hinzugefügt worden’, *Miserere di Allegri* 1817, 112. This manuscript was either A-Wn Mus. Hs. 15849 or A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19451. The procedure is strange enough in the five-part choir because Kandler adopted the dynamics added to the earliest version of the *Miserere* in the Vienna manuscripts to the Biordi-arrangement as published by Burney.

⁶⁰ Cf. Burney 1771, 278: ‘I have seen several spurious copies of this composition in the possession of different persons, in which the melody of the *soprano*, or upper part, was tolerably correct, but the other parts differed very much; and this inclined me to suppose the upper part to have been written from memory, which, being so often repeated to different words in the performance, would not be difficult to do, and the other parts have been made to it by some modern contra-puntist afterwards.’

⁶¹ Blainville 1767, plates XXII–XXIII, edition in O’Reilly 2020, 281–282. Blainville gives only the first of the verses for each choir.

in a performance. The basso forms the foundation of the harmonies, and the alto and tenor part have been added to this framework single-handedly. The cantus primus resembles the earliest version as in V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 205 and 206, performance of which in the Sistine Chapel is believed to have ceased after Biordi's arrangement had been approved in 1731. Thus, it is likely that, at the time of its publication, Blainville's manuscript (or its antigraph) was already at least thirty-seven years old. Allegedly, the lost manuscript of the Academy of Ancient Music predating 1735 was also such a 'spurious copy'. Maybe its readings were close to those of Blainville's manuscript.⁶² There is no hint that any of the stenographers have been given credit in these manuscripts, and it is most likely that they were not at all interested in being identified as originators.

The ability of writing the *Miserere* down after attending its performance made a significant contribution to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's – predominantly posthumous – fame.⁶³ The most famous act of writing music in Mozart's whole life was not the notation of one of his own compositions, but writing down the music of the *Miserere* that he had heard in the Sistine Chapel in Rome on 11 and 13 April 1770 from his memory shortly before Burney's edition appeared. His father Leopold was very proud of his son having 'stolen' the *Miserere* from the Cappella Sistina and wrote to his wife about the coup from Rome on 14 April 1770:⁶⁴

du wirst vielleicht oft von dem berühmten *Miserere* in Rom gehört haben, welches so hoch geachtet ist, daß den Musicis der Capellen unter der excommunication verboten ist eine stimme davon. aus der Capelle weg zu tragen, zu Copieren, oder jemanden zu geben. Allein, wir haben es schon. der Wolfg: hast es schon aufgeschrieben, und wir würden es in diesen Briefe nach Salz: geschickt haben,

⁶² Cf. Hawkins 1776, 90 (n.): 'The few copies of the *Miserere* of Allegri till lately extant are said to be incorrect, having been surreptitiously obtained, or written down by memory, and the chasms afterwards supplied: such it is said is that in the library of the Academy of Ancient Music'. Hawkins adds: 'one [copy] in every respect complete, and copied with the utmost care and exactness, was about three years ago presented as an inestimable curiosity by the present pope to an illustrious personage of this country.' Taking up this information, Watkins 1800 writes (no page numbers, article Allegri, Gregorio): 'Pope Clement XIV sent a magnificent copy of it to our present king, in 1773.' But Hawkins does not mention George III, and the present pope was Pius VI. The copy Hawkins refers to was made for William Henry Duke of Gloucester, see below.

⁶³ Cf. Schlichtegroll 1793, 102–103.

⁶⁴ Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, eds Bauer and Deutsch 1962, vol. 1, 334–335.

wenn unsere Gegenwarth, es zu machen, nicht nothwendig wäre; allein die Art der production muß mehr dabey thun, als die Composition selbst, folglich werden wir es mit uns nach hause bringen, und weil es eine der Geheimnisse von Rom ist, so wollen wir es nicht in andere Hände lassen, ut non incurremus mediate vel immediate in Censuram Ecclesiae.

You may have often heard of the famous *Miserere* in Rome, which is so highly respected that the musicians of the chapels are forbidden under excommunication to carry a part of it away from the chapel, to copy it, or to give it to someone. Yet, we already have it. Wolfgang has already written it down, and we would have sent it in this letter to Salzburg if our presence was not necessary to perform it; but the art of performance must do more than the composition itself, so we will take it home with us, and because it is one of the secrets of Rome, we do not want to let it into other hands, so that we do not run directly or indirectly into the censorship of the church.

Leopold was well aware that there was a gap between the written music and its performance, that an experience similar to the emperor's in Santarelli's anecdote could only be avoided when advice on its performance was also transmitted in addition to the music. His wife was primarily afraid of the potential consequences of the 'theft' as Leopold's answer in his letter from 19 May 1770 shows:⁶⁵

da wir den Articul wegen dem *Miserere* gelesen, haben wir beyde hell lachen müssen. Es ist deswegen gar nicht die mündeste sorge. Man macht ander Orts mehr daraus. ganz Rom weis es; und selbst der Pabst weis es, daß der Wolfg: das *Miserere* geschrieben. Es ist gar nichts zu beförchten: es hat ihm vielmehr grosse Ehre gemacht, wie du in kurzem hören wirst. Du sollst absolute den Brief aller ort lesen lassen, und solches Sr: Hf: Gden zu wissen machen.

When we read the article about the *Miserere*, we both had to laugh out loud. Therefore, there is not the slightest concern. More is made out of it elsewhere. All Rome knows it, and even the Pope knows that Wolfgang wrote down the *Miserere*. There is nothing to be afraid of: on the contrary, it did him great honor, as you will soon hear. You should absolutely make the letter be read everywhere and to announce it to his royal grace.

⁶⁵ Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, eds Bauer and Deutsch 1962, vol. 1, 349.

Leopold was right: nothing happened to him and his son. On the contrary, Clemens XIV awarded the order of the Golden Spur to Wolfgang, promoting him to *cavaliere*.⁶⁶ Presumably because they did not cash in on their stolen goods and did not ‘let it in other hands’⁶⁷. There is no evidence for a performance of the *Miserere* in Salzburg after their return in March 1771.⁶⁸ Their employer, archbishop Sigismund III Christoph Graf von Schrattenbach, will have viewed the unauthorised dissemination of the *Miserere* as a poisoned gift and must have regarded it as the pope’s property.

Hence, it is no wonder that Mozart’s manuscript of the *Miserere*, devaluated by Burney’s publication in the following year, got lost. The only documentary evidence about Mozart’s manuscript or a copy of it is to be found in a letter of the composer Carl Friedrich Zelter dated 14 January 1809 to the music publisher Ambrosius Kühnel: ‘Von dem Miserere des Allegri besitzt jemand hier zu Berlin eine Abschrift, welche der sel. Mozart, in Rom der Aufführung soll nachgeschrieben haben.’⁶⁹ In fact, at least four manuscripts of the *Miserere* mention Mozart. The earliest of these, and perhaps the one Zelter knew about, seems to be D-B Mus. ms. 550 from the library of the collector Georg Pölchau. Its title reads: ‘Gregorio Allegri Miserere a 5 Voci. | G m. | Mit der Bezeichnung des Piano u[nd] Forte, Smorzando etc. | so wie es jährlich in der Sixtina gesungen wird. | Diese Bezeichnung der Vortragsart soll von Mozart her-

rühren.’⁷⁰ This manuscript gives the readings of Burney’s edition and adds a tenor-part to the second choir as well as some dynamics not included in any other manuscript. The only reason for pointing Mozart out as the originator is that the anecdote about his theft of the *Miserere* had been published in 1793, and somebody wondering about the differences between a manuscript with dynamics and Burney’s edition created an originator for the add-on in the first. There are three later manuscripts, formerly in the possession of Gustav Wilhelm Teschner (c.1844), one of them written by Karl Wunsch⁷¹ in 1832, mentioning Mozart in the same way (Figs 1–2).⁷²

But their readings are different from D-B Mus. ms. 550. They give no dynamics, but the same embellishments as in I-Mc M. S. MS. 2-2, a manuscript related to the singers of the Cappella Sistina (see below). Nevertheless, Mozart is credited as an originator (‘is said to originate from Mozart’) of the notation of the art of performing the *Miserere*. The merit attributed to him in these words goes far beyond that of a copyist or a black marketeer, because he is said to have successfully bridged the gap between Burney’s edition and the performance practice in the Sistine Chapel, with the titles stating ‘as sung in the Sistine Chapel’.

