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Media Aesthetics: Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* and its Circulation
in the Long Eighteenth Century

by

Jonathan P. Meci

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Nicholas Mathew, Chair

Professor James Davies

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Abstract

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This dissertation takes as its starting point Clifford Siskin and William Warner's recent contention that the Enlightenment is best understood as "an event in the history of mediation," specifically the "proliferation" of "new and newly important" media that "establish the conditions for the possibility of Enlightenment." Media for the circulation of music likewise proliferated during this period, resulting in the unprecedented mobility and iterability of musical works. Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*, as one of the most celebrated and copiously mediated works of the eighteenth century, offers a unique entry point into this changing mediascape and the effects of media proliferation on music discourse. By following Pergolesi's *Stabat* on its global peregrinations, this dissertation surveys society's evolving relationship with new musical media, how these media became naturalized in different places, how different media interfaced with each other and how media proliferation reshaped generations of listeners' musical experiences.

The first three chapters serve as archaeologies of three media particularly enmeshed in the reception of Pergolesi's *Stabat*. Chapter 1 focuses on the Neapolitan conservatory system, the medium through which the musical style that characterizes the *Stabat* was distilled and transmitted to Pergolesi along with his fellow students. Not only did the conservatory system serve as a medium for the transmission of Neapolitan style, but it was also crucial in fostering a musical diaspora that enabled Neapolitan music to traverse the Alps and spread across Europe. The second chapter examines Lenten public concerts and the new concert societies that reorganized local and supralocal sociabilities around musical performance. Originating in a symbiotic relationship with the opera season, these concerts became a new media format in their own right. By the end of the century, most cities in Europe had experimented with some form of "spiritual concert" and many concert organizations had also experimented with at least semi-annual performances of Pergolesi's *Stabat*. (A short intermezzo between this and the next chapter looks at the influence of Pergolesi's example on other *Stabat* settings, exploring how composers managed Pergolesi's legacy through reference and allusion). The third chapter follows a

parallel media development to that of the second chapter: the emergence of the new genre of composer biography. The popularity of Pergolesi's music and the misfortune of his early death drove interest in his life. Biography offered writers and readers an opportunity to use the character of Pergolesi to (re)imagine musical communication, musical labor and musical history in ways that addressed music's increasing mobility and iterability.

In the process of excavating these media forms, a reoccurring theme is the material underpinning of the *Stabat's* exceptional and novel fame. Contemporary writers heaped praise on the expressivity of the *Stabat*. Rather than demonstrating the origin of this unparalleled expressivity in the music itself, the reception of the *Stabat* strongly indicates that its vaunted ability to depict and illicit feeling was nothing less than the sum of the sentimental valences that accrued around the work in the process of its constant mediation. The mediacy of the work, stemming from the peculiarities of Neapolitan style, allowed it to accumulate sentimental meaning, while allowing it to factor conspicuously in aesthetic debates concerning music's new mobility and iterability. Its early entrance into cosmopolitan circulation, though, ensured an ambiguous position in discourses surrounding notions of progress, emergent nationalism, ideas of canon formation as well as concerns over sacred music's religious propriety and music's gradual commercialization. The final chapter investigates the aesthetics of media saturation, just as the first three explore those of media proliferation. With the naturalization of once new media, the currency of the *Stabat's* mediacy became devalued, initiating a decline in prestige. But even as the *Stabat's* European reputation waned, media proliferation into Europe's colonies brought the *Stabat* into contact with non-European music, prompting a clash between competing aesthetic values.

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INTRODUCTION

CHARRIÈRE'S *CALISTE*

No one was ever allowed to stay up with her [Caliste]. I had wanted to sleep in her room, but she told me that it would be too bothersome. Fanny's bed was only separated from hers by a partition that easily opened without noise: at the slightest movement Fanny awoke and gave her mistress something to drink. The last nights I took her place, not because she complained of being constantly awoken, but because the poor girl no longer could listen to that voice so weak, that breath so short without breaking into tears. This certainly did not cause me less pain than her; but I can contain myself better. Before yesterday, although Mrs. M*** [Caliste] was more oppressed, & and more agitated than usual, she wanted to have her Wednesday concert as usual; but she was not able to sit at the harpsichord. She had performed pieces from the *Messiah* of Handel, from a Miserere that someone had sent her from Italy, and from the *Stabat mater* of Pergolesi...

After several moments, her hands met and her eyes looked up to heaven, she sunk into her chair and closed her eyes. I asked her, seeing her very weak, if she wanted me to stop the music, she made a sign to me in the negative, & recovered herself again to thank me for what she called my goodness. The piece finished, the musicians tiptoed out, believing that she slept, but her eyes were closed forever.

So died your Caliste; some will say like a pagan, others like a saint; but the cries of her servants, the tears of the poor, the consternation of the whole neighborhood, & the sadness of a husband who thought he should be pitied, speak better than words to what she was.¹

¹ "On ne l'a jamais veillée. J'aurois voulu coucher dans sa chambre, mais elle me dit que cela la gêneroit. Le lit de Fanny n'étoit séparé du sien que par une cloison qui s'ouvroit sans effort & sans bruit: au moindre mouvement Fanny se réveillait & donnoit à boire à sa maîtresse. Les dernières nuits je pris sa place, non qu'elle se plaignît d'être trop souvent réveillée, mais parce que la pauvre fille ne pouvoit plus entendre cette voix si affoiblie, cette haleine si courte sans fonder en larmes. Cela ne me faisoit certainement pas moins de peine qu'à elle; mais je me contraignois mieux. Avant hier, quoique Mrs. M*** fût plus opprimée, & plus agitée qu'auparavant, elle voulut avoir son concert du mercredi comme à l'ordinaire; mais elle ne put se mettre au clavessin. Elle fit exécuter des morceaux du *Messiah* de Hendel, d'un Miserere qu'on lui avoit envoyé d'Italie, & du *Stabat Mater* de Pergolese...

Après avoir eu quelques momens les mains jointes & les yeux levés au ciel elle s'est enfoncée dans son fauteuil, & a fermé les yeux. Je lui ai demandé, la voyant très-foible, si elle vouloit que je fisse cesser la musique, elle m'a fait signe que non, & a retrouvé encore des forces pour me remercier de ce qu'elle appelloit mes bontés. La pièce finie, les

In the final letter of Isabelle de Charrière's novel *Caliste, ou Lettres écrites de Lausanne* (1787), the husband of the eponymous heroine recounts her death for her former love, William. William's father had forbidden his son's marriage to Caliste because of her career as a singer and actress, forcing Caliste into a marriage of convenience to save her reputation. As a final act of respect towards Caliste, her husband informs William of her demise, knowing that he never supplanted William in her affections. In most respects, the narration of her last hours follows the conventions of late eighteenth-century fiction. Though Caliste's association with the stage denies her the purity of many literary heroines of the period, the tears, cries and other affective tropes of the scene were familiar. What makes this death scene atypical, however, is the inclusion of specific musical pieces among the usual inarticulate expressions of grief and suffering. While scenes of music-making were not uncommon in eighteenth-century novels, it was unusual for an author to be so particular about the musical soundtrack.

Tili Boon Cuillé regards Caliste's death as an example of a literary "musical tableau" – a depiction of musical performance in literature, which allows the author to explore the emotional experiences of characters through another performer-audience dynamic.² Cuillé calls Charrière's particular musical choices "purely religious," but it is far from obvious that her contemporaries would have regarded Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* – the last piece Caliste hears before her death – in this way. Not only did it combine a sacred text with music thought by many critics to belong more to the sphere of the theater, but, especially by the time of Charrière's novel, it was performed in secular concert spaces as least as frequently as places of worship. It is not outlandish to assume that Charrière sought to reemphasize Caliste's ambiguous moral position – between heretic and saint, performer and respectable woman – by associating her with a composition that occupied a similarly ambiguous position in eighteenth-century musical culture, between secular entertainment and sacred exaltation. Most, if not all, consumers of this novel would have been familiar with the *Stabat*, as well as a critical reception that emphasized its dolorous expressivity. Charrière may have wished to invite parallels between the death of Caliste and the Passion, the suffering of Mary – or even Pergolesi's own premature death, stories of which circulated in abundance during this period. In other words, the *Stabat* invited the reader into a

musiciens sont sortis sur la pointe des pieds, croyant qu'elle dormoit, mais ses yeux étoient fermés pour toujours.

Ainsi a fini votre Caliste; les uns diront comme une payenne, les autres comme une sainte; mais les cris de ses Domestiques, les pleurs des pauvres, la consternation de tous le voisinage, & la douleur d'un mari qui croyoit avoir à se plaindre, disent mieux que de paroles ce qu'elle étoit." Isabelle de Charrière, *Caliste, ou suite des lettres écrites de Lausanne*, Vol. 2 (Geneva; Paris: Prault, 1788), 146-7.

² Tili Boon Cuillé, *Narrative Interludes: Musical Tableaux in Eighteenth-Century French Texts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 130-143. For Cuillé, such musical tableaux demonstrate a growing appreciation among French writers of the affective possibilities of musical performance, beyond serving as a mere pretext for seduction.

promiscuous world of shared feeling mediated by music – a world made newly possible by the proliferation of texts, paratexts and other media.

