

Wolfgang Amadé

# Mozart

original text in Italian

by Luca Bianchini

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free translation

by Robert Newman

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## CHAPTER II

### PART TWO

#### Miserere

#### CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SUPPOSED MUSICAL TEACHING OF PADRE MARTINI BEFORE THE EXAMINATION TAKEN BY MOZART IN BOLOGNA (1770)

« Real genius is sacred, not drunken, is educated, not born, is inflamed by sentiment, purified by intellect, endowed by nature and developed by study. That which is rumoured as being blind genius is nothing but a fabulous legend. In Music knowledge gained by musicians has nothing to do with carefree students who are empty of any schooling or art».<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Johann Simon Mayr, *Zibaldone*, Edizioni Bolis, Bergamo 1993, pp.110.

«MISERERE MEI DEUS SECUNDUM MAGNAM MISERICORDIAM TUAM».

The Vulgate version of the Holy Bible in Psalm 51 begins with the "Miserere", which is also an independent musical composition.

«The first word of Psalm 50 in the Vulgate. ... has a prominent place in the Divine Office and in various ceremonies. ... Musical versions of the Miserere are numerous. Especially popular are those of Bainsi, Bai, Allegri».<sup>2</sup>

The Miserere text consists of 21 stanzas -

« It is normally sung by a formula followed by a chant in antiphon».<sup>3</sup>

And W.A. Mozart, according to celebrated German biographer Otto Jahn, is said to have composed no less than three works of that kind<sup>4</sup>. Here I examine the first one in a minor K.85 which is unfinished. Reference to the others are in the following chapters. Jahn said that the music of K.85 was handwritten (by Amedé) and the orchestration was for alto, tenor and bass with the organ for the continuo. The K.85 has in the frontespice Miserere for three voices by "Sig [no] re Caval [aliere] W [olfgang] A [madeus] Mozart Bologna in 1770".

There is however no actual evidence in contemporary documents from 1770 which testify to a performance of any Miserere by W.A. Mozart, nor any letters mentioning the work in question, the Miserere KV85. Otto Jahn, keen to attribute it to Wolfgang, tried to find some hints from other music attributed to him, arguing that the piece in question must surely have been written between the Spring of 1770 (after the boy first heard two performances of the Allegri 'Miserere' in Rome) and before the Autumn of that same year, at which time he took the entrance exam to the Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna. Arguing KV.85 was an exercise made by him during a course of counterpoint tuition taken slightly earlier with Padre Martini in Bologna in preparation for the exam itself and for the setting of the Antifona Quærite (KV.86) on 9th October. Thus Mozart is said by him to have composed KV85 under the direct musical guidance of Martini. And, since it exists in an autograph and is even said to be in the style of Padre Martini, Jahn assures us its date of composition must have been 1770. And, since Mozart was made a "Knight of the Golden Spur"

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<sup>2</sup> "Miserere", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York 1917: «The first word of the Vulgate text of Psalm 50. ...The Miserere has a most prominent place in the Divine Office and in various ceremonies. ...The musical settings of the Miserere are very many. Three of them (Bainsi's on Wednesday, Bai's on Thursday, and Allegri's on Friday afternoons) are especially famous».

<sup>3</sup> "Miserere", *Dizionario della Musica e dei Musicisti - il lessico*, UTET, Torino 1984.

<sup>4</sup> K.85, K.A1/297a e K.A241/C03.10 (i primi due Miserere sono incompiuti, il terzo è dubbio).

after his stay in Rome during the spring of that year, Jahn believed this to have been its most likely composition date. First because it is written on an autograph but second because he was convinced the Miserere "clearly resembled that of Gregorio Allegri". This famous German critic further believed this composition has been directly affected by Allegri's own Miserere.

To the Miserere I'll devote a separate chapter.

He further observed that the three final sections of the work that has since become known as KV 85 (ie "Quoniam", "Benigne", "Tunc accetabis") had been added on a fifth sheet by a different hand. That those final movements are not part of the autograph. And inferred they were probably from Padre Martini.