Precisely, this ‘as sung’ had been missed in Burney’s publication because travelers had started comparing the music of the *Miserere* to the actual performances once it was no longer exclusive to the Sistine Chapel. And as the emperor-composer in Santarelli’s anecdote, learned musicians immediately became aware of the differences.

4. The claim of copying – popes as originators

The *Diario Sistino* contains evidence of five manuscripts of the *Miserere* that had been produced before 1800; not only had the popes permitted this, but they actually ordered it. There were two manuscripts for the Portuguese King João V and his successor José I in 1718 and 1757, one for the duke of Gloucester in 1772, one for a royal minister in 1788 and one for the French *chargé d’affaires* in Italy François Cacault in

⁶⁶ Cf. Leopold Mozart’s letter to his wife dated 7 July 1770, Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, eds Bauer and Deutsch 1962, vol. 1, 368.

⁶⁷ There is a manuscript by Wolfgang’s sister Maria Anna written in 1792 for Friedrich Schlichtegroll. She reports that Mozart sang the *Miserere* in a private circle accompanying himself: ‘Er musste es in einer academie bey dem Clavier singen. der Castrat christofori, der es in der Capella sang war zugegen.’ Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, eds Bauer and Deutsch 1963, vol. 4, 194. Another detail of her account is trustworthy due to the date of Leopold’s report. She writes that Wolfgang attended the service again on 13 April 1770, proofreading his manuscript against the performance, Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, eds Bauer and Deutsch 1963, vol. 4, 194, ‘gieng er wieder hin, hielt seinen aufsatz in hut, um zu bemerken, ob er es getroffen, oder nicht, Allein es wurde ein anderes *Miserere* gesungen. Am Charfreytag wurde das nehmlische gemacht, nachdem er nach Hause kam, machte er da und dort eine Ausbesserung, dann war es fertig.’ The programming of the two pieces is confirmed in the *Diario Sistino* 193 (13 April 1770), fol. 123^v, cf. Rostirolla 1994, 771. It has been speculated that the Mozarts had already had access to a copy of the *Miserere* during their stay in London, cf. Chrissochoidis 2010, 88, but there is no evidence that the ‘sheltered paper’ Mozart took to the Sistine Chapel was a copy taken in London.

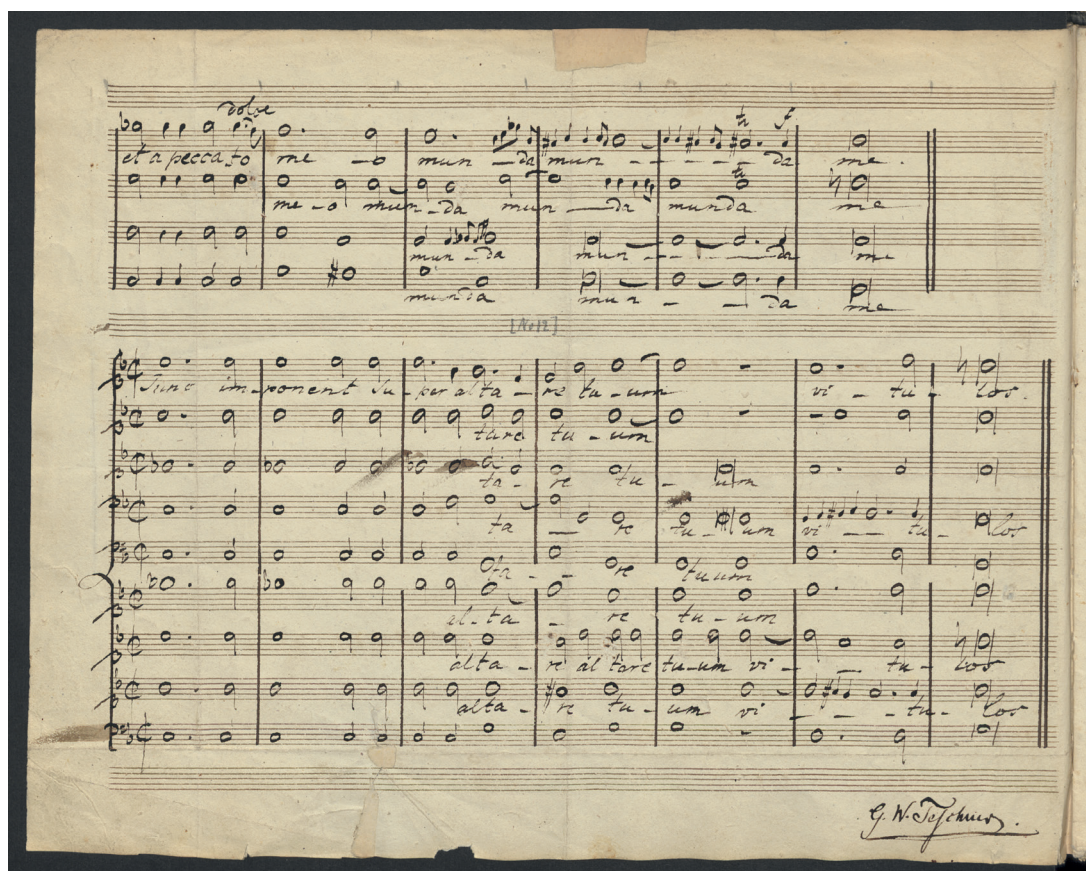
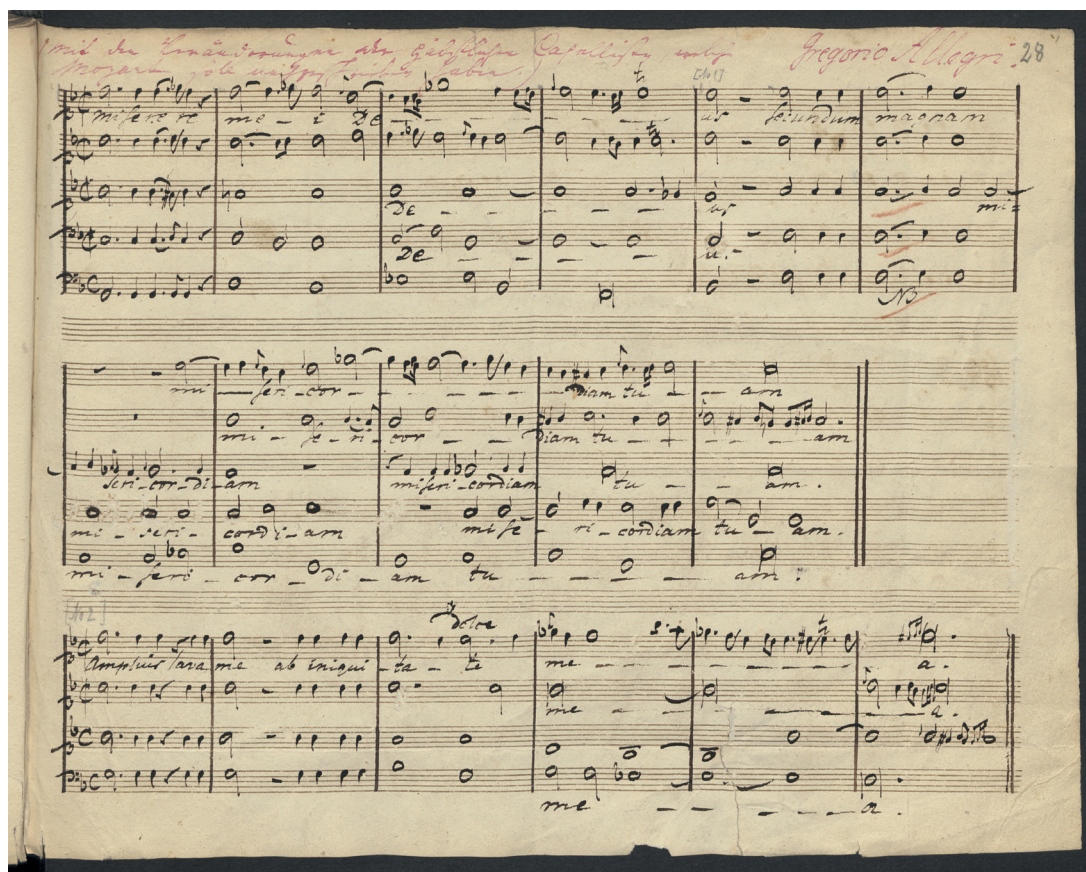
⁶⁸ The version in the earliest extant copy of the *Miserere*, written by Johann Mederitsch (1752–1835), in the Dommusikarchiv in Salzburg (A-Sd M.N. 115,1an) is related to Burney’s edition, cf. Hochradner 2022, 31.