Charrière's invocation of the *Stabat* was thus not just a passing reference to a well-known piece of music, but part of a meta-, trans- and intertextual musical tableau rich with connotation. This tableau relied upon a network of new media that made Pergolesi's *Stabat* one of the most widely distributed and frequently performed compositions of the eighteenth century. In the half century or so between Pergolesi's composition of the *Stabat* and the publication of Charrière's novel, the proliferation of new musical media made musical pieces more mobile and more iterable than had ever been previously possible. The *Stabat* was a piece that many of Charrière's readers may well have heard in a concert, read about in a newspaper or purchased from a music retailer. Charrière's novel arrived at the apogee of Pergolesi's and the *Stabat*'s fame – and towards the end of a process of radical media transformation that reshaped the musical life of Europe and its colonies. The sheer extent of the *Stabat*'s fame was, as Helmut Hucke and Dale Monson have put it, "a new phenomenon in music history."³ The contours of this fame and drastically reordered Enlightenment mediascape that made this fame possible are the subject of this dissertation.

MUSIC AND MEDIA IN THE LONG EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the introduction to their polemical volume of essays *This is Enlightenment*, Clifford Siskin and William Warner posit the Enlightenment as "an event in the history of mediation," specifically the "proliferation" of "new and newly important" media that "establish the conditions for the possibility of Enlightenment."⁴ These media constituted the material preconditions of the discourses, ideas and social movements that scholars have traditionally associated with the Enlightenment. Siskin and Warner parse the media proliferations that characterize their Enlightenment "event" into four categories, or "cardinal mediations:" "new infrastructures" that "enabled the transmission and communication of information;" "new genres and formats" of "print and speech;" "new associational practices" that brought people together around shared interests and projects; and "new protocols," rules or principles governing communication.⁵ This "quantitative" approach to the Enlightenment seeks to overcome the well-rehearsed limits of "qualitative" approaches, which define the Enlightenment as a revolution (or evolution) in thought or culture. Notably, their revision does not alter the conventional periodization of the European Enlightenment – from roughly the 1730s through the 1780s – only the parameters according to which this period should be circumscribed.⁶ The change from "media proliferation" to "media saturation" signals, for these authors, the Enlightenment's

³ Helmut Hucke and Dale E. Monson, "Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista," *Grove Music Online*, accessed Dec. 7, 2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

⁴ Clifford Siskin and William Warner, "This is Enlightenment: An Invitation in the Form of an Argument," in *This is Enlightenment*, edited by Siskin and Warner (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 1, 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 12-15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

terminus, as the sheer ubiquity of once-new media at once naturalizes the forms of knowledge and knowing that it permits, and shapes the lives of people distant from those who use and adapt these media forms.⁷

For the purposes of my project, “media” refers to the material and formal means of communicating ideas, knowledge, goods, people, and so on across geographic and temporal distances with an awareness, as Lisa Gitelman reminds us, that media are also always “socially realized structures.”⁸ It is uncontroversial to observe that the eighteenth century witnessed a proliferation of new media for the circulation of musicians, listeners, compositions and discourse around musical practices. Music made use of many of the same infrastructures that conveyed myriad other ideas, goods and people around Europe. But the period also saw the proliferation of specifically musical media. New “voluntary associations,” for example, organized the performance of music before ever-larger audiences. While opera companies and a handful of concert-giving organizations existed during the seventeenth century, the size and number of both increased dramatically during the eighteenth century. Traveling opera troupes and, more importantly, concert societies brought music making into smaller urban centers that could not support permanent opera theaters. These societies took many institutional and commercial forms, from the fully ticketed and professionally managed Parisian Concert Spirituel to the small-town collegium musicum operated by and for the enjoyment of local amateurs. By the end of the century, most of these societies had reformulated their organizational protocols enough to allow for the selective participation of non-members, acknowledging something like a “public.” Such organizations all offered new opportunities to participate in the performance, discussion and enjoyment of music. They also provided the institutional infrastructures through which music attained a greater degree of circulation and repetition than ever before.

Print takes center stage in Siskin and Warner's re-telling of the Enlightenment story, as it will here. Before the eighteenth century, most publications on music addressed only practical or theoretical concerns: specialized technical knowledge about composition and performance or specialized scientific knowledge about sound and sounding bodies. During the eighteenth century, however, an avalanche of new literary genres and formats mobilized music to understand human sensation, reason, ethics and sociability – to understand music as a human practice. The music history, the music travelogue, and the musician biography gave music a cultural past and a cultural geography – and they inherited in newly mobile and malleable formats, such as the music periodical. These new genres and formats reshaped what it was to know music. Print – in the form of concert programs, advertisements, critical reviews, tickets, etc. – was also critical in supporting the institutional infrastructures of concert life. Technological and commercial innovations, in kind, dramatically increased the amount of published music circulating during the century,

⁷ Ibid., 19-21.

⁸ Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 7.

reducing its price and widening its distribution.⁹ Though publishing never rivaled manuscript copying in terms of sheer production volume, by the end of the period, music publications were “no longer collectors items but musical commodities” circulating in an international marketplace and played a disproportionate, but by no means definitive, role in defining what constituted a musical “work.”¹⁰

WHY PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*?

This dissertation is conceived as a kind of it-narrative, those “curious records of British society's relationship with its material environment” in which an inanimate, but sentient, material object narrates its travels as it gets passed from person to person.¹¹ By following Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* on its global peregrinations, I seek to survey the musical media landscape of the eighteenth century and to understand society's evolving relationship with these new musical media. As a form of media archaeology, this approach not only allows me to explore how new musical media became naturalized in different places, but how new media created networks that extended across state, ethnic and linguistic boundaries. In this respect, I offer a cosmopolitan reading of eighteenth-century music culture in contrast to the localism and lingering nationalisms that still structure most studies of the period. My approach also allows me to explore the protocols by which different media forms and formats (concerts, printing and publishing) interacted with one another.

Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* is ideal for such a study in part because its unprecedented mediacy generated a substantial, diverse and global material archive. There were few limits to its fame during the eighteenth century. It was fêted by Parisian *philosophes* and performed by Moravian collegia musica on the Pennsylvanian frontier. It was translated, sometimes repeatedly, into multiple languages (German, Swedish, Danish, English, Russian) and creatively adapted for liturgical use by musicians working across several different denominations. Programs, libretti, advertisements and private letters document performances from Stockholm to Rome, from Lisbon to St. Petersburg and beyond into Europe's colonies. It has been claimed as the most published single musical composition of the century, with scores printed, sometimes repeatedly, in London, Paris, Leipzig and Copenhagen.¹² Undoubtedly it was also one of the most copied as well, with hundreds of extant manuscript copies attesting to its distribution, from noble estates outside Moscow to

⁹ For a history of music publishing with the eighteenth century at its center, see Rudolf Rasch (ed.), *Music Publishing in Europe 1600-1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography* (Berlin: BWV, 2005).

¹⁰ Axel Beer, “Composers and Publishers: Germany 1700-1830,” in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600-1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, edited by Rasch (Berlin: BWV, 2005), 171.

¹¹ Mark Blackwell, “Introduction: The It-Narrative and Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory,” in *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England*, edited by Blackwell (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2007), 12.

¹² Hucce and Monson. For a chart of publications of Pergolesi's *Stabat* that appeared during the time period covered by this dissertation, see Appendix II.

the Durango Cathedral in New Spain, from Uppsala University to the personal collection of Julije Bajamonti (a doctor, writer, organist and composer active in Split).¹³ Manuscripts fold in seemingly “peripheral” areas into a broader narrative by documenting the permeation of new media beyond the most frequently studied locales. Aside from performances or textual inscriptions, the *Stabat* appeared frequently in associated discourses. Authors from geographically disparate areas referenced the *Stabat* in musical and non-musical, imaginative and factual genres: philosophical tomes, travelogues, reference dictionaries, music treatises, poems and novels, such as *Caliste*.

Perhaps more than any other composer and any other piece of the era, Pergolesi and the *Stabat* were artifacts of the media that circulated them. The *Stabat*'s composition, towards the end of the Pergolesi's short life, coincided with the beginning of Siskin and Warner's periodization of the Enlightenment. But when Pergolesi died in 1736, he would have had barely any knowledge of or exposure to the media forms that would eventually carry his name and his music across the world. After a career that spanned a mere five years, Pergolesi's reputation did not extend far beyond Naples, the city in which he received his musical education. He died without leaving any pupils, family members, letters, publications or even a portrait to serve as a material bridge between his life and his posthumous reputation.¹⁴ The tragedy of his early demise, though, fueled a belated surge of interest in his music, which improbably morphed into hagiography. Interested parties across Europe began augmenting, appropriating and mythologizing composer and oeuvre to their own ends. Market-savvy publishers and impresarios capitalized on his reputation by publishing and producing his music, frequently enlarging his meager catalogue of original compositions with forgeries. (The quantity and durability of their misattributions are attested to by the first attempt at a Pergolesi *Opera omnia* (1939-42), currently believed to comprise roughly 80% forged or misattributed material.)¹⁵ Just as compilers posthumously exaggerated his oeuvre, so his biography was embellished and romanticized; audiences became acquainted with his music and critics found in his foreshortened life a tabula rasa on which to project their own theories of expression, genius, national style, religious propriety, musical labor and so forth. While much twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarship has successfully separated truth from untruth in Pergolesi's biography,

¹³ Appendix I contains a chart of manuscript copies of Pergolesi's *Stabat* plausibly datable to the period covered by this dissertation. See there MSS in RUS-SPit, MEX-Dc, S-Uu and HR-Zha. For the context of the MS in the Sheremetev family collection, see R.-Aloys Mooser, *Annales de la musique et des musiciens en Russie au XVIII^e siècle*, Vol. 2 (Geneva: Mont-Blanc, 1951), 856-7. For the context of the Durango MS, see Drew Edward Davies, “The Italianized Frontier: Music at Durango Cathedral, *Español* Culture, and The Aesthetics of Devotion in Eighteenth-Century New Spain” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2006), 503.