But we have already seen earlier Otto Jahn confusing the exam Antiphon version made by Mozart with that made for him by Padre Martini (as noted in Chapter I). And here he attributes to the Bolognese master three brief final sections of KV85 which were added by anonymous hand to the earlier eight sections.

So the German biographer tells us Padre Martini must have completed his pupil's work in KV85 -

«A series of sketches in the form of difficult counterpoint [sic], which, judging from the handwriting, belongs to this period [1770], must be those studies that Padre Martini had suggested. Of particular interest is a Miserere for three parts for Alto, Tenor and Bass, and a figured Continuo with the overwritings "Del Sig [no] r Caval [iere] W [olfgang] A [madeus] Mozart in Bologna, 1770" (K.85). Evidently [?] it is written under the influence of the Roman Allegri's Miserere, (that is in general harmonic terms) with some imitations in its introduction. Simple, but very beautiful. The last three movements 'Quoniam', 'Benign', 'Tunc acceptabis', are (however) written by another hand, are certainly not by Mozart, and the subjects are more severe and simplified. Padre Martini probably made them to complete the piece as a composition of the young Mozart».<sup>5</sup>

But Jahn's numerous deductions are based on the core assumption, unsupported by any actual evidence, that Padre Martini was a music teacher of Mozart, that the famous contrapuntist must

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<sup>5</sup> Otto Jahn, *Life of Mozart*, Novello, Londra 1882, vol. I, p. 126: «A list of sketches in difficult contrapuntal forms, which according to the handwriting belong to this time, must have been studies suggested by Padre Martini. Of peculiar interest is a three-part Miserere for alto, tenor, and bass, with figured Continuo, superscribed Del Sigr. Caval. W. A. Mozart, in Bologna, 1770 (85 K.). It is evidently written under the influence of Allegri's Roman Miserere, generally harmonic, with some few imitative introductory passages, simple and very beautiful. The three last movements, Quoniam, Benigne, Tune acceptabis, are written by another hand, and evidently not composed by Mozart ; the subjects are severer and more simple. Probably Padre Martini wound up the youth's exercises by these movements of his own composition».

have remedied the various shortcomings of the Miserere K.85 and that his own music was more "severe and easier" than that of his alleged pupil. Martini, according to Jahn, wanted to write a easier finale. None of which is supported by any evidence.

Another biographer, Hermann Abert, copied the views of Jahn on the work in his monumental biography of Mozart published in 1919. He too takes it for granted the Miserere KV85 had been composed by Mozart in collaboration with Padre Martini. And this view is still shared today by some scholars.

Nicholas Kenyon for instance wrote in (2006) - «K.85 was written in close collaboration with his teacher Padre Martini in 1770».<sup>6</sup>

Ludwig Kochel (1862) was next. He places KV 85 in to his long awaited catalogue of Mozart's works claiming that it was composed "probably in late July and mid September of 1770 in Bologna, where Mozart had returned after his staying in Rome" (Fig. 1):

**85.**  
**Miserere**  
für Alt, Tenor und Bass, nebst beziffertem Orgelbass.  
Comp. 1770, wahrscheinlich zwischen Ende Juli und Mitte September zu Bologna, wo Mozart von Rom nach Bologna zurückkam. Autograph.

1. Miserere.



11 Tacte. Autogr.

(fig. 1)

His mention of Rome is important because it again links the Miserere of Mozart with that of Gregorio Allegri, the Roman counterpointist, priest and poet (1582-1652). Mozart, according to tradition, is said to have been so impressed by the hearing of the Allegri that he heard it for himself there in April of 1770. So impressed with it that he is said to have miraculously copied it from memory. For this reason he is even said to have composed, 3 months later, another Miserere.