⁶⁹ D-B Mus. ep. 2204, cit. after Plath 1985, 404, ‘Someone here in Berlin has a copy of the Allegri’s *Miserere*, which is said to have been copied from the performance in Rome by the blessed Mozart’.

⁷⁰ Cf. Amann 1935, 108–109, ‘With the indication of the piano and forte, smorzando etc. just as it is sung annually in the Sistine Chapel. This indication of the art of performance is said to originate from Mozart.’

⁷¹ Wunsch was Kammergerichtsrat in Berlin; on his journey to Italy and his interest in music cf. *Neuer Nekrolog* 1839, 511–514.

⁷² D-B Mus. ms. Teschner 39, fols 11^v–12^r (only verses 5 and 6) and fols 28^{r-v} (‘Mit den Veränderungen der päpstlichen Capellisten, welche Mozart sole [sic!] nachgeschrieben haben.’) as well as D-B Mus. ms. Teschner 111, fols 19^v–20^r (‘Das Miserere von Allegri samt der Veränderungen der Päpstl. Capellisten welche Mozart nachgeschrieben haben soll’) which subdivides the bars, cf. Plath 1985, 405 and Vetter 1998, 145.



Figs 1–2: Gregorio Allegri, *Miserere*, Rome or Berlin, 1832–1844, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz – Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv (D-B) Mus. ms. Teschner 39, fols 28^r–28^v.

1797. The production of these copies occurred for diplomatic reasons and was governed by the political interests of the popes with regard to those asking for them. Regardless of who prepared the manuscripts, the respective pope is the originator, conceding a favor to the recipients by sharing his exclusive property. None of these manuscripts are extant, and there is no indication whether a label of authorisation was affixed to them. Considering these donations, it would be no wonder if the legend of the copy for Leopold I, who defended the Holy Roman Empire against the Turks, has a true core. The preparation of the manuscripts made in 1718 and 1757 for the Portuguese court is well documented. After having elevated the Portuguese Royal Chapel to the rank of Patriarchal Church on 7 November 1716 with the bull *In supremo apostolatus solio*, Clemens XI permitted to copy not only Allegri's *Miserere*, but a good portion of the repertory of the Cappella Sistina in 1718.⁷³ This collection was designated to set up a copy of the Roman liturgy in Lisbon. After the archive of the Cappella Reale in Lisbon had been destroyed by fire, the production of a second manuscript was approved by Benedict XIV in 1757.⁷⁴ Of course, P-La 54-iii-93 n. 36 a 44, a complete extant set of parts of the *Miserere*, is not the copy sent from Rome to Lisbon. One must assume that the latter was a choir book, but the parts are connected to the Capella Reale (Figs 3–4).

⁷³ Cf. *Diario Sistino* 138 (29 July 1718), fols 51^r–53^r, cf. Rostirolla 1994, 650 (n. 67). This copy of the *Miserere* is mentioned as part of the repertoire of the Portuguese Royal Chapel c. 1722–1724 in the *Breve rezume de tudo o que se canta en cantochão, e canto de orgão pellos cantores na santa igreja patriarchal*, fol. 24^r, as the *Miserere* 'o que se costuma cantar na Cappella pontificia', cit. after d'Alvarenga 2011, 183.

⁷⁴ Cf. *Diario Sistino* 174 (1757), fol. 39^r: 'Francesco d'Almada, e Mendoza, ministro di sua maestà fedelissima riverentemente l'espone d'essere state assorbite dal incendio le musiche della real Cappella per le quali s'en degna la signoria vostra dare il permesso se ne fosse fatta, conforme segui, la copia da quelle della Cappella pontificia contenute nella annessa nota. Pertanto a nome della detta maestà sua fedelissima supplica la signoria vostra degnarsi dare la facoltà di potersi nuovamente copiare le accennate musiche per uso della real Cappella ...'. Cit. after Rostirolla 1994, 764, 'Francesco d'Almada, e Mendoza, minister of his most faithful majesty reverently explains that the music of the Royal Chapel had been absorbed by the fire. It contained the copies of those compositions from the Papal Chapel contained in the attached note for which your holiness has deigned to give permission to copy them. Therefore, in the name of his most faithful Majesty, he begs your Holiness to grant you the right to copy the aforementioned music again for the use of the Royal Chapel.' The manuscript then was prepared, cf. *Diario Sistino* 174 (1757), fol. 41^r: 'nota delle musiche che sono necessarie per questa reale Cappella e che devono farsi copiare in Roma dalla Cappella del papa. [...] Il Miserere che si canta in S. Pietro nella Settimana santa', cit. after Rostirolla 1994, 765, 'Sheet music that is necessary for this Royal Chapel and which must be copied in Rome from the Pope's Chapel. [...] The *Miserere* that is sung in S. Pietro during the Holy Week.'

They contain the earliest version of the *Miserere* as in V-CVBav Capp. Sist. 205 and 206.⁷⁵ This suggests that the second manuscript prepared in 1757 contained this version again as in the manuscript from 1718 and not the Biordi-arrangement which had replaced it in the Cappella Sistina in the meantime.