¹⁴ The only verifiable portrait of the composer produced during his lifetime is the caricature by Pier Leone Ghezzi. This caricature, showing the composer to have been perhaps deformed from childhood illness, contrasts strongly to the idealized, youthful portraits produced by artists during the nineteenth century.

¹⁵ Barry S. Brook, “Pergolesi: Vindication after 250 Years,” *The Musical Times* 127:1717 (Mar., 1986), 141.

much remains conjectural, including the circumstances surrounding the composition of the *Stabat*. For the most part, though, I will treat the beliefs of successive generations of Pergolesi's listeners as facts in their own right and not as fantasies to be disproven by scholars armed with the tools of modern historiography.

Gitelman reminds us that media history "can offer a methodological detour around the aesthetic in order to make the multiple conditions of its cultic status (that is, aesthetic value) more clear."¹⁶ Critical praise of Pergolesi's *Stabat* centered most of all on its expressivity, its capacity to depict and illicit emotion. Though evaluated in language generally derived from the remnants of Aristotelian mimesis and seventeenth-century affect theory, the *Stabat*'s influence over listeners placed considerable strain on existing critical tools and aesthetic beliefs. Instead, I will argue in this dissertation that the *Stabat*'s power can only be adequately understood according to a new "media aesthetics" of sensibility and sentiment. During the eighteenth century, music was understood as a form of what Mary Fairclough, adapting a widespread Humean model, calls "sympathetic communication." It was understood as "a medium of emotions and ideas" perhaps more effective even than spoken language, since it apparently could communicate feelings directly to the human sensorium.¹⁷ New media was sympathy made material, extending the communication pathways of music, bringing it into sonic contact with ever-larger audiences distributed across greater temporal and geographic distances. James Chandler defines sentiment as a feeling "distributed" in precisely this manner: "an emotion that results from social circulation, passion that has been mediated by a sympathetic passage through a virtual point of view."¹⁸ Sentiments are, in this view, inherently mobile and Chandler notes the tendency of literary sentimental figures "to move and to be moved, to travel both in body and in spirit, actually or virtually."¹⁹ Punning on the multiple meanings of "expression," Chandler connects literary sentiment to the "pressing out" of the printing press, making it in effect iterable as much as mobile.²⁰ Mediated sentiments constantly moved or were reproduced along with the *Stabat*. And like new forms of mobile credit, the *Stabat* accumulated emotional "value" as it circulated, gathering up "feeling" as it passed from person to person, medium to medium. The *Stabat*'s expressivity did not reside in "the music itself," but was produced by the relentless accumulation of its many material instantiations. The depth of its expressivity, I argue, was nothing less than the dizzying sum of its many mediations.

Furthermore, within the *Stabat*'s reception, the various resistances to, negotiations around and interests afforded by music's new mobility and iterability become legible. The work often found itself on the frontlines of aesthetic disputes opened up by media proliferation. These debates were part and parcel of the *Stabat*'s fame; the piece was

¹⁶ Gitelman, 154.

¹⁷ Mary Fairclough, *The Romantic Crowd: Sympathy, Controversy and Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 3.

¹⁸ James Chandler, *An Archaeology of Sympathy: The Sentimental Mode in Literature and Cinema* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 12.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, xvii.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 167.

symbolic of new modes of circulation and the piece's continued popularity ensured that it continued to be a common point of reference among audiences and critics. These disputes can be generalized along two axes: ancient-modern and national-cosmopolitan. While the present-day historian encounters difficulty in precisely defining these terms within their diverse eighteenth-century cultural contexts, they were nevertheless invested with broad aesthetic and moral significance beyond mere stylistic markers, and intersected in complex ways with notions of progress, emergent nationalist ideologies, concerns over religious propriety and a mixed trepidation and excitement over music's gradual commercialization. Pergolesi's *Stabat* was part of a wave of Neapolitan-Italian music and musicians that washed over Europe, fundamentally changing the way music sounded, also provoking repeated backlashes against this novel, foreign, interloping style. Neapolitan-Italian style became Europe's musical *lingua franca*, the new, cosmopolitan sound, enrapturing many and disquieting more than a few. Musicologists have for decades been unpacking the ideologies behind these debates, whether it is the political positions of the rival camps during the *Querelles des Bouffons*²¹ or the conservative cultural politics of the English Handel cult.²² The *Stabat*'s ubiquitous but dynamically amorphous position in these debates shows that media proliferation rather than the particular ideologies that it helped to transport, triggered these debates, and that these debates were hardly localized to Britain, France or any other "cultural center," but can be found across Germany, Spain, Scandinavia and colonial spaces that were becoming increasingly connected to Europe.

This dissertation does not attempt to provide a detailed or unified chronology of the *Stabat*'s reception; instead it traces the broad contours of its diffusion, while paying careful attention to how media functioned as "enabling constraints" to new forms of sociability and new patterns of thought elaborated around and through the *Stabat*.²³ The first three chapters are archaeologies of three different musical media forms bound up with the *Stabat*'s reception. The first is the Neapolitan conservatory system in which Pergolesi was trained, a new infrastructure that puts suggestive pressure on Siskin and Warner's periodization. Not only did the conservatories serve as media for the storage and transmission of the Neapolitan style, they were also crucial in fomenting a Neapolitan musical diaspora that allowed Neapolitan music to traverse the Alps and spread across Europe. The second chapter looks at Lenten public concerts and the new forms of "voluntary association" that organized them. Originating in a symbiotic relationship with the opera season, these concerts eventually became media formats in their own right. By the end of the century, nearly every city in Europe had experimented with the form, and many concert organizations had also experimented with at least semi-annual performances of Pergolesi's *Stabat*. (A short intermezzo between the second and third chapters pauses to examine the effect of Pergolesi's exemplar on other *Stabat* settings, exploring how other

²¹ David Charlton, *Opera in the Age of Rousseau: Music, Confrontation, Realism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

²² William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

²³ Siskin and Warner, 14.

composers responded to and managed Pergolesi's legacy through reference and allusion). The third chapter follows a parallel media development to that of the second chapter: the emergence of the new genre of composer biography and autobiography. The popularity of Pergolesi's music and the misfortune of his early death drove interest in his life. Biography offered writers and readers an opportunity to use the character of Pergolesi to reimagine musical communication, musical labor and musical history in ways that addressed music's increasing mobility and iterability. The last chapter addresses Siskin and Warner's concept of media saturation. Rather than regarding it as a static "platform" on which nineteenth-century Romanticism rested, I will show that saturation was as much a process as proliferation, and a process with much chronological variability dependent on local circumstances.²⁴ Unquantifiable, saturation can be traced through the shifting fortunes of the *Stabat* around the turn of the century and its steadily declining prestige during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

This dissertation is thus not about Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*, but about "Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*," a mobile and iterable concept around which a host of ideas, practices, people and material objects accumulated. That is to say, it is about the process by which the piece became a "work" and a "work" understood not as a "regulative" philosophical or theoretical concept, but as a historically-contingent artifact of mediation. Given the technological constraints of eighteenth-century musical media, the musical work became the "thing" that was newly mobile and iterable. It was the basic unit of musical exchange: the vehicle of sentiment, the material form of compositional labor, the entity repeated on concerts and reproduced in scores, as well as the object of various new forms of musical knowledge and criticism. Each of the media forms described above contributed to the *Stabat*'s "workhood," and the *Stabat* was the forerunner of many later "works." Crucially, though, the *Stabat*'s never acquired the fixity that Lydia Goehr once identified as essential to the "regulative work concept."²⁵ Indeed, its adaptability was as important to the dispersion of the *Stabat* as its print-reproduced stability – a basic mutability that proved something of a problem in the nineteenth century, even as it was the very premise of the *Stabat*'s paradigmatic status as an eighteenth-century masterpiece.

²⁴ Clifford Siskin and William Warner, "If This is Enlightenment Then What is Romanticism?," *European Romantic Review* 22:3 (Jun., 2011): 281–291.

²⁵ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

CHAPTER 1: NEAPOLITAN STYLE, EUROPEAN SENSIBILITIES

If I say that the beginning of the *Stabat*, so noble, so touching, so religious, existed before the *Stabat*, in the trios of Corelli, where we did not suspect its august, pathetic and divine character, I will put musicians on the path of the deepest reflections on musical expression, and the secrets of their art.