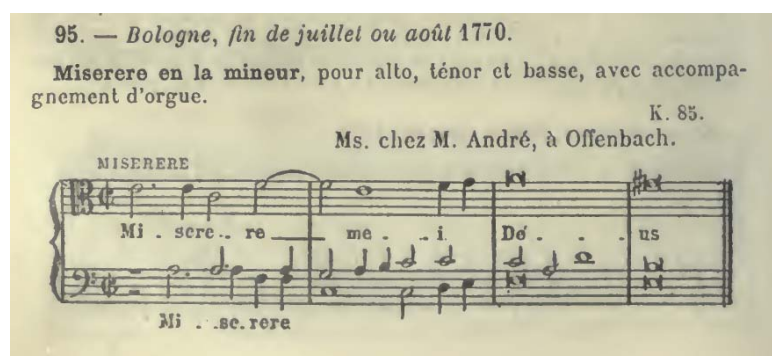
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<sup>6</sup> Nicholas Kenyon, *The Pegasus Pocket Guide to Mozart*, Pegasus, New York 2006, p.272 : «K.85 was written in collaboration with his Bologna teacher Padre Martini in mid-1770».

Musicologists Cliff Eisen and Simon P Keefe (2006) believe these same hypothetical links between Miserere KV85 and that of Allegri. In the 'Cambridge Mozart Encyclopaedia' those two men refer to the strong impression hearing music of the 'old style' must have had on Mozart – «The use of dissonance in the style of the affects and effects of the suspended polyphonic in the Miserere recalls that Miserere which Mozart heard a few months earlier in Rome».<sup>7</sup>

In expressing their opinions they did not rely on specific musical themes with equal intervals, or on precise contrapuntal passages. The criterion for their claim to a similarity are wholly based on style, the "affetti", of various pauses and dissonances, which they used to compare and to prove (to their own satisfaction) links between this music of Mozart and that of the earlier Allegri. Although this approach is far too generic. Since, if we would apply such a rule to countless polyphonic works, we could compare the Miserere of Allegri with virtually all church music of the sixteenth to the late seventeenth centuries.

Eisen and Keefe also dated the Miserere K.85 between July and August of 1770, a few months before the notorious music examination of Mozart in Bologna. But their intuition was the same as that of Wyzewa and Saint-Foix over ninety years before. Since that Polish scholar and that French scholar listed the same Miserere in their own critical biography of Mozart (fig. 2)<sup>8</sup>:



(fig. 2)

<sup>7</sup> Cliff Eisen e Simon P. Keefe, *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*, Cambridge University Press, New York 2006, alla voce "smaller Church works", p. 460. Gli autori parlano qui del Miserere K.85 e poco in là dell'Antifona *Quaerite* [...] K.86, che venne giudicata «con tutti i voti favorevoli [sic]»: «The Accademia then voted unanimously [sic] to accept the fourteen-year-old as a master composer».

<sup>8</sup> Théodore de Wyzewa e Georges de Saint-Foix, *Wolfgang Amédée Mozart: Sa vie musicale et son œuvre*, Perrin, Paris, 1912, vol. 1 p.323.

On closer examination of what both wrote they make reference to an overabundance of clichés (to Mozart's 'genius', 'prodigious memory', etc.), and forced ideas ('we believe', 'by force', etc.) -

«(1 Miserere mei; 2 Amplius lava me 3 Tibi soli; 4 Ecce enim; 5 Auditui meo; 6 Cor mundum ; 7 Redde mihi laetitiam; 8 Libera me).