After Burney's edition, there was no longer the chance to keep the papal music enclosed, and more popes were willing to fulfill the wishes of majestic admirers of the *Miserere*. Pius VI flattered William Henry Duke of Gloucester, the brother of King George III, when he was visiting Rome in 1772 to further cultivate good relations with Great Britain and Ireland. A private performance of the *Miserere* was part of the program,⁷⁶ after which the Duke of Gloucester received a copy of the *Miserere*.⁷⁷ In 1788, Pope Pius VI gave permission for a copy for a 'regio ministro'⁷⁸, but it is not known to which court he belonged. When the French

⁷⁵ There are some changes, erasures and added notes in the cadences, effected after the copy had been made, and there is the indication 'Largo'.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Diario Sistino* 195 (8 March 1772), fol. 50^r: 'Il real duca di Gloucester avendo palesato il suo desiderio di sentire il Miserere di Gregorio Allegri, che si canta nel Mercoledì santo nella Cappella pontificia, all'eminetissimo nostro protettore Alessandro Albani [...] nella presente domenica verso l'un ora e mezzo di notte nella villa del nostro eminentissimo protettore fuor di Porta Salara si è cantato da'nostri cantori pontificij il detto Miserere'. Cit. after Rostirolla 1994, 772, 'Because the Royal Duke of Gloucester had expressed his desire to hear Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere*, which is sung on Holy Wednesday in the Papal Chapel, to our most eminent protector Alessandro Albani [...], on this Sunday at about one hour and a half in the night in the villa of our most eminent protector outside Porta Salara the said *Miserere* was sung by our pontifical singers.' There was another extraordinary performance of the *Miserere* taking place when Emperor Joseph II visited the conclave 17 March 1769, cf. *Diario Sistino* 192 (17 March 1769), fol. 53^r: 'è stato loro comandato a nome del sacro Collegio di tenere all'ordine il Miserere di Gregorio Allegri, per farlo sentire a sua maestà imperiale, casochè la medesima ne mostrasse desiderio'. Cit. after Rostirolla 1994, 770, 'they were commanded in the name of the sacred college to prepare Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere* in order to sing it for his imperial majesty in case he would show a desire for it'.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Diario Sistino* 1772 (19 March 1772), fol. 54^r: 'Questa mattina il signor maestro [Giovanni Lopez] ha data parte al reverendo Collegio di avergli sua eminenza nostro protettore comunicato esser mente di nostro signore di far trascrivere da' nostri scrittori il Miserere di Gregorio Allegri, et rigalarne la copia al real duca di Gloucester', cit. after Rostirolla 1994, 772, 'This morning the *maestro* [Giovanni Lopez] shared with the reverend college that His Eminence, our protector, had communicated to him that it was our Pope's intention to have copied Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere* by our scribes, and to give the copy to the Royal Duke of Gloucester'. There is no extant manuscript which can be related to this copy, but a report on it in Junker 1784, 111.

⁷⁸ Cf. *Diario Sistino* 211 (8 October 1788), fol. 32^r, cit. after Rostirolla 1994, 777: 'Il signor maestro esibì un biglietto, mandatogli da monsignor maggiordomo [...] in cui ad istanza di un regio ministro il santo padre dava il permesso di far trascrivere alcune delle nostre migliori composizioni', 'The *maestro* showed a notice, sent to him by the *maggiordomo* [...] in which, at the request of a royal minister, the Holy Father gave permission to copy some of our best compositions'. There is no extant manuscript that can be related to this copy.

25. 36 Cantus primi Chori // Miserere a 2 Con Greg. Alleg. 44

Tanto 54 111 36 44 93

Miserere me i de = = ay, secundum ex. 64 91

et secundum omnes voces unisona, et

cor di am tu = am. Submissa, postea solus 2. Chorus et

Tibi soli. coram te fe = = ci, ut iustif. ex. 12. Chorus et

ia di ca = = ri.

Audisti ex. et leti = = tiam, et exult. ex.

mi li a = = ta.

Redde. ex. tary tu = = i, et spiritu. ex.

con = firma = me.

Quoniam. ex. dissem u = = tique, holocaustis. ex.

de le = ca be = ri

Tutti Tunc im ponent su per Altare tuum = vite los.

Fine


 A

Fig. 3: Gregorio Allegri, *Miserere*, cantus primi chori, Lisbon, after 1757, Biblioteca da Ajuda Lisboa (P-La) 54-iii-93 n. 36

Miserere à 2 Cori *Cantus secundus secundi Chori* *Gregorio Allegri*

Tanto *54* *III* *93*

Amplius &c fate me = = a, & a peccato
me o mun = = da me.

Ecce enim &c talem dile xis = fi, Incerta &c.
fay = = fi mi ri.

Cor. &c in me = de = = u, & spiritum &c
ceri = = buy me = y.

Libera me &c latus me = = e, & exultatio
iusti = = fiam tu am.

Benigne &c fate = tua sy = on, & glific: &c
muri de ra = = salem.

Tutti *Tunc in ponere su per alta re tuum vi = su loy.*

Fine

A

Fig. 4: Gregorio Allegri, *Miserere*, *cantus secundus secundi chori*, Lisbon, after 1757, Biblioteca da Ajuda Lisboa (P-La) 54-iii-93 n. 43

army had invaded Italy, the French general agent François Cacault, who was a collector of artefacts, asked for copies of the famous compositions of the Papal Chapel after the Treaty of Tolentino in 1797. Pius VI directed the Chapel to copy ‘venti pezzi di musica de’ migliori classici autori, e antichi, che si racchiudono nella custodia e archivio della Cappella pontificia a scelta’⁷⁹, the soprano Tommaso Marconi was made responsible for the redaction and a second singer asked to assist him.⁸⁰ The multiple text manuscript GB-Mr Italian 45 contains exactly twenty of these most famous compositions, including the *Miserere*.⁸¹ And even though this manuscript has a title page dedicating it to Louis-Hippolyte Mesplet, who was in contact with the Cappella Sistina the year after (see below), there can be no doubt that giving away this repertoire for the second time was a conciliation by the Pope in order to protect the properties of the Vatican from being looted by the French as other goods in Italy. However, it is unlikely that GB-Mr Italian 45 is the manuscript officially prepared for Cacault: there was no reason to give him the last item, which was a second copy of the *Miserere* ‘con suoi rifiorimenti’ (see below), the treasure of the Chapel.

5. The aim of copying – singers as originators

Wilhelm Heinse’s praise of the *Miserere* in his novel *Hildegard von Hohenthal* (1795), ‘es macht ihr wohl, was Wirkung betrifft, keine andre Musik ihrer Art den Rang streitig’⁸², provoked a harsh review by the composer Johann Friedrich Reichardt published in 1796. Reichardt criticised not only Heinse’s lascivious novel and his description of the *Miserere*, but Allegri’s music itself, calling the *Miserere* ‘eine so unwichtige Arbeit’.⁸³ The dispute between Reichardt and Heinse centered on whether the written composition or the performance of the *Miserere* should be regarded as its

original. Reichardt, who added an edition of the music of the *Miserere* to his review,⁸⁴ wondered why such a simple composition was adored by so many listeners and speculated about the *Miserere* being hyped due to intrigues at the papal court.⁸⁵ In an unpublished response kept in his notebooks, Heinse pointed out that only attending the performance in Rome gives a real idea of what the *Miserere* is, much more than the sheet music which was in circulation:⁸⁶

In den bloßen Noten der Partitur, wenn man auch den ganzen Psalm sich hinzu denkt, kann die stärkste Einbildungskraft die Wirkung kaum einigermaßen sich vorstellen, die die Musik in vortrefflicher Aufführung, noch immer zu Rom nach Angabe des Meisters, bey Zuhörern hervorbringt, [...] Diese Art von Musik ist uns [...] zu fremd, wir müssen sie schlechterdings mit dem leibhaften Sinn des Ohrs hören.