Michel-Paul Guy de Chabanon, *De la musique considérée en elle-même* (Paris, 1785)¹

De la musique contained many provocative theories on musical expression. Chabanon was among the earliest writers to challenge mimetic notions of music's expressivity and to attempt what he considered an exclusively musical theory of sonic pleasure.² And he frequently turned to Pergolesi's *Stabat* in the process. Pointing out the similarities between the opening of the *Stabat* and Arcangelo Corelli's trio sonatas, Chabanon meant to question the prevalent idea that vocal music derived its emotional efficacy from its relationship to a text. How could audiences, he asked, listen to the "purely symphonic" music of Corelli "with indifference" and the *Stabat* "with transport?"³ Chabanon's observation was perhaps more radical than even he realized. It challenged the very premises of Pergolesi's widely recognized genius. In mobilizing the *Stabat* for his argument, Chabanon drew on established antecedents of aesthetic discourse around the *Stabat*, undergirded by the immense popularity of the piece with eighteenth-century concert audiences. The first movement in particular had been a staple of the Parisian Concert Spirituel since 1753 and had been praised in Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768) as "the most perfect and the most touching [duet] that has ever emerged from the pen of a musician."⁴ Chabanon thus overtly questioned the *Stabat*'s much vaunted ability to touch listeners through its text setting.

Charles Henri de Blainville had made an observation similar to Chabanon's in his *L'Esprit de l'art musical* (Geneva, 1754) where he compared the opening of the *Stabat* to the opening of Corelli's "Christmas" Concerto.⁵ The pieces begin with the same musical

¹ "Si je dis que le début du *Stabat*, si noble, si touchant, si religieux, existoit, avant le *Stabat*, dans les trios de Corelli, où l'on ne soupçonnoit pas son caractère auguste, pathétique & divin, je mettrai les Musiciens sur la voie des réflexions les plus profondes concernant l'expression musicale, & les secrets de leur art." Michel-Paul Guy de Chabanon, *De la musique considérée en elle-même* (Paris: Pissot, 1785), 328.

² John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 169-72.

³ Chabanon, 329.

⁴ "le plus parfait & le plus touchant qui soit sorti de la plume d'aucun Musicien." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: La Veuve Duchesne, 1768), 181.

⁵ Also similar according to Blainville was "Les tems sont arrivés" from *Les elemens*, an opera-ballet by André Cardinal Destouches and Michel-Richard Delalande. See Charles Henri de Blainville, *L'Esprit de l'art musical, ou Réflexions sur la musique et ses différentes*

gesture; a rising chain of suspensions produced through overlapping voices (Music Examples 1.1 & 1.2). Corelli deployed this device regularly in his trio sonatas, and even in the second movement of Op. 8, No. 6 (Music Examples 1.3 & 1.4). Chabanon's and Blainville's perception of a direct path of influence between Corelli and Pergolesi was, of course, more an effect of the distance between these late eighteenth-century French theorizers and their early eighteenth-century Italian subjects. The musical device spotted by both Chabanon and Blainville was commonly used to signify the pain and pathos of the Crucifixion in early eighteenth-century Italian religious music. Antonio Lotti employed it for his eight-voice "Crucifixus" and the "Crucifixus" from the Credo, RV 592, dubiously attributed to Vivaldi, bears a striking resemblance to the opening of the *Stabat* in its contour and texture (Music Examples 1.5 & 1.6).⁶

The image shows a musical score for the first five bars of Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*, No. 1. The score is for four instruments: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Bassoon (B.C.). The tempo is marked "Grave". The key signature has three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The Violin I part features a series of overlapping suspensions. The Violin II and Viola parts are marked "dolce". The Bassoon part is marked "[dolce]" and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

Music Example 1.1: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 1 – “Stabat mater,” bars 1-5.⁷

parties (Geneva: S.n., 1754), 5-6. William Jones of Nayland also connects the opening of the *Stabat* to Corelli: "In the Ninth Period [i.e. suspensions at the ninth] we have a fine series of harmony in the Minor Key. With this Period *Pergolesi* begins the first *Duo* of his *Stabat Mater*, where it is applied with great propriety and effect; but *Corelli* and other Authors had used it before him." See William Jones, *A Treatise on the Art of Music* (Colchester: W. Keymer, 1784), 35.

⁶ Though it has retained its number in the Ryom Verzeichnis, most scholars now doubt its authenticity.

⁷ Score examples for the *Stabat* are based on the critical edition: *Stabat mater*, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Serie VII: Sequenza, edited by Claudio Toscani (Milan: Ricordi; Jesi: Fondazione Pergolesi Spontini, 2012).

Grave

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

B.C.

This musical score is for the first movement of Corelli's Concerto Grosso, Op. 6, No. 8, bars 7-11. It is marked 'Grave' and is in 4/2 time. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The score consists of four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Bassoon/Contrabass (B.C.). The Violin I part features a melodic line with a fermata on the first measure. The Violin II part provides harmonic support with a similar melodic contour. The Viola and B.C. parts play a steady, rhythmic accompaniment.

Music Example 1.2: Corelli, Concerto Grosso, Op. 6, No. 8, Movt. I, bars 7-11.

Violin I

Violin II

B.C.

This musical score is for the third movement of Corelli's Trio Sonata, Op. 3, No. 2, bars 30-6. It is in 3/2 time and has a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score consists of three staves: Violin I, Violin II, and Bassoon/Contrabass (B.C.). The Violin I part has a melodic line with a fermata on the first measure. The Violin II part plays a similar melodic line. The B.C. part provides a steady accompaniment.

Music Example 1.3: Corelli, Trio Sonata, Op. 3, No. 2, Movt. III, bars 30-6.

Violin I
(solo)

Violin II
(solo)

Violoncello
(solo)

This musical score is for the second movement of Corelli's Concerto Grosso, Op. 6, No. 8, bars 8-11. It is in 3/2 time and has a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score consists of three staves: Violin I (solo), Violin II (solo), and Violoncello (solo). The Violin I part has a melodic line with a fermata on the first measure. The Violin II part plays a similar melodic line. The Violoncello part plays a steady accompaniment.

Music Example 1.4: Corelli, Concerto Grosso, Op. 6, No. 8, Movt. II, bars 8-11.

Soprano I
 Soprano II
 Alto I
 Alto II
 Tenor I
 Tenor II
 Bass I
 Bass II

Cru - ci -
 Cru - ci - fi -
 Cru - ci - fi - - -
 Cru - ci - fix - - - xus
 Cru - ci - fi - - - - - - - - xus

Music Example 1.5: Lotti, “Crucifixus,” bars 1-11

S I
Cru - ci - fi - - - xus

S II
Cru - ci - fi - - - - - xus

A I
Cru - ci - fi - - xus cru - ci - fi - - xus

A II
fi - - - xus cru - ci - fi - - xus

T I
- xus cru - - - ci - fi - - - xus

T II
- xus - - - cru - ci - fi - xus

B I
cru - - - ci - fi - xus cru - ci - fi - xus

B II
cru - - - ci - - - fi - - - - - xus

Music Example 1.5 (cont.): Lotti, "Crucifixus"

[Grave]

Music Example 1.6: “Vivaldi,” Credo, RV 592, No. 3 – “Crucifixus,” bars 1-8.⁸

But while each voice of Lotti’s “Crucifixus” and the opening of Corelli’s concerto enters articulating a unique layer of grief, the Pergolesi, “Vivaldi” and other Corelli examples show that the device over time had become stylized, abstracted and even formulaic as a pattern of dissonances are prepared and resolved in nearly identical fashion.⁹ This musical gesture was in fact so common that, among musicians in the know, it had a name. In various Italian manuscripts, including the *zibaldone* of the young Domenico Cimarosa, it was referred to as “caminare di 2a e 3a.”¹⁰

“Walking by seconds and thirds” referred principally to the upper parts; different harmonies could be articulated by the walking bass lines that usually supported the higher voices. Here, Pergolesi drew on precedent as well. When one strips away the stock diminutions that ornament each of the primary bass notes, one can see that Pergolesi constructed the opening from a common pattern for harmonizing bass lines ascending by step (with some embellishments) (Music Example 1.7). This pattern, including the use of suspensions, appears for example in Fedele Fenaroli’s *Regole musicali* (Naples, 1775) as one of his suggested “movimenti” (Music Example 1.8). Through this “movimento” we can more

Music Example 1.7: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 1 – “Stabat,” simplified opening

⁸ Transcribed from PL-Wu, RM 5046 (RISM No. 300511181).

⁹ For another extremely similar example to the opening of the *Stabat*, see Jan Dismas Zelenka’s arioso on “Daleth” in his second 1722 *Lamentatio*, ZWV 53 (D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-3d, RISM No. 212006559).

¹⁰ Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 551.



Music Example 1.8: Fenaroli, “Movimento” from *Regole musicali*¹¹

accurately glimpse something of the material proto-existence of the *Stabat*. Fenaroli, like Pergolesi, was a student of the renowned Neapolitan teacher Francesco Durante. Later in life, Fenaroli held the same teaching position as Durante, *primo maestro* at the Conservatorio di Santa Maria di Loreto in Naples, where he trained, among many other composers, Cimarosa. Fenaroli's teaching and his *Regole* were widely believed to have preserved the spirit of Durante's pedagogy.¹² Thus, the opening of the *Stabat*, like the similar moments from Corelli's oeuvre, existed as a rudimentary pedagogical lesson of the Neapolitan conservatories in which Durante, Fenaroli, Cimarosa and Pergolesi were all trained.¹³

The central question explored in this chapter, and to an extent throughout this dissertation, is how a piece constructed from prefabricated musical materials, like the opening gesture of the *Stabat*, came to conquer Europe and to be praised for a unique capacity to depict and illicit feeling.¹⁴ To read the *Stabat* as an particularly potent instantiation of the pedagogical materials and methods of the Neapolitan conservatories is, I argue, to show how the *Stabat* was made to be mediated – even as it came to flourish within newer media forms that had been by no means necessary to its production. Neapolitan music sounded the way it did because of the institutions that had nurtured and sustained it over many decades. By design, this music was conducive to transmission – through the conservatory system, through musical genres, and through the various spaces for music-making in the city of Naples. Without this fundamental mediacy, the *Stabat* would not have traveled so far through the new channels created by media proliferation.