The autograph of this Miserere (unfinished) has only a statement that it was written in Bologna in 1770, and as shown in the way music is written it is here significantly more homophonic than other religious compositions created in the same period. We want to believe [?] that this Motet was written just shortly before the arrival of the boy to the house of Padre Martini. But in any case the influence of this teacher was beginning to be very visible [?]. This Master taught Mozart not only to concentrate his musical style, but also to reconcile the counterpoint with the expression of it, and to treat it so that musical voices can sing, using all the resources that are their own. From this dual point of view, the Miserere of Bologna shows a great advance in respect to all previous religious compositions by Mozart. It is made of eight small pieces each with its own particular character, according to the expression of words. So that two voices are used with very simple imitation, but already used very flexibly, they sing in canon, two against two or each separately, while the organ provides accompaniment with an unmeasured Bass. This Miserere must necessarily [?] have been influenced by that of Allegri, which Mozart heard and transcribed from memory during his first stay in Rome, but the modern way to convey ideas, and the wealth of modulations, lead it back more directly to the religious style of the Bolognese Master [?]. And all the genius of Mozart already appears there, for example, in the way each piece, each time in a different way, modulates to finish in minor mode. In the manuscript of the Miserere, the last verses of the Psalm, written by another hand and put together in a completely different style, are connected to previous pieces composed by Mozart, but this addition, made to allow the execution of the Miserere, has certainly nothing to do with Mozart».<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> «(1° Miserere mei; 2° Amplius lava me; 3° Tibi soli; 4° Ecce enim; 5° Auditui meo; 6° Cor mundum ; 7° Redde mihi laetitiam; 8° Libera me). *L'autographe de le Miserere (inachevé) porte simplement la mention : à Bologne 1770; et comme l'écriture musicale est ici sensiblement plus homophone que dans les autres compositions religieuses de la même période, nous croirions volontiers que ce motet a dû être écrit fort peu de temps après l'arrivée de l'enfant auprès du P. Martini. Mais, en tout cas, l'influence de ce maître commence déjà à être très visible : elle apprend à Mozart non seulement à serrer le style musical, mais aussi à concilier le contrepoint avec l'expression, et à le traiter en vue des voix chantantes, en tenant compte des ressources propres à celles-ci. A ce double point de vue, le Miserere de Bologne- atteste un très grand progrès sur toutes les compositions religieuses précédentes de Mozart. Il est fait de huit petits morceaux dont chacun a une physionomie propre, en rapport avec l'expression des paroles. Tantôt les voix se bornent à moduler, avec des imitations très simples, mais déjà très souples; tantôt elles chantent en canon, deux contre deux ou chacune séparément, pendant que l'orgue les accompagne sur une basse chiffrée. Ce Miserere n'est pas non plus sans se ressentir de celui d'Allegri, que Mozart a entendu et transcrit de mémoire pendant son premier séjour à Rome : mais l'allure plus « moderne » des idées, et la richesse des modulations, le rattachent bien plus directement au style religieux du maître bolognaise. Et tout le génie de Mozart nous apparaît déjà, par exemple, dans la manière dont chacun des morceaux, toujours d'une façon différente, module pour finir en mineur. Sur le manuscrit du Miserere, les derniers versets du psaume, écrits d'une autre main et composés dans un tout autre style, sont collés à la suite des morceaux composés par Mozart : mais cette addition, faite pour permettre l'exécution du Miserere, n'a sûrement rien à voir avec l'oeuvre de Mozart».*

So Théodore de Wyzewa and Georges de Saint-Foix are confident in saying this work was written shortly before the arrival of the boy at Padre Martini, that the influence of this master was already very visible and that this Miserere must necessarily [?] be proof of the influence of Allegri. And yet, only a few pages later, they confuse a genuine piece of Late Renaissance music with a far more modern one (K.44), and also confuse the Antiphon made by Martini with that of Mozart (K.86).

Hermann Abert, in considering the truth behind the story of the Misere by Allegri (in which Mozart is assumed to have composed his own to match him) believe the stylistic appearance of the music supports that story. But he merely repeats what Jahn, Kochel, Saint Fox and others have already said and agrees with their analysis.

KV85, to Abert, is a work written 'under the evident influence of Allegri', but still more that of Padre Martini ! However, he says the work is greater than Mozart's previous religious works, is written more freely, and in some aspects is more personally expressed. It is also the first example of a more contrapuntal style and it provides proof of a rapidly evolving technique. This born, he says, under the schooling of Martini and clearly based on his style [?].».