In the mere notes of the score, even if one imagines the whole psalm in addition, the strongest imagination can scarcely imagine the effect which the music produces in the listener in an excellent performance, as it still takes place in Rome according to the master. [...] This kind of music is too alien to us [...], we absolutely have to hear it with the physical sense of the ear.

Reichardt will not have been satisfied with this because, after hearing the *Miserere* in Rome in 1790, he published a lament about the poor quality of the embellishments performed.⁸⁷ To close the gap between music and performance, a new type of manuscript of the *Miserere* became the object of desire: manuscripts confirming that all the embellishments added in the performance in the Sistine Chapel are included in its written record. No longer was the composer regarded as the sole originator, but the performers were too. Being aware of the differences between the performance in Rome, and the manuscripts and prints circulating since Burney’s

⁷⁹ *Diario Sistino* 220 (15 and 24 May 1797), fol. 21^v and 49^r, cit. after Rostirolla 1994, 780, ‘twenty pieces of music by the best classical and ancient authors, which are enclosed in the custody and archive of the pontifical chapel, of your choice’.

⁸⁰ Cf. Rostirolla 1994, 780.

⁸¹ Cf. the inventory of the manuscripts in O’Reilly 2020, 103–105.

⁸² Heinse, *Hildegard von Hohenthal*, ed. Keil 2002, 14–15, ‘As far as effect is concerned, no other music of its kind can compete with it’. Heinse heard the *Miserere* in Rome 1782, see the letter to Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi dated 16 March 1782 in Heinse, *Briefe*, ed. Südekopf 1910, 155. His notebooks contain the description of the *Miserere* later used in his novel, cf. Heinse, *Die Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Bernauer 2003, 660–662. As the quotation of the notice concerning the performance of the last verse shows, Heinse had Burney’s edition or a fair copy of it at hand. For more late-eighteenth century accounts cf. Heidrich 2004.

⁸³ Cf. Reichardt 1796, 404, ‘such an unimportant work’.

⁸⁴ *Deutschland* 1796, vol. 3, appendix, for the alleged source cf. 419: ‘nach einer Abschrift, die im Jahr 1790 von dem Original in der sixtinischen Kapelle selbst genommen, und die mit der vollkommen übereinstimmt, welche Burney im Jahr 1770 von Santarelli [...] erhielt’. Although Reichardt had been in Italy in 1790, his edition is based on Burney’s print or a fair copy of it; on the offer of a manuscript to him, see below.

⁸⁵ Cf. Reichardt 1796, 424–425.

⁸⁶ Heinse, *Die Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Bernauer 2003, 892.

⁸⁷ Cf. Reichardt 1792, 83: ‘Nun sind die Verzierungen noch gar meistens der Art, das man es ihnen gleich anhört, dass sie von unverständigen Sängern herkommen und das Ohr des Künstlers wird oft durch grobe Verstöße gegen die Harmonie beleidigt.’

publication, the interest especially of music experts changed from obtaining a manuscript⁸⁸ (or print) of the *Miserere* to possessing a manuscript of the *Miserere* as it was performed in Rome. No copyist would have been able to prepare such a manuscript from the choir books in the Sistine Chapel or any manuscript copied from them, only the singers of the Cappella Sistina were trustworthy to certify a copy as ‘so wie es in der [...] Capella Sistina gesungen wird’⁸⁹, and it is no wonder that an excerpt from Heinse’s *Hildegard von Hohenenthal* was added to one such manuscript of the *Miserere*.⁹⁰

Reichardt already reported in 1792 that a manuscript with embellishments was offered to him during his attendance at the performance of the *Miserere* in the Sistine Chapel in 1790:⁹¹

[...] ein kleiner schäbiger Abate, der neben mir steht [...] bietet mir an, mir das *Miserere* mit allen Verzierungen, wie sie der berühmte Sänger *Santarelli* aufgesetzt, und wie es seitdem immer gesungen würde, in Abschrift mitzuteilen.

[...] a small, shabby abate standing next to me [...] offers me a copy of the *Miserere* with all the embellishments as the famous singer *Santarelli* wrote it down and how it has been sung ever since.

But if the ‘copy’ used by Reichardt for his printed edition was the manuscript offered to him by the *abate*, *Santarelli*’s ‘embellishments’ would be nothing else than the music published in Burney’s edition.

The papal singers risked being regarded as traitors by their colleagues when giving away information about the performance practice. But when the choir was dispersed in 1798 due to the French invasion of Rome and the exile of Pius VI, this was no longer a barrier for not doing so. The French official Mesplet was appointed ‘inspecteur des dépôts de musique de Saint Pierre et du Vatican’⁹² on 19 February 1798. He was the first to take advantage of the situation

by obtaining a copy of the *Miserere* that contained more information about its performance practice than Burney’s edition, the copies given away by the popes themselves, or any other manuscript or print so far. By supporting the papal singers with money, organising a public concert of the Chapel and safeguarding the treasure of their compositions,⁹³ Mesplet earned so many merits that they provided him with copies of numerous compositions from their choir books to which he had access as the *inspecteur* (the same repertoire copied recently for Cacaault)⁹⁴. Moreover, they supplied him with a version of the *Miserere* ‘Con suoi Rifiorimenti’ in the manuscript given to him (F-Pn D-14499)⁹⁵. The same version of the *Miserere* and most of the repertoire can also be found in a second, preparatory manuscript (GB-Mr Italian 45); the title page of the *Miserere* says:

Miserere mei Deus, della Cappella Sistina | Di Gregorio Allegri Romano | Con suoi Rifiorimenti, come si deve Eseguire | Li quali s’imparano per Tradizione | Per divertimento del Cittadino Mesplet | Amatore, e conoscitore della vera Musica

Miserere mei Deus from the Sistine Chapel by Gregorio Allegri from Rome with its embellishments, how it has to be performed what is learned by oral tradition, for the enjoyment of the citizen Mesplet, enthusiast and connoisseur of true music.

Mesplet’s manuscript was only used after his death to prepare a printed edition which was published in Paris in 1838.⁹⁶ But another similar manuscript (I-Mc M. S. MS. 2-2) shows that Mesplet was not the only one with whom the papal singers shared their secrets. It was given away by the tenor Abbate Nicola Binder, one of the members of the Chapel.⁹⁷ O’Reilly

⁸⁸ There is no complete catalogue of the enormous amount of post-1771 manuscripts of the *Miserere*, but cf. Amann 1935, 107–120, O’Reilly 2020, 367–368, and Helfricht 2004, 173–205.

⁸⁹ D-DI Mus. 1474-E-3, fol. 1^r, ‘as sung in the Sistine Chapel’.

⁹⁰ Cf. D-DI Mus. 1474-E-3, fol. 1^v.

⁹¹ Reichardt 1792, 84.

⁹² O’Reilly 2020, 82 (n. 12), ‘inspector of the music depots of Saint Peter and the Vatican’.

⁹³ Cf. Baini 1828, vol. 1, 278–289 (n. 379) and vol. 2, 165–166 (n. 562).

⁹⁴ Cf. the inventory of the manuscripts in O’Reilly 2020, 103–105.