¹¹ Fedele Fenaroli, “De’ movimenti del partimento,” *Monuments of Partimenti*, translated by Robert O. Gjerdingen, accessed Dec. 8, 2018, <http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/partimenti/index.htm>.

¹² Gjerdingen, 277.

¹³ This archeology is partially based on Giorgio Sanguinetti's, see “Gli schemi di partimento in alcune composizioni sacre,” *Studi pergolesiani* 9, edited by Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 482-4.

¹⁴ By the beginning of the next century, William Shield and John Wall Callcott would hold up the opening as a uniquely “beautiful example” of the treatment of alternating suspensions at the fourth and ninth. See William Shield, *An Introduction to Harmony* (London: G. G. & J. Robinson, 1800), 66 and John Wall Callcott, *A Musical Grammar* (Boston: West & Blake; Manning & Loring, 1810), 193.

And, as we will see, this mediacy was also central to the emotional power that writers such as Chabanon attributed to the *Stabat*.

NEAPOLITAN MEDIATIONS

Naples is the capital of the musical world; it is from numerous seminaries, where youth is educated in this art, that the better part of famous composers emerged, Scarlatti, Leo[nardo] Vinci, the true god of music, Leo, Rinaldo [de Capua], Latilla and my charming Pergolesi.

Charles de Brosses, *Lettres historiques et critiques sur l'Italie*
(Paris, An VII [1798-1799])¹⁵

In his "Genesis of the Media Concept," John Guillory draws attention to the "multiple levels and forms of media operating" in the production of any art work.¹⁶ Without attempting an exhaustive cataloguing, I seek here to detail some of the most salient media that converged in the production of the *Stabat*, those distinctly Neapolitan mediations responsible for the stylistic features of the piece that factored most its consequent reception. As de Brosses' letter indicates, the complex interface of people and places, protocols and practices that made up the Neapolitan conservatories amounted to the primary media form in which Pergolesi's musical language was formulated and stored. These institutions, though, were nestled within the larger musical media landscape of Naples. It is likely that Pergolesi wrote the piece on commission from a religious confraternity in the city. Such voluntary associations were unusually prominent in Neapolitan civic, religious and musical life. The choice of text and instrumentation would almost certainly have been part of Pergolesi's commission, but he seems nonetheless to have been influenced by newer approaches to the sequence explored by Neapolitan composers of the previous generation.

The Neapolitan conservatories were more or less unique in Europe until the end of the eighteenth century. Nowhere else was musical instruction institutionalized with such formality or conducted on such a scale. Pergolesi attended the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo, the last of the four main Neapolitan musical conservatories to be founded (1599) and the first to shut its doors.¹⁷ While the other three were eventually consolidated into the Real Collegio di Musica, the Poveri was converted into a seminary in 1743 by the Archiepiscopal Curia of Naples – which founded the conservatory – ostensibly because of its

¹⁵ "Naples est la capitale du monde musicien; c'est des séminaires nombreux où l'on élève la jeunesse en cet art, que sont sortis la plupart des fameux compositeurs, Scarlatti, Léon, de Vinci, le vrai dieu de la musique, Léo, Rinaldo, Latilla, et mon charmant Pergolèze." Charles de Brosses, *Lettres historiques et critiques sur l'Italie*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Ponthieu, An VII [1798-1799]), 158.

¹⁶ John Guillory, "Genesis of the Media Concept," *Critical Inquiry* 36:2 (Winter, 2010): 359-60.

¹⁷ The Loreto, Onofrio and Turchini were founded in 1537, 1578 and 1583, respectively.

negligence in attending to the religious education of its students.¹⁸ Though established as religious orphanages, all four conservatories had become primarily places of music instruction decades before Pergolesi's attendance, seeking to give their all-male charges a vocation upon reaching maturity.¹⁹ Pergolesi, it is believed, was mainly taught by three *maestri* at the Poveri: Gaetano Greco, Leonardo Vinci and Francesco Durante. This lineage demonstrates the continuity and complex institutional and interpersonal entanglements of the Neapolitan pedagogical pedigree: Vinci studied with Greco at the Poveri and Durante succeeded Greco as *primo maestro* there.²⁰ Through Durante and Greco, Pergolesi's lineage can even be tenuously traced back to some of the supposed "founders" of the Neapolitan "school" itself. Francesco Provenzale (who possibly taught Greco) introduced the hierarchical division of teaching labor that allowed the conservatories to grow while maintaining rigorous educational standards. His tenure at the Loreto during the 1660s marked the beginning of the conservatories' European preeminence.²¹ The Roman composer Bernardo Pasquini (who possibly taught Durante) is cited as one of the first pedagogues to use *partimenti* – semi-improvisatory keyboard exercises that became central pedagogical tools in the conservatories' curriculum.²² Thus the student-teacher genealogies to which Pergolesi belonged – and the institutions that harbored them – stretched from the mid-1600s into the nineteenth century, via Fenaroli (d. 1818) and Cimarosa (d. 1801). Such continuity reproduced Neapolitan style generation after generation, crystalizing its typical maneuvers, like the opening of the *Stabat*.

Pergolesi would have learned the characteristic gestures and syntax of Neapolitan music through the teaching materials of his *maestri* – not only *partimenti*, but also *intavolatore* and *solfeggi*. The second and third of these were probably the first compositional models that students encountered: completely realized keyboard pieces (*intavolatore*) and wordless compositions for one or more voices and continuo (*solfeggi*). *Solfeggi* served as early vocal exercises and composition tutorials, imparting idiomatic vocal ornamentation and melodic writing.²³ *Partimenti* were used for more advanced compositional skills: "continuo playing, improvisation, unfigured bass, counterpoint,

¹⁸ Giorgio Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 35-6.

¹⁹ Typically, boys would enter the conservatories between the ages of eight and ten, signing a contract that bound them to the institution for a period between eight and ten years. Guild's employed similar contracts for their apprentices. See Sanguinetti, *Art*, 44.

²⁰ The *primo maestro* of each conservatory was responsible for all matters pertaining to musical instruction. Representatives of religious authorities handled religious instruction and an external board managed each institution as a whole.

²¹ Sanguinetti, *Art*, 34.

²² Sanguinetti speculates about an early Roman influence on Neapolitan pedagogy, via Durante, Alessandro Scarlatti and others. Such an influence could have contributed to the connections Chabanon and Blainville heard between Pergolesi and Corelli. See *Ibid.*, 20-3.

²³ It is thought that students would initially sing the vocal parts while the instructor would play continuo. Later the students would perform both parts simultaneously. *Ibid.*, 46.

diminution, and fugue."²⁴ A partimento consisted of a single bass line over which a student would improvise a suitable right hand part, forming a complete piece. Partimenti were used to teach all manner of compositional styles, with surviving examples demonstrating everything from virtuosic keyboard figuration used in sonatas and concertos to stile antico counterpoint more appropriate to religious vocal music.²⁵ Through these model pieces, musicians-in-training learned to embody musical grammar and syntax, in their voices, in their hands, at their keyboards. Solfeggi and partimenti encouraged an "unreflective musical competence," a compositional "facility" supremely valuable in the "turbulent and unstable musical market" of Naples.²⁶ However, close oral instruction would have been indispensable for any student to extract meaning from these documents. Instructors needed to have been trained in the tradition themselves for the efficacy of these compositional technologies, and exercises by the most celebrated teachers, such as Leonardo Leo's solfeggi and Durante's partimenti, continued to be used well after their deaths.²⁷

Through years of this instruction, novice musicians built up a storehouse of musical devices like the ones present in the opening of the *Stabat*. In his analysis of the relationship between Pergolesi's sacred music and Neapolitan style, Giorgio Sanguinetti identifies typical Neapolitan gestures and other "schemata" in Pergolesi's music by tracing them through instructional materials authored by Durante, Greco, Fenaroli and others.²⁸ His "schematic" understanding of Neapolitan style derives from the work of Robert Gjerdingen, who believes that a "hallmark" of all eighteenth-century "galant" music was "a particular repertory of stock musical phrases employed in conventional sequences."²⁹ Gjerdingen's schemata, though, are bits of two-voice counterpoint that lend sub-dermal harmonic continuity below decorative melodic surfaces, while Sanguinetti's more capacious understanding encompasses various contrapuntal and melodic formulas. Here, I will follow Sanguinetti as to what constitutes "schema," since, for one reason, Gjerdingen acknowledges that his taxonomy derives mainly from instrumental repertoires and "bypass[es] the doleful inventory of chromatic depictions of woe, damnation, and the torments of hell" found in sacred genres.³⁰ Thinking thus, we can view Neapolitan music as fundamentally schematic and modular, composed of various melodic gestures, harmonic formulas and contrapuntal devices juxtaposed, nested and overlaid, and as only delimited from other species of "galant" music by the specifics of its schematic inventory, and details of the syntax cultivated and "conserved" by Neapolitan pedagogical institutions.