And he further agrees that the last three movements were added in another handwriting to that of Mozart -

"are clearly not by Mozart, but perhaps by the same Martini, who also expressed his approval to Mozart in a formal patent».<sup>10</sup>

But the statement made by Abert is simply not true. He clearly does not know the musical style of Martini (having already confused Antiphon K.86 by Mozart with that version supplied to him by Martini). Nor does he seem to know the old style (where he again confuses a late Renaissance piece with music by Mozart K.44). As for the formal certificate which Abert refers to it credits Mozart as a performer not a composer. The text of that certificate clearly saying so -:

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<sup>10</sup> «under Allegri's influence but, more especially, under that of Martini, while towering above all Mozart's earlier sacred works in terms of its freer style and what, in part, is its deeper and more independent expressive language - the first important evidence of a more mature approach to contrapuntal procedures stemming from Martini's teachings and example. The last three movements - a 'Quoniam', 'Benigne and 'Tunc acceptabis\* - are written in another hand and are clearly not by Mozart, but perhaps by Martini himself in an attempt to express his approval by means of a formal example of his own».



*«I the undersigned Martini certify having seen some musical compositions of various styles, and having listened many times to Mozart to play the harpsichord, the violin, and also singing, here recognise Cav. Wolfgang Amadeo Mozart in Salzburg, about 14 years of age, as a Master of Music Room of His excellent Highness the Prince Archbishop Salisburg with my unique admiration, having found that he was versed in each of the mentioned musical abilities, the test having been above all in the playing by giving to him various subjects, and who has his mastery shown in all conditions which the Arts could require. In witness of which I have written this patent and signed it by my own hand»*

More recent authors on the subject have included Massimo Mila in whose monograph on Mozart it is assumed Martini has taught his distinguished student the importance of counterpoint, by inculcating in him the love for the classics from Palestrina to Frescobaldi, since his father's teaching methods were too pedantic. In a florid passage he writes –

*«Mozart learned counterpoint from Martini even analyzing the philosophy inherent to the transition of ideas between teacher and pupil. It is not correct to say Martini teaches counterpoint to Mozart, but shows him instead the possibility of a poetic beauty, without pedantry, which had the effect of the schooling of his father to be made redundant. It is, in short, Mozart's discovery of the classics outside of school requirements. It is also an exquisitely vocal counterpoint of nature, that the old master taught to Mozart in unfolding to him some glimmer of the old Italian school from Palestrina to Frescobaldi, never losing sight of theatrical purposes, and which the little musician wanted to use. So after some tests of religious music, including a good Miserere (K. 85), with highly effective expression, Mozart was about to compose an opera in Milan, 'Mitridate', to which I've dedicated a later chapter]».<sup>11</sup>*

This comment is of course merely a rather obvious example of philosophical eulogy and an aesthetic judgement based on the unproven assumptions of both Jahn and Abert.

From the time of Otto Jahn, these alleged similarities between the 'Miserere' of Mozart and that of Allegri became ever more frequent in print although in terms of the actual music the two pieces really have nothing in common. The only link between them being they both use the same text. Here (Fig. 3) is the actual beginning of the Allegri Miserere in the edition made by Philipp Legge:

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<sup>11</sup> Massimo Mila, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, Edizioni Studio Tesi, Pordenone, 1985, p.31.

Miserere mei, Deus

after Gregorio Allegri  
(1582-1652)  
Edited by Philip Ledger

Psalm 50 Chorus Verse 1  
or, Misere-re

Cantus I  
Misere-re me-i, De-us

Cantus II  
Misere-re me-i, De-us

Altus  
Misere-re me-i, De-us

Tenor  
Misere-re me-i, De-us

Bassus  
Misere-re me-i, De-us

(fig. 3)

And here (Fig. 4) is the opening of the same Miserere today attributed to Mozart in the edition edited by Gustav Nottebohm (1817-1882):

**MISERERE**  
für Alt, Tenor, Bass und mit Begleitung der Orgel  
von  
**W. A. MOZART.**  
Köch. Verz. N<sup>o</sup> 85.

Serie 3. N<sup>o</sup> 8.  
Componirt in Bologna im Jahre 1770.

Mozart's Werke.

Miserere.

Alto.  
Mi-se-re-re me-i, De-us

Tenore.  
Mi-se-re-re me-i, De-us

Basso.  
Mi-se-re-re me-i, De-us

Organo.