⁹⁵ Cf. the *Miserere* on pp. 45–58, for an edition including the variants of GB-Mr Italian 45 cf. O’Reilly 2020, 283–285.

⁹⁶ *Sainte Cécile* 1838, 17–36. First, the version from Burney’s edition is given, then the two versions of F-Pn D-14499. The statement, *Sainte Cécile* 1838, 19, that ‘Le Maître de Chapelle de Pie VII, M. Baini, fu don a M. Mesplet d’un petit manuscrit’, definitely does not report the true story. On this print cf. O’Reilly 2020, 95–99.

⁹⁷ Cf. I-Mc M. S. MS. 2-2, fol. 1^r: ‘Rifiorimenti | Che si usano nella Cappella Pontificia | Al Miserere | Di Gregorio Allegri | Avvertimento: Nell’esecuzione di questo Miserere non si usi il tempo in precisione.’ There is the notice ‘Ricevuti dall’Abb.e Niccola’. There is an edition of this manuscript in O’Reilly 2020, 286–287. This version has been circulating as the copies in the possession of Teschner show, cf. D-B Mus. ms. Teschner 39,

states that the scribe of this manuscript is different from the manuscripts related to Mesplet, in which he identifies two different hands, one of which had written GB-Mr Italian 45 and parts (scribe A) of F-Pn D-14499.⁹⁸ O'Reilly compared the hands to those of two papal singers, the soprano Filippo Ceciliani and his colleague Binder. However, according to him, other manuscripts written by them⁹⁹ show similarities of both to the hand of scribe A, who wrote two compositions by Ceciliani (*Si difensore tu sei* and *Veni creator spiritus*) in F-Pn D-14499 (pp. 90–114).¹⁰⁰ All in all, the *Miserere* is written by three different hands in these three manuscripts.¹⁰¹ Whoever wrote GB-Mr Italian 45 (scribe A) seems to be the originator of the transcription of the 'rifierimenti', but none of the three manuscripts mention such an originator.

In 1825, Baini claimed to have retaught the singers the tradition of performing the *Misereres* when the Chapel continued its service after Pope Pius VII had returned to Rome.¹⁰² Evidence such as the nineteenth-century manuscript tradition and not least those manuscripts connected to Mozart, shows that much of the performance tradition reestablished from 1814 on is similar to that documented in the three 'rifierimenti'-manuscripts.

The English organist and collector Joseph Warren owned two early nineteenth-century manuscripts with embellishments close to those in the 'rifierimenti'-manuscripts. Apparently one of them was sold by a Roman dealer, who was also offering an assortment of excerpts from contemporary operas, and the title misattributing the *Miserere* reads 'Miserere | del Sig. Mro Baj | Come si eseguisce nella Cappella Pontificia | Di Roma. | In Roma presso Bened. Morganti Via de Crociferi N° 119'.¹⁰³

fols 11^v–12^r (only verses 5 and 6) and fols 28^{r-v} as well as D-B Mus. ms. Teschner 111, fols 19^r–20^r.

⁹⁸ Cf. the inventory of both manuscripts in O'Reilly 2020, 103–105.

⁹⁹ There is a manuscript written by Binder, a copy of the *Laudate pueri* by Giovanni Masi (I-Rsc G.Mss.44) and it is likely that the manuscript of Ceciliani's oratorio *Ruth* in I-Rf F.III.4 is an autograph.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. O'Reilly 2020, 102–107.

¹⁰¹ Cf. O'Reilly 2020, 107–108.

¹⁰² Cf. Sievers 1825, 72.

¹⁰³ GB-Lbl Add. 31525(1), cit. after O'Reilly 2020, 288. On this and on Warren's other manuscript GB-Lbl Add. 31525(2) cf. O'Reilly 2020, 135–138 and 288 and on the latter Byram-Wigfield 1997. For more manuscripts bearing evidence of being sold in Rome cf. Amann 1935, 107–120, cf. three manuscripts of the Biordi-arrangement without embellishments sold by Gaetano Rosati in Rome, D-B Mus. ms. Landsberg 8: 'In Roma Presso Gaetano Rosati in Via Babuino N° 117', H-KE 2667, cf. RISM <<https://opac.rism.info/rism/Record/rism530000051>>, and I-Nc Mus. ms. 34.1.24, cf. Amann, 115. A manuscript of which both the scribe and the

Several early-nineteenth-century manuscripts bear similar indications like 'Miserere von Allegri | (mit allen Verzierungen; so wie es in der | Heiligen Woche zu Rom u der Capella | Sistina gesungen wird.—)'¹⁰⁴ or 'Miserere di Gregorio Allegri con tutti quelli ornamenti come si canta nella capella sistina nei giorni Mercoldi, Giovedì e Venerdì della Settimana Santa'¹⁰⁵. Others additionally indicate 'von einem päpstlichen Sänger'.¹⁰⁶ Most of these manuscripts ended up in German-speaking countries, share the embellishments with Warren's manuscripts and are related to each other.¹⁰⁷ There are three manuscripts with all the verses of the *Miserere* written separately,¹⁰⁸ and two groups of manuscripts with music only for some of the verses of each choir, five manuscripts with a German title which are related to the composer Bernhard Klein, who acquired the master copy during his honeymoon in Rome in 1825,¹⁰⁹ and three with an Italian title and the indication 'Rome (30 October 1829)'.¹¹⁰ Two of them show an ongoing engagement of their owners with the *Miserere* beyond obtaining the copy. Anton

price are known is D-MÜs SANT HS 51, Nr. 1. The collector Giuseppe Santini bought both the *Misereres* indicating: 'pagai Scudi 3 | per questi | due Miserere | essendo copiat | dal mio Maestro | Giuseppe Jannacconi | 15 Marzo | 1809.' Cit. after RISM <<https://opac.rism.info/rism/Record/rism451012204>>. The composer Jannacconi became *maestro di cappella* at St. Peter in 1811. The latter and the three manuscripts sold by Rosati are related because they all bear the indication 'Il Bello di questo Miserere consiste nella precisione esattezza, ed unione delle parti nell'eseguire quelle maniere di canto che li cantori fra di loro soltanto si comunicano', 'The beauty of this *Miserere* lies in the precision, exactitude and concinnity of the voices when performing the singing manners that the singers only communicate among themselves'.

¹⁰⁴ D-DI Mus. 1474-E-3, fol. 1^r.

¹⁰⁵ D-LEm PM 5618, fol. 24^r, cit. after RISM <<https://opac.rism.info/rism/Record/rism201004041>>.

¹⁰⁶ PL-Wu RM 6027 (*olim* PL-WRu Mus. ms. Mf. 5132), cit. after Amann 1935, 109. There is an edition of this manuscript in Amann 1935, 50–52.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the description and an edition of the manuscripts of this group in O'Reilly 2020, 288–299.

¹⁰⁸ PL-Wu RM 6027; D-Mbs Mus.ms. 671; A-Wn Mus. Hs. 15604, fols 1^a–18^a, cf. O'Reilly 2020, 135–138 and 288–289.