²⁴ Ibid., 6.

²⁵ See the examples realized in "Part Four: A Guide to Realization" of Sanguinetti's *The Art of Partimento*, 241-341.

²⁶ Giorgio Sanguinetti, "Partimento-Fugue: The Neapolitan Angle," in *Partimento and Continuo Playing in Theory and in Practice*, edited by Thomas Christensen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010), 71.

²⁷ Sanguinetti, *Art*, 67-8

²⁸ Sanguinetti, "Gli schemi," 457-484.

²⁹ Gjerdingen, 6.

³⁰ Ibid., 23.

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Soprano
et af - - flic - ta

Alto
et af - - flic - ta

B.C.

Music Example 1.9: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 3 – “O quam tristis,” bar 4.

Violin I
dolce

Violin II
dolce

Viola
dolce

B.C.
dolce

Music Example 1.10: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 1 – “Stabat mater,” bars 26-8.

While it would be possible to deconstruct the entire *Stabat* along its various schematic fissures, three schemata can be taken to represent Pergolesi's immersion in the world of the Neapolitan conservatory. The first (Musical Example 1.9) is characterized by a

drop from a high note by a sixth that anticipates an appoggiatura. Usually the bass will resolve upwards by step for this gesture, which Gjerdingen dubs a "high 2 drop."³¹ The second (Musical Example 1.10) of these is a deceptive cadence (to use present-day terminology) or a "cadenza finta" (to use the older Neapolitan designation),³² distinguished in particular by the bass pattern 3-4-5 | 6-3-4-5 | 1. The last sample (also Musical Example 1.10) is the melodic configuration, 6-5-7-1, accompanied by a cadential 4-5-1, where 1 is at least a local tonic. All are typical Neapolitan musical moves, but Pergolesi's constant recourse to them is unusual even for a composer minted in the conservatories. Half of the movements end with some variant of this deceptive cadence pattern (Music Examples 1.11-1.15).³³ In "Stabat mater dolorosa" and "Fac ut portem" this bass line becomes almost repetitious. Likewise, the two melodic schemata occur through out the *Stabat* (Music Examples 1.16-1.19).

The musical score for Music Example 1.11 consists of two staves. The top staff is for Violin I & II, and the bottom staff is for B.C. (Viola 8va). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/8. The music is divided into five measures. The first measure has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The second and fourth measures have a dolce dynamic. The third measure has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The fifth measure has a dolce dynamic. The bass line in the bottom staff shows a characteristic 'high 2 drop' pattern in the first two measures, followed by a similar pattern in the last two measures.

Music Example 1.11: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 2 – “Cujus anima,” bars 104-8.

The musical score for Music Example 1.12 consists of three staves. The top staff is for Violin I & II, the middle staff is for Viola, and the bottom staff is for B.C. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 6/8. The music is divided into five measures. The first measure has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The second and fourth measures have a dolce dynamic. The third measure has a dolce dynamic. The fifth measure has a dolce dynamic. The bass line in the bottom staff shows a characteristic 'high 2 drop' pattern in the first two measures, followed by a similar pattern in the last two measures.

Music Example 1.12: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 5 – “Quis est homo,” bars 45-9.

³¹ Ibid., 103

³² Ibid., 548

³³ The fugue (“Fac ut ardeat”) nearly does as well.

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Soprano

B.C.

sotto voce

sotto voce

sotto voce

dolce

mi-sit dum e - mi - sit spi - ri - tum.

dolce

Music Example 1.13: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 6 – “Vidit suum,” bars 35-43.

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

B.C.

[f]

[dolce]

[f]

[f]

[dolce]

[f]

[f]

[dolce]

[f]

Music Example 1.14: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 10 – “Fac, ut portem,” bars 25-6.

Violin I & II

Viola

Soprano

Alto

B.C.

di - si glo - ri - a, pa - ra -

di - si glo - ri - a,

Vlins.

Vla.

S.

A.

B.C.

di - - si glo - ri - a.

pa - ra - di - si glo - ri - a.

Music Example 1.15: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 12 – “Quando corpus,” bars 25-9.

Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Soprano
Alto
B.C.

dolce *dolce*
[dolce] *dolce*

et af - flic-ta fu - it il - la be - ne - dic-ta, be - ne - dic-ta
et af - flic-ta fu - it il - la be - ne - dic-ta, be - ne - dic-ta

[dolce] *dolce*

Music Example 1.16: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 3 – “O Quam,” bars 15-19.

Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Soprano
B.C.

tr

de - so - la - - - tum,

Music Example 1.17: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 6 – “Vidit suum,” bars 25-6.

Violin I
 Violin II
 Viola
 B.C.

f *dolce* *f* *dolce*

Music Example 1.18: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 7 – “Eia mater,” bars 90-4.

Violin I
 Violin II
 Viola
 B.C.

Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 Vc.

sotto voce

Music Example 1.19: Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, No. 12 – “Quando corpus,” bars 4-7.

Naturally, these patterns can be found in the compositional exercises of Pergolesi's last teacher, Durante, either in the bass of the partimenti themselves or in Durante's suggested realizations, instructing students to use a given schema wherever a similar motive appears in the bass. One can also find them in Leo's solfeggi, which suggests that they were not confined to a single conservatory tradition (Music Examples 1.20-1.24).

The image shows a musical score for Music Example 1.20. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The bass line features a series of eighth-note patterns with accidentals, illustrating suggested realizations for high 2 drops. The treble staff contains a melodic line with various rhythmic values and accidentals.

Music Example 1.20: Durante, Basso No. 57, suggested realizations (high 2 drops).

The image shows a musical score for Music Example 1.21. It is a single bass clef staff in a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 4/4 time signature. The music concludes with a 'cadenza finta' (fake cadence), characterized by a series of notes and rests that lead to a final cadence.

Music Example 1.21: Durante, Basso No. 71, ending ("cadenza finta").

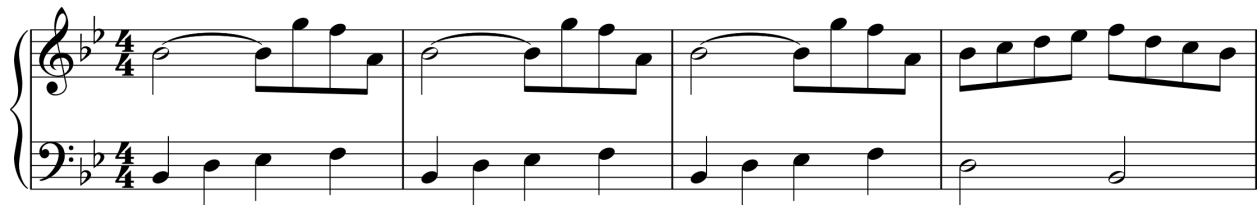
The image shows a musical score for Music Example 1.22. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 6/8. The bass line features a series of notes and rests, illustrating suggested realizations for the opening of the piece. The treble staff contains a melodic line with various rhythmic values and accidentals.

Music Example 1.22: Durante, Basso No. 23, opening with suggested realizations (6-5-7-1).³⁴

³⁴ All three Durante examples are taken from Francesco Durante, *Bassi e fughe: Un manuale inedito per riscoprire la vera prassi esecutiva della Scuola napoletana del Settecento*, edited by Giuseppe Alfredo Pastore (Padova: Armelin, 2003).



Music Example 1.23: Leo, Solfeggio No. 4a (Gj5007), bars 20-1 (high 2 drops).



Music Example 1.24: Leo, Solfeggio No. 10b (Gj5020), bars 29-32 (6-5-7-1).³⁵

To be sure, none of these schemata were the invention or the exclusive property of any Neapolitan *maestro*.³⁶ Their pedagogy merely excelled at distilling them through certain protocols and technologies of storage and transmission. These examples demonstrate how essential repetition was to the process of communicating Neapolitan style and how the repetitive nature of Neapolitan pedagogy remained audible, at times to an exceptional degree, in the music of Neapolitan composers. Partimento and solfeggi training thus encouraged a kind of motivic economy within different movements of Pergolesi's *Stabat*, across the whole work itself as well as across his oeuvre (Music Examples 1.25-1.27).³⁷

³⁵ Both solfeggi are from a manuscript in the Santini Collection (D-MÜp) called "XII Solfeggi a Voce Sola di Soprano con Basso del Signore Leonardo Leo." See Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Monuments of Solfeggi*, accessed Dec. 8, 2018, <http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/solfeggi/index.htm>.

³⁶ For examples that attest to the history and dispersion of these schemata, see the *cadenze finte* that conclude Giovanni Stradella's "Io per me non cangerei" from *San Giovanni Battista* (1675) and Jean-Philippe Rameau's "Fanfarinette" from the a minor suite in the *Nouvelles suites de pièces de clavecin* (1726/7).

³⁷ On motivic economy, see Sanguinetti, *Art*, 206.

Violin I & Solo

Violin II

Viola

B.C.

Vln. I & Solo

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Music Example 1.25: Pergolesi, Violin Concerto in Bb major, Movt. I, ending (“cadenze finte”).³⁸

³⁸ See Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, *Complete Works*, Vol. 17 “Instrumental Music,” edited by Marvin E. Paymer, preface by Barry S. Brook (Styvesant, NY: Pendragon Press; Milan: Ricordi, 1993).