(fig. 4)

You can clearly see that Allegri's Miserere has five independent vocal parts, is sung a cappella and is in fact an old fashioned contrapuntal work. While that attributed to Mozart has 3 voices, is accompanied by organ, has a harmonised bass and its whole character is modern. The thematic material between these two is very different as are its rhythmic patterns. In fact the Miserere KV85 has nothing to do with that of Allegri. So the views of Jahn, Koehler, and others that the Miserere KV85 is based upon that of Allegri is a staggering and even colossal absurdity. What sort of integrity exists that would say otherwise ?

Yet Köchel, providing the incipit of the eight sections of the Miserere by Mozart in his catalogue of 1862 insists Mozart is influenced by Allegri, saying it was probably written under the influence of the Miserere [?] which Mozart had listened to in the Sistine Chapel in Rome, rather balanced, with only a few entries in imitation, "easy, but beautiful." His comment was superficial at best because he doesn't clarify what constitutes the alleged influence of Allegri's Miserere on Mozart. When, as we see these two compositions are clearly very different.

(We should take up truck driving, or become chefs, perhaps ? )

Here from Kochel's catalogue are the opening words of the Miserere by Mozart (fig. 5):

2. *Amplius lava me.*  
Am - pli - us  
Am - pli - us, Am - pli - us la - va me 19 Tacte.

3. *Tibi soli peccavi.*  
Ti - bi so - li pec - ca - - - vi et 14 Tacte.

4. *Eccc enim veritatem.*  
Ec - ce e - nim ve - ri - ta - tem 15 Tacte.

5. *Audiat meo.*  
Au - di - tu - i me - o da - -  
Au - di - tu - i me - o da - - bis gau - - 9 Tacte.

6. *Cor mundum.*  
Cor mun - dum 13 Tacte.  
Cor mun - dum cre -

7. *Redde mihi laetitiam.*  
Red - de mi - hi lae - ti - ti - am, lae - ti - ti - am 9 Tacte.  
Red - de mi - hi lae - ti - ti - am

8. *Libera me de sanguinibus.*  
Li - be - ra, li - - be - ra me de san - gui - ni - bus 9 Tacte.

v. Köchel, Mozart Verr. 12

(fig. 5)

He further pointed out in 1862 that the Miserere was an autograph still in the possession of Gust[v] André of New York and that, attached to its four sheets in small oblong format, there was a fifth one in another writing on which somebody had written the last three movements. Saying that the work had been set to music in full but by two different authors.

The first of which, he says, was Mozart, and the second was Martini.

No proof was provided that the second handwriting was really that of Martini. And the fact is today none of the early musicologists who attributed KV85 to Mozart actually knew the musical style of Padre Martini.

But this is the same Ludwig Kochel who had written of the Antifona KV86 when he again confuses the work of Mozart with that of Martini.

It can surely only get better. Alfred Einstein editor of the 3rd Edition of the Kochel Catalogue decides to re-number the Miserere KV85 and also adjusts the date of its supposed composition between late July and early August 1770. Since the same Einstein came to know that on a copy of it held by Johann Anton André is a written remark made by Heinrich Enkel that «the last three movements were written by André himself in April of 1840».<sup>12</sup>

All of the above hypothesis prove that claims of similarity between KV85 and the work of Allegri collapse if we actually compare the two works. And the hypothesis that Martini wrote the concluding movements of KV85 are also shown to be false, as is stated by Enkel. We may state clearly that the attribution to Mozart of this work KV85 relies today on the fact that the Miserere is an autograph and that Wolfgang has written upon it "Miserere a tre del Sig [no] re Caval [aliere] W [olfgang] A [madeus] Mozart".

It must surely be obvious that such attributions are dangerous when they start from the wrong basis and are even more deceptive when we consider that a frequently repeated and baseless hypothesis must be real. It is surely best to leave room for doubt. As we will see here. Time after time this is proved to be so. And especially here with error after error on this piece:

The considered experts in Mozart not only took 'Cibavit' (a piece written around 1600) as a piece by Mozart and have even confused the Antifona provided to Mozart by Martini (KV86) with one made by Mozart himself. (A version excluded from many textbooks as already seen). The shocking fact is these documentary facts were already recorded in the mid 19th century but formed no part of Mozart literature. Even the 3 movements added to KV 85 around 1840 (which were first said to belong to Martini) have been proved not to be his. And now we learn the official attribution comes from those who have no knowledge of 18th century church music..