¹⁰⁹ D-B Mus. ms. Teschner 119, fols 10^r–13^r (fol. 13^r 'Soweit führte das Exemplar, nach welchem diese Copiatur gemacht. Rom im Februar 182[5] Bernh. Klein', 'This is what the manuscript from which this copy was made included. Rome in February 182[5] Bernh. Klein'); D-DI Mus. 1474-E-3 (with the same indication); D-Mbs Mus.ms. 3268, and D-KNh R1038/2, cf. O'Reilly 2020, 138–140 and 290–291. In addition, D-B Mus. ms. Teschner 39, fols 24^r–27^r, written by 'Wünsch im Nobr. 1832' with the indication on fol. 24^r: 'Diese Verzierungen hat Bernhard Klein von einem päpstlichen Sänger erhalten, u. beim Zuhören noch vervollständigt', 'Bernhard Klein obtained these ornaments from a papal singer and completed them while listening.'

¹¹⁰ CH-Bu UBH kk XII 22:3; D-LEm PM 5618 (written by the composer Moritz Hauptmann) and GB-Ob M. Deneke Mendelssohn d.70 (written by the music teacher Franz Xaver Gleichauf, no date), cf. O'Reilly 2020, 140–141 and 292.

Friedrich Justus Thibaut published a eulogy of sixteenth-century music (*Über Reinheit der Tonkunst*, 1825) one year after the preparation of his manuscript. His manuscript not only indicates ‘von einem päpstlichen Sänger, mit allen Verzierungen und Andeutungen des Vortrags aufgesetzt, wie es jetzt in der Sixtinischen Capelle gesungen wird (d. h. seit 1824)’, but also: ‘auch bey dem Anhören revidirt.’¹¹¹ A manuscript once in the possession of the music historian Raphael Georg Kiesewetter shows the same indication with the same date, but it includes two additional versions of the *Miserere*, the latter one labeled as ‘Wie es in Salzburg in der Domkirche gesungen wird’ and the former one ‘Original’.¹¹² The distinction between ‘original’ and ‘as sung now’ reveals the perspective of the historian in search for the *Miserere*’s origins, which are definitely not to be found in this version because it is a copy of Burney’s edition.

When Baini lamented Alfieri’s and Burney’s editions (he had not noticed the Parisian edition of 1838), he made no comment on any manuscript of that new type, and there is no evidence that he could be held responsible for distributing them.¹¹³ The only manuscript of the *Miserere* known to have been in Baini’s possession is a copy of the earliest version of the *Miserere* without embellishments.¹¹⁴ Although he knew the traitor who provided Alfieri with information about the performance practice, he did not mention his name. While Baini thought that a singer sang the embellishments to Alfieri,¹¹⁵ O’Reilly suspects that there was written evidence of them in the hands of the singers,¹¹⁶ because there are similarities between the embellishments in Alfieri’s edition, the two manuscripts he had used to prepare it,¹¹⁷ and the

‘rifiorimenti’-manuscripts. Thibaut had speculated about such manuscripts in a letter to Georg August Christian Kestner, who acquired manuscripts for him in Rome, dated 10 April 1817:¹¹⁸

Insbesondere würden Sie mich verpflichten, wenn Sie mir ungefähr mitteilen könnten, in welchem Ton und Tempo die Sachen von Palestrina, Baj und Allegri in der Charwoche in der Sixtinischen Capelle gegeben werden. Sie waren doch Ohrenzeuge? [...] Man sagt, daß Sänger der päpstlichen Capelle geschriebene Traditionen über das alles besitzen sollen.

In particular, you would oblige me if you could tell me roughly the tone and tempo in which the pieces by Palestrina, Baj, and Allegri are given in the Sistine Chapel during Holy Week. You were an ear witness, weren’t you? [...] It is said that singers of the papal chapel should have written traditions about all this.

There is evidence that by that time the Cappella Sistina sang a major third or a fourth higher than the music is notated in all the manuscripts inside and outside the Vatican. This practice is also reported by Alfieri¹¹⁹ and Warren¹²⁰ as well as by travelling music experts such as Georg Ludwig Peter Sievers (1825) and the composers Louis-Joseph-Ferdinand Herold (1815), Louis Spohr (1817), Felix Mendelssohn (1831), Otto Nicolai (1839), and Fanny Hensel (1840).¹²¹

Regarding the embellishments, which Thibaut articulates no interest in, there was no ultimate version. The singers and especially the soprano Mariano Padroni, who entered the choir in 1801 and was responsible for the highest notes at least until 1839, tended to vary the ornaments according to their nature. There are accounts by some German musicians (Sievers, Mendelssohn and Nicolai), who took notes when they attended the services in the Sistine Chapel, documenting different embellishments in the performances they attended.¹²²

Not only did Baini complain about the embellishments which Alfieri had published, but also about another secret that was revealed in the preface to his edition: from 1815

¹¹¹ D-Mbs Mus.ms. 671, fol. 1^r.

¹¹² A-Wn Mus.Hs.15604, fol. 1^r.

¹¹³ But see D-KNh R1038/2, whose first owner (the musician Nicolaus Joseph Hompesch?) noticed: ‘Erhalten im Jahr 1830 | von Bernhard Klein | welcher dieselben von dem | Capellmeister der päpstlichen | Capelle bei seiner Anwesen-heit in Rom empfing’, cit. after O’Reilly 2020, 291. Baini held no official position as a ‘Capellmeister’, the *magister pro tempore* in 1824 was the tenor Francesco Tifoni.

¹¹⁴ Cf. I-Rc 2567, fols 7^v–8^r, ‘Miserere della Capp.la del Papa | di Giorgio Allegri | Riportato da Venezia dal Sigr Pio Costanzi’, cit. after RISM <<https://opac.rism.info/rism/Record/rism850011007>>.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Baini’s letter to Domenico Buttaoni, cit. Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 208: ‘Come mai il s[igno]r Alfieri li ha intesi se non sono stati eseguiti da molti anni per difetto del suo socio? Come mai li ha potuti scrivere se non li ha intesi?’, ‘How could Mr. Alfieri understand them when they were not performed for many years due to the fault of his companion? How could he write them if he did not understand them?’

¹¹⁶ Cf. O’Reilly 2020, 155.

¹¹⁷ D-B Mus. ms. 550/2 and D-B Alfieri 1, pp. 63–70, but there must have been a final copy that is now lost but was sent to the printer, cf. O’Reilly 2020, 153.

¹¹⁸ Polley 1982, 311.

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Il salmo Miserere* 1840, 3–4.

¹²⁰ Cf. GB-Lbl Add. 31525(2), cf. O’Reilly 2020, 288.

¹²¹ Cf. O’Reilly 2020, 156–159.

¹²² Cf. O’Reilly 2020, 142–144.

on, the conflation of the *Misereres* regularly took place in the Holy Week on the days when Bainsi's *Miserere* or Mustafā's *Miserere* were not sung.¹²³ At the beginning of the psalm, the listener would gain the impression that he was always hearing the same piece of music, the *Miserere*. Only experts such as Spohr and Mendelssohn were aware of the conflation.¹²⁴ Evidence for this practice can be found in the *Diario Sistino* in 1822 on the occasion of a concert for Friedrich Wilhelm III, King of Prussia¹²⁵ as well as in the regular services in 1827–1829, 1835, 1837, 1840–1842, and 1849–1851.¹²⁶ Evidence for the convergence of the *Misereres*, which is only documented in 1870 in a printed edition,¹²⁷ is found in a manuscript of the second half of the nineteenth century. Its title reads: 'Miserere. | wie es jetzt in der Sixtinischen Capelle gesungen wird, theils von Gregorio Allegri [...] | theils von Tommaso Bai'¹²⁸. But there is also a manuscript dated c.1800 in which one verse of the second choir is presented with the music of Bai's *Miserere* before the final verse for both choirs.¹²⁹ And in 1832, Wunsch created a compilation of the Burney-edition (first pair of verses),

the embellishments in the Klein-manuscripts (second pair of verses), the embellishments attributed to Mozart, but the same in I-Mc M. S. MS. 2-2 (third pair of verses), a Roman manuscript (fourth pair of verses)¹³⁰, and Bai's coda.¹³¹ Mustafā's manuscript sums up the practice of conflation and the tradition of the embellishments, but does not transpose the music to the actual pitches sung by the choir.