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Soprano

Violoncello

ge - men - tes et flen - tes, in

Music Example 1.26: Pergolesi, *Salve regina*, No. 2 – “Ad te clamamus,” bars 39-40 (6-5-7-1).

Serpina

ri - na, ah! po - ve - ri - na, po - ve - ri - na, po - ve - ri - na, Ca - ra

Music Example 1.27: Pergolesi, *La serva padrona*, “A Serpina penserete,” bars 44-6 (high 2 drop).

These examples show how the mobility and iterability of Neapolitan schemata defied to an extent the tenets of genre propriety. Serpina and the Virgin exclaim their pain with the same schema, with only Serpina “knowing” that she is manipulating a musical semantic system to gain sympathy to her amorous advantage. Within Neapolitan pedagogy, genre decorum ultimately yielded to compositional efficiency, as musicians were trained for careers that oscillated between the spaces of theater, church and chamber.

But Neapolitan style amounted to more than just standardized schemata. Modularity as an organizational principle operated well beyond the local level of schemata

in Neapolitan music. The techniques entrained by solfeggi and partimenti were premised on the detachment of idiomatic vocal composition from lyrical meanings, prioritizing musical semantics and syntax over textual semantics and syntax. This rift was deepened by compositional exercises in which conservatory students were asked to reset the same text (typically a stanza or two of Metastasio) multiple times.³⁹ In a marketplace where music often had to be recycled to meet demand, the easy adaptability of vocal music to new words was an asset. Such mutability, again, was often indifferent to sclerotic notions of genre. Beyond capturing the overall emotional tenor of a stanza, Pergolesi's setting of the *Stabat* generally eschews specific engagements with the text, mostly forgoing local word painting or musical-rhetoric. Later in the century, entirely new texts were grafted onto Pergolesi's score – apparently without giving the impression of any drastic loss of effectiveness. Indeed, the essential schematic modularity of the *Stabat* allowed all number of alterations. Movements were cut or allowed to stand on their own; additions and substitutions were made routinely. Pergolesi's homophonic two-or-three voice textures through out the *Stabat*, even in the fugal movements, betray haptic forms of musical knowledge and understanding mediated by the keyboard interface.⁴⁰ They also allowed the instrumental and vocal forces of Pergolesi's original scoring to be amplified or diminished according to local performing circumstances seemingly, like other changes, without taking away from the piece's emotional efficacy or identity. (The plethora of musical texts traveling under the name "Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*" will be explored further in the following chapter.)

Pergolesi left the Poveri in 1731. Aside from a brief visit to Rome in the entourage of his patron, the Duke of Maddaloni, he spent the entirety of his brief career working within the "dense nexus" of Neapolitan musical institutions.⁴¹ Though it lacked a commercial infrastructure for music on a par with Paris or London, the musical needs of Naples, the third largest city in Europe during the eighteenth century, were great.⁴² Aside from the court, the theaters and aristocratic households, the large number of churches in the city (over five hundred by some estimates) and the many religious and secular confraternities (over one hundred) assured a substantial demand for music.⁴³ The conservatories partially depended on income from hiring out students to these institutions to cover their operating budgets and graduates usually found employment in one or more of them, creating a complex web of professional affiliations.⁴⁴ Pergolesi's career reflects this interconnectivity.

³⁹ Sanguinetti, *Art*, 46.

⁴⁰ Sanguinetti argues that the Neapolitan conservatory tradition tended to promote an understanding of harmony not as "abstract voices," but as hand shapes and motions on the topography of a keyboard. See *Ibid.*, 104.

⁴¹ Anthony R. DelDonna, "Neapolitan Musical Culture in the Early Modern Period," in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, edited by Tommaso Astarita (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 371-2.

⁴² If Constantinople is not counted. The first and second most populated cities are London and Paris. See Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lee, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 11.

⁴³ DelDonna, 371.

⁴⁴ Sanguinetti, *Art*, 39.

He had two principal patrons (the Duke and earlier the Prince of Stigliano), but also wrote for various opera houses and churches. Though the circumstances surrounding Pergolesi's composition of the *Stabat* remain conjectural, the most likely scenarios point to a Neapolitan religious confraternity as the commissioner.

Confraternities were the main form of voluntary association in Naples. Two of the four conservatories were founded by confraternities and many patronized the arts in a manner similar to *accademie* elsewhere on the Italian peninsula.⁴⁵ The most widely accepted account of the *Stabat*'s commissioning implicates the Arciconfraternità di Nostra Signora dei Sette Dolori and their desire to replace an older setting of the sequence by Alessandro Scarlatti. Like Scarlatti's setting, Pergolesi's was to be performed annually during the Arciconfraternità's celebrations in the church of San Luigi di Palazzo. This Arciconfraternità had been in existence since 1602 and was noted in the eighteenth century for the quality of its ceremonial music.⁴⁶ Based on Giuseppe Sigismondo's account of Pergolesi's life, Claudio Toscani asserts that this commission had to have come in 1734, before Pergolesi departed for Rome, and was only started upon his return to Naples in 1735. Pergolesi then worked on the project sporadically along with others until his death in March of the following year. Francesco Feo apparently told Sigismondo that he visited Pergolesi close to the end of his life. At the time, Pergolesi had retired to a monastery patronized by the Maddaloni family in Pozzuoli (just outside Naples) to take a sulfuric air cure for the lung ailment that would eventually kill him. Feo's testimony reveals that Pergolesi labored over the *Stabat* right up to the end of his life, seemingly finishing it just days before his death.⁴⁷

This account initially appeared in a biography of the composer printed in 1831. The Marquis of Villarosa's *Lettera biografica intorno alla patria ed alla vita di Gio. Battista Pergolese*, however, derives entirely from Sigismondo's "Elogio di Giambattista Pergolesi" included in a manuscript entitled *Apoteosi dell'arte musicale del regno di Napoli in tre ultimi transunti secoli* and compiled around 1820.⁴⁸ The credibility of Sigismondo's account derives from his position, from 1791 on, as librarian for the Turchini and later the Real Collegio di Musica, a position that allowed him to accumulate a wealth of material relating to the "golden age" of the Neapolitan conservatories.⁴⁹ However, no independent documentary evidence has yet been found to support his story.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the large amount of time between Sigismondo's writing and the events in question has opened up

⁴⁵ These were the Turchini and the Onofrio. *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁶ DelDonna, 371.

⁴⁷ This account of the commissioning is taken from Claudio Toscani, "Historical Introduction," *Stabat mater*, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Serie VII: Sequenza, edited by Toscani (Milan: Ricordi; Jesi: Fondazione Pergolesi Spontini, 2012), XLIII-XLV.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ For more on Sigismondo, see Dennis Libby, "Giuseppe Sigismondo, an eighteenth-century amateur, musician, and historian," *Studi pergolesiani 2*, edited by Francesco Degrada (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1988), 222-238.

⁵⁰ Toscani, XLIV-XLV.

the field for speculation, especially since several late eighteenth-century writers, seemingly like Sigismondo deferring to first-hand witnesses, indicated that Pergolesi's *Salve Regina* was his last completed work.⁵¹ Alternative speculated commissioners include the Duke of Maddaloni himself or another member of the Maddaloni family,⁵² the "Congregazione de' Musici eretta in San Nicolò alla Carità de' reverendi Padri Pij Operaij sotto il titolo di Maria Addolorata" or the confraternity of San Carlo detto Carminiello.⁵³ Francesco Degrada put forward the "Congregazione," a confraternity and mutual-aid society for Neapolitan musicians with a strong element of Marian devotion, after uncovering Pergolesi's membership. Toscani mentions the possibility of the San Carlo confraternity because of the similarities between their celebrations and those of the Arciconfraternità, which may have confused Sigismondo nearly a hundred years after the fact.⁵⁴ Beyond the veracity of any of these accounts, however, the *Stabat* owed its existence to the interplay between two media: the conservatories and the Neapolitan religious organizations that patronized current and former conservatory students. Indeed, the very ambiguity of the piece's origins testifies to the density of institutional entanglements in Naples.

When Pergolesi composed his *Stabat* setting, the genre itself was in a state of flux and was proving particularly amenable to the experimental mixture of church and theatrical styles brewing in the conservatories and the city. New settings were produced with increasing frequency starting around 1700, with Pope Benedict XIII officially reinstating the hymn in 1727 for use during the two Feasts of the Seven Sorrows of Mary.⁵⁵ One of these feast days (in the middle of Lent or the third Friday of September) likely would have furnished the occasion for the premiere of Pergolesi's *Stabat*. Pergolesi's approach to the text resembles that of Scarlatti's, a piece of circumstantial evidence that bolsters Sigismondo's narrative. They are scored for the same ensemble (soprano, alto, two violins, viola and continuo) and tend to break the Latin stanzas into self-contained, binary form solos or duets. In this, Scarlatti's and Pergolesi's approaches reflect the blurring of generic boundaries between sacred and secular music that we have already noted in connection to Neapolitan pedagogy. The ensemble suggests that intimacy of a chamber cantata, or more

⁵¹ These writers include Pascal Boyer and Charles Burney. Chapter 3 will dive deeper into these questions, exploring eighteenth-century representations of Pergolesi's life.