Nor of Martini's style. And so it goes on.

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<sup>12</sup> NMA, *ibid.*, p.37.

In 1939 a new copy of the Miserere KV85 (a work still being attributed to Mozart) was discovered and published by R. Glass. The hope at the time was that this new discovery would be the fully composed work. But it proved to be only another copy of the same unfinished Miserere K.85, one written by an anonymous hand. From the description we see within the NMA critical edition of Mozart the oblong paper written on Recto there lacks any text for the voices to sing it. The paper itself was certainly quite old. The first autograph of the Miserere did not clarify whether this second document was written on an older paper than itself.

The facsimile of this new copy was also published in 1939 in the newspaper "Die Zeit" of Reichenberg. A magazine which was supposed to give details of a study of the manuscript. But no philological work was done. And this version of the Miserere was retouched by photomontage for the newspaper.

In 1950 Ernst Hess examined the handwriting of the first version of this Miserere, which is considered to be an autograph of Wolfgang. But Hess noticed that in fact its author was not actually Wolfgang but Leopold Mozart ! From which it became clear that Amadeus's father had simply copied the music, had titled it in on the centre of the first page "Miserere a tre" had added the place and date: «Del Sig[no]r Caval[iere] W[olfgang] A[madeus] Mozart, in Bologna, 1770». Then came Alan Tyson. Who stated that the paper used by Leopold Mozart had used was purchased in Italy in early 1770 since it could be found in other works written in Rome and Lodi. In the watermark can be seen the encircled letters 'PA', topped with a shamrock with the letters "Bmo" (ie Bergamo)<sup>13</sup>.

But nobody at Neue Mozart-Ausgabe seems to have asked why the Miserere K.85 is unfinished, or why these two manuscript copies "of the Knight Mozart" are in a similar state of completion though the text is lacking from one. (fig. 6):

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<sup>13</sup> «The most important exception is a paper that he bought in Italy early in 1770; it is found in the first three movements of the string quartet K.80(73f), written at Lodi on 15 March, in the "Conradanza" K.123(73g), written at Rome about 14 April, and probably also in the two minuets K.61g. The watermarks shows the letters PA in a circle, surmounted by a trefoil, and with the letters BMo (= Bergamo) under it; the TS is 144.5-145 mm. The same paper was used by Leopold Mozart for copying the Miserere K.85(73s), dated "Bologna 1770," and for transcriptions of some works by Ernst Ebcrlin (K6chel\ Anh. A 82,83,84,85). Of three further papers in Klein-Querformat scores—those of the minuet K.122 (73t), the fragmentary tenor aria K.71, and the seven minuets K.61b—the first two were almost certainly bought in Italy in the spring of 1770; the third, however, is dated "26 January 1769" and is probably a "Salzburg" paper.»

## 6. „Miserere“

für Alt, Tenor, Baß und Orgel

KV 85 (739)

Miserere Entstanden Bologna, Ende Juli oder Anfang August 1770

The image shows a musical score for 'Miserere' by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. It consists of four staves: Alto, Tenore, Basso, and Organo. The lyrics are: 'Mi - se - re - re me - i, De - - - us, se -'. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. The Alto part is in treble clef, Tenore in alto clef, Basso in bass clef, and Organo in bass clef. The Organo part has figured bass notation below it.

(fig. 6)

The confusion, errors and false statements on this one piece are all too typical and it is time for us to state again that the Miserere KV 85 has nothing to do with the music of Allegri nor Martini. So how is it possible to prove it is by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart?

There remains only the name of Wolfgang Amadeus wrote at the top on the right in the manuscript, but this is not enough to say that the piece is his. We need more data to consolidate this hypothesis.

And what happened to the original of the Miserere just mentioned, which Leopold himself has been shown to have copied? Who was the composer of that? When, if ever, was it performed? Why is it not referred to in family correspondence of the time? Or other documents? How is it credible that Wolfgang has composed a piece according to ancient rules of counterpoint which he had yet to learn? These and a dozen other questions must be addressed.