6. Conclusion

Who are the originators of the *Miserere* and its manuscripts? As Sievers commented:¹³²

Man wird geneigt, der Behauptung des Hrn. Bainsi von der successiven Entstehung desselben, beizupflichten und diese Composition nicht für das Product eines einzigen Künstlers, eines einzigen Lebens, sondern vieler Meister und mehrerer Jahrhunderte zu nehmen.

One is inclined to agree with M. Bainsi's assertion that it came into being successively, and to take this composition not as the product of a single artist, of a single life, but of many masters and several centuries.

The earliest pair of manuscripts were written after Allegri's death. Thus, it remains unclear to which extent the content of the *Miserere* in V-CVBav Capp. Sist. 205 and 206 owes to Allegri, and how much to the singers of the Cappella Sistina or to the scribe Romano, who was responsible for the material creation. The *magister pro tempore* was responsible for planning the addition to the collection of *misereres*, which was enabled by the pope. The latter three authorised it. In V-CVBav Capp. Sist. 263, 185 and 341, Biordi (perhaps at least partially recording what singers of the chapel had already performed) must be added to the originators creating additional content. He does not receive credit for his arrangement. Only the scribe Biondini and the respective *magistri pro tempore*, the cardinal protectors, and the popes

¹²³ Cf. Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 102–103.

¹²⁴ Cf. Spohr 1817, 677: 'Es wurden an diesem Abend zwey Compositionen (wie man mir sagte, von Allegri und Bai) gesungen, die sich abwechselnd jede viermal wiederholten' (Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 102, state that the *Diario Sistino* for that year states no conflation) and Mendelssohn's letter to Zelter dated 16 Juni 1831, in Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, eds Morgenstern and Wald 2009, 287, 'Den 2^{ten} Tag gaben sie einige Stücke von Allegri, die andern von Bai.'

¹²⁵ Cf. *Diario Sistino* 238 (15 February 1822), fols 52–53 in Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 217.

¹²⁶ Cf. *Diario Sistino* 243 (1827), fol. 32^r; 247 (1 April 1831), fol. 22^r; 251 (17. April 1835), fol. 25^r; 266 (13 April 1851), fol. 35 in Kantner and Pachovsky 1998, 114 (n. 184–185) and 102. For 1849–1850 cf. the annotations of the then *magister pro tempore* Giovanni Battista Baccellieri in his copy of Adamis *Osservazioni*, for Thursday: 'si canta un verso di allegri ed uno di Bai', Adami 1711, 41 'one sings one verse of Allegri and one of Bai' (instead of the *Miserere* by Alessandro Scarlatti) and for Friday to 'Il Miserere a due Cori è di Gregorio Allegri' the addition 'di Tom. Bai', Adami 1711, 47.

¹²⁷ *Excerpta ex celebrioribus in musica viris* 1870, 72–96. In the previous edition, the *Miserere* is not included due to Bainsi's intervention (see above), cf. *Excerpta ex celebrioribus in musica viris* 1840.

¹²⁸ D-Bhm RH 1480, cit. after RISM <<https://opac.rism.info/rism/Record/rism1001220990>>. 'Miserere as it is now sung in the Sistine Chapel, partly by Gregorio Allegri [...] partly by Tommaso Bai'. It is a manuscript without embellishments, stating on the title page: 'NB. Die Schönheit dieses berühmten *Miserere* beruht auf der Bestimmtheit, | Genauigkeit und Übereinstimmung der Sänger bei Ausführung eigenthümlicher | Gesangsmanieren, wie sie sich dieselben nur unter sich allein mittheilen', 'NB. The beauty of this famous *Miserere* lies in the resolution, precision and concordance of the singers when performing specific ornaments that they only communicate among themselves'.

¹²⁹ GB-Lbl Add. 24291, with an added organ part by Giovanni Jubbilli, active as a music dealer in Rome around 1800, see *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 17 (1882), 213–214 and copies of Giuseppe Sarti's *Miserere* (D-Hs

ND VI 675) and excerpts from Mozart's Don Giovanni (D-Hs M A/816, Nr. 6) sold by Jubbilli.

¹³⁰ The readings are very close to those in the Biordi-arrangement.

¹³¹ D-B Mus. ms. Teschner 39, fols 10^r–15^r. Wunsch states on the title page: 'Die Baische Coda, welche in Rom für die schönste gilt, u. deshalb zum Allegrischen *Miserere* gesungen wird. Das Baische erhält dafür die Coda von Allegri [...] Aber von der gerühmten Vollkommenheit der Ausführung war nichts zu bemerken. Bainsi hat die Coda gar nicht componirt. Er läßt ebenfals die von Bai singen.'

¹³² Sievers 1825, 73.

are credited in the copies V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 185 and 341. In V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 375, Biordi's contribution is eliminated, Allegri and Bai figure as originators. Mustafà's redaction adds what is considered the 'true tradition' of performing the music. However, he does not give any credit to himself or to any other singers who are the originators in the manuscript itself and only does so in the preface. If manuscripts of the *Miserere* existed outside of the Vatican before the circulation of prints and manuscripts started in 1771, it was due to either a musician writing it down from memory after attending a performance, a papal order or a traitor. The first and the latter became originators because it was solely their efforts that introduced the *Miserere* to the world outside of the Vatican. Santarelli was given credit by Burney, and Mozart was given credit for the 'manner of performance' in some manuscripts, even though their content is not related to Mozart's own manuscript. In contrast, only one of the scribes of the official copies is known, and the only anecdotal notice about the scribes' role as originators ironically deems the scribe a 'fraud'. The originator of an official copy is not the scribe who wrote it, but the pope who donated and distributed it.

Members of the chapel only produced manuscripts indicating embellishments in addition to Biordi's arrangement after the Cappella Sistina had dispersed. Gratefulness to Mesplet, who had helped the singers survive and protected their archive in difficult times, was the initial motivation. Perhaps some of them feared that the tradition would get lost and felt responsible for recording it. The only pieces of evidence pointing to an originator of the notation of these embellishments is that a similar manuscript was given away by Binder; he and Cecilianì are probably two of the three scribes and one of them might be the originator of the version in these manuscripts. Only then did selling such manuscripts become a business, and different versions circulated. But the singers who provided manuscripts to the Roman dealers (mentioned in such manuscripts), and the foreign musicians and scholars (who collected copies), do not reveal themselves. Not the individual scribe or singer, but only the (assumed) concordance with the performance practice of the Cappella Sistina as an institution was important to the owners to certify the manuscript as an original by mentioning either the institution or 'a papal singer' as a witness. Baini claimed that he was the originator of the embellishments as they had been in use from 1814 on, but he left no written record of them, and the accounts of travelling musicians show that the singers varied the embellishments from one performance to

another. Therefore, at least leading sopranos such as Padroni must also be considered originators, even if their individual performances have not been recorded.

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Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC)

Universität Hamburg

Warburgstraße 26

20354 Hamburg

Germany

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