It is further obvious to anyone who has examined the subject of Mozart that the name given on a musical manuscript does not always coincide with its true composer.

Take an example. The Symphony KV81 is signed 'del Signor Cavaliere Wolfgango Amadeo Mozart» in the manuscript copy held at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, but is attributed to «di Leopold Mozart» in the manuscript copy held at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

And this applies not only to Mozart. The concerto for organ by Bach BWV 596 was once considered a composition of his son because it bears on its first page the name of WF Bach: «di W.F. Bach».<sup>14</sup>

Again the transcription of Bach's Concerto op. 3 No 11 by Antonio Vivaldi "has reached us through an autograph manuscript passed through the hands of one of the most musically trained children of Bach,

<sup>14</sup> «di W.F. Bach manu mei patris decriptum».

Wilhelm Friedemann, who had written on the first page of his father's autograph the following notation 'di WF Bach. "... The autograph itself was finally published in 1844 by Griepenkerl but as a work by Wilhelm Friedemann (ed. Peters, Leipzig)».

Again -

«It was believed, and the error was committed for a long time, that "di" ("by") would indicate the author and not, as they clarify, the possessor of the manuscript».<sup>15</sup>

«For its exceptional beauty the above concerto was immediately considered to be by JS Bach. Finally in 1910 Ludwig Schittler confirmed that it was actually a Concerto op. 3 No 11 by Antonio Vivaldi. This belated recognition caused minor consequences: It was established the author (implied) was Antonio Vivaldi, Johann Sebastian Bach having been its arranger, and Wilhelm Friedmann Bach the actual holder of the manuscript. This belated recognition had minor consequences: among other things, the concerto had not been included either in the Peters edition of the complete works for organ by Bach, nor in volumes of Bach's complete works».<sup>16</sup>

Returning to the subject, Leopold Mozart wrote "di Mozart" on the exam Antifona made for his son by Padre Martini, before taking the manuscript with him to Salzburg (see Chapter I). Similarly, he wrote "Mozart" on that Antifona K.85. In both cases, the use of the surname "Mozart's" probably means nothing more than "a [property for the use] of Mozart".

«Del Sig[nor] Cav[alier] Gio[vanni] Amadeo Wolfgango Mozart fatta per l'ingresso nella Accademia de Filarmonici ».

This interpretation is again reinforced by the fact that the title "Miserere" is centered at the top, while that of "Mozart" is on the right.

A person's name being added to the copy of a concerto by Bach BWV 596, or to a copy of the Symphony in D major, K.81, or to the K.86 Antifona and so on (to limit numerous examples to compositions to those I have commented), all serve to illustrate the owner of the manuscript and not to identify the composer of the music within it.

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<sup>15</sup> Alberto Basso, *Frau Musica*, EDT, Torino 1979, vol II p. 459.

<sup>16</sup> Alberto Basso, *ibid.*, p. 460.

Karl Gustaph Fellerer rightly argued that this work, the Miserere K.85/73s was in fact only a "copy" of some old Italian work that had been reproduced by Mozart in antique style.<sup>17</sup> Despite all of the evidence KV.85 is not a piece composed by Wolfgang there will always be those who will want to believe otherwise. Yet even if the music is anonymous it would always be beautiful music, with or without the name of Amadeus Mozart. It has in all probability been labelled 'Mozart' for all of this time because it sells more records and because it was used to create the legendary story of his childhood talents and achievements -

«However it was still believed to be an authentic work of Wolfgang's and was retained in the main section of K6 and in the Neue Mozart-Ausgabe».<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> citato da Dennis Pajot, "Mozart's Miserere in a-minor K85/73s", Mozartforum 2004, [http://www.mozartforum.com/VB\\_forum/showthread.php?t=3236](http://www.mozartforum.com/VB_forum/showthread.php?t=3236).

<sup>18</sup> citato da Dennis Pajot, *ibid.*: «*However it was still believed to be an authentic work of Wolfgang's and retained in the main section of K6 and Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*».