⁵² Both Sigismondo and Guglielmo della Valle mention that Pergolesi's music was performed regularly in the church of Santa Maria ad Ogni Bene dei Sette Dolori, which was patronized by the Maddaloni family and the Duchessa di Maddaloni, Carlotta Colonna, especially. The Duchessa sponsored annual performances of music there, featuring several pieces of Pergolesi. However, only Sigismondo indicated that the *Stabat* was performed there and only della Valle indicated that the pieces by Pergolesi performed there were composed especially for the family's own use and consequently "jealously guarded" by them. See Giuseppe Sigismondo, *Descrizione della città di Napoli e suoi borghi*, Vol. 2 (Naples: I Fratelli Terres, 1788), 254 and Guglielmo della Valle, *Memorie storiche del P. M. Giambattista Martini* (Naples: Stamperia Simoniana, 1785), 138.

⁵³ These alternatives are summarized in Toscani, XLVI-XLVII.

⁵⁴ Toscani, XLVII.

⁵⁵ The Council of Trent had removed it from the liturgy.

specifically a *cantata spirituale*,⁵⁶ while the mapping of each stanza onto a church aria form (AA') suggests contemporary opera seria.⁵⁷ Indeed, it is tempting to read the *Stabat* text's newfound popularity in Italy as bound up with Arcadian operatic reform. The Latin text shares with Metastasian verse an ability to succinctly render a vivid, emotionally-engaging image, in addition to a similar metrical and stanza structure. Excepting the handful of settings like that of Domenico Scarlatti, who wrote his a cappella *Stabat* for the Sistine Chapel, most early eighteenth-century composers found a bit of Didone or Semiramide in this representation of the Virgin.⁵⁸ Rather than merely setting a religious text, they sought to musically characterize Mary, depict her emotional state and prompt a sympathetic reaction from the audience, using techniques more often deployed in secular genres.

Neapolitan music was designed to circulate between the city's institutions and this circulation helped bind these institutions together. The plethora of institutions for the consumption of music afforded it a high degree of mobility. And what allowed Neapolitan music to be so mobile was its fundamentally schematic and modular design, rendering it simultaneously standardized and customizable. While Neapolitan style initially evolved within the relatively cloistered media environment of Naples, the city's comparative isolation began to dissipate during Pergolesi's life and accelerated in the following decades. As new avenues of circulation opened up, bringing Neapolitan music across the Italian peninsula and soon across the continent, the same features that allowed it to circulate in Naples enabled its absorption into new Trans-Alpine networks of circulation.

EUROPEAN CIRCULATIONS: 1736-1749

Scarcely had the news of his death spread, scarcely had his last productions left Naples then all Italy wanted to have or hear even his most mediocre works. His opera buffas were played, his motets, performed in all the churches.

Pascal Boyer, "Notices sur le vie et les ouvrages de Pergolèse,"
Mercure de France (July, 1772)⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Carolyn Gianturco, "'Cantante Spirituale e Morali', with a Description of the Papal Sacred Cantata Tradition for Christmas 1676-1740," *Music & Letters* 73:1 (Feb., 1992): 1-31.

⁵⁷ Obviously, da capo form was the conventional aria form for *opera seria*, but a form for which the consistently mournful Latin poem, without contrasting stanzas, would be unsuitable.

⁵⁸ Like Domenico Scarlatti's setting, those of Antonio Caldara and Johann Joseph Fux for the Viennese Hofkapelle, from the first decades of the century, are indicative of an older approach. Their settings tend to emphasize counterpoint, employ larger orchestral and vocal forces and unfold in one continuous movement, broken into more or less discrete, but never formally rounded, sections.

⁵⁹ "A peine la nouvelle de sa mort fut-elle répandue, à peine ses dernières productions furent-elles sorties de Naples que toute l'Italie voulut avoir ou entendre jusqu'à ses ouvrages les plus médiocres. Ses opéra bouffons furent joués, ses motets, exécutés dans toutes les Eglises." Pascal Boyer, "Notices sur le vie et les ouvrages de Pergolèse," *Mercure de France* 2 (Jul., 1772): 190. This fact is affirmed by Burney and several other writers,

Boyer undoubtedly exaggerated the dramatic reversal and expansion of Pergolesi's reputation after his death. Respected in Naples and known in Rome, Pergolesi enjoyed a solid local reputation for a composer who did not live past twenty-six.⁶⁰ The sudden vogue for Pergolesi's music that Boyer referred to likely had much to do with the sentimental myths surrounding his premature demise (of which more will be said in the third chapter). Yet the absence of Pergolesi himself as an authorial figure allowed his music to diffuse more easily into cosmopolitan circulation – a network that not only brought Neapolitan music across the Italian peninsula, but brought Italian music across the Alps. Travel to and from Italy increased steadily during the 1740s, as tourists, businessmen, officials, impresarios and musicians visited Italian cities and Italian artisans, especially musicians, increasingly found employment abroad. Soon after Pergolesi's *Stabat* swept across Italy, these patterns of human movement carried it to the far corners of Europe.

Given the obscure circumstances of its production, the equally obscure circumstances of the *Stabat*'s initial dissemination are not surprising. If the *Stabat* had indeed been composed for a confraternity's festivities, or for the Duke or one of his relatives, it would have been written in the expectation that it would have been heard only by a small coterie. Commissioned music was the property of the commissioner and musical performances organized by Neapolitan confraternities were largely exclusive affairs.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the piece somehow escaped the limited orbit for which it was likely intended. An enigmatic clue survives in the form of a note on the last page of the autograph, which suggests that Pergolesi bequeathed the manuscript to his colleague Giuseppe de Majo.⁶² De Majo, or Feo or even another Neapolitan musician close to Pergolesi, could have been instrumental in circulating the *Stabat* after Pergolesi's death. The multiplicity of variant texts even from early in the *Stabat*'s reception, though, indicates a still more complicated story. Toscani notes that several manuscripts that he consulted in preparation for his critical edition contain variants that appear to have been erased or altered by Pergolesi in the preparation of the autograph.⁶³ There is also the question of the written-out *ritardando* in the final bars of the "Amen," inscribed by a hand other than Pergolesi's into his autograph, that appears in the majority of eighteenth-century manuscripts. The presence of these variants in many later sources suggests that the *Stabat* was already circulating before Pergolesi made the extant autograph copy, finessing certain details as he went.⁶⁴

though it is not clear to what degree any consequent author is merely copying Boyer's remarks or has independently verify them.

⁶⁰ Pergolesi and Davide Perez were singled out as two "dei buoni virtuosi di questa città" in the dedication of the libretto for Perez's opera *La nemica amante*, premiered in 1735 at the Neapolitan Teatro S. Bartolomeo. Helmut Hucce and Dale E. Monson. "Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista," *Grove Music Online*, accessed Dec. 7, 2018, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

⁶¹ DelDonna, 371.

⁶² A translation of this note is found in Toscani, "Sources," LIX.

⁶³ Toscani, "Critical Notes," 69-76.

⁶⁴ For example, in Pergolesi's autograph, the viola holds a C pedal point through most of bars 5-7 in the "Stabat." Toscani's reconstruction of the original version of these bars

One piece of evidence for the *Stabat's* earliest migrations is a score now in the British Library bearing the indication "portato da Roma nel anno 1738."⁶⁵ Though the manuscript was copied in England, it was probably based on one brought from Rome to London.⁶⁶ Grand Tourists often purchased such manuscripts as souvenirs, of performances attended and music heard. The market for these souvenirs was substantial enough that Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Janice Stockigt have speculated on the degree to which copying sacred music constituted a distinct commercial activity in Italy.⁶⁷ Rome had been the southern terminus for Grand Tourists visiting Italy for centuries, and seems to have played an important role in the earliest diffusion of Pergolesi's music.⁶⁸ The presence of some variants in this manuscript that Pergolesi corrected in his autograph even suggests that an early version was performed there.⁶⁹ Florence, with its Renaissance treasures, likewise had a long history as a Grand Tour destination. Thomas Gray, the English poet, copied out the *Stabat* along with several operas by Pergolesi while in Florence between 1738 and 1742.⁷⁰ Like the 1738 manuscript, Gray's apparently stemmed from some version in circulation prior to the autograph's creation.⁷¹ Such manuscripts were not inert objects once collected. Gray's manuscripts fostered Charles Burney's lifelong appreciation for Pergolesi's works, and Neapolitan music in general.⁷² Travel also opened new avenues of exchange. In 1741

suggests something similar to how they appear in both the 1749 London and the 1753 Paris publications (with the viola doubling the violoncello), though each publication has a different pitch for the final eighth note in bar 7. Both publications also contain the written-out ritardando at the close of the "Amen."

⁶⁵ GB-Lbl, R.M.24.b.8 (RISM No. 800252557).

⁶⁶ Toscani notes that the indication is written in a hand different from the manuscript (LXV).

⁶⁷ Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Janice B. Stockigt, "Italian Manuscripts of Sacred Music in Dresden: The Neapolitan Collection of 1738-1740," *Fonti Musicali Italiane* (2010): 154.

⁶⁸ Several of Pergolesi's works were premiered in Rome, including *Olimpiade* and a handful of sacred compositions. Several early manuscripts of the *Stabat*, moreover, asserted that Pergolesi was a Roman composer, probably reflecting a Roman origin for the early dissemination of his music into Northern Europe. In Appendix I, see A-FK, II 5 (RISM No. 600073078); A-VOR, 590 (RISM No. 600055504); CZ-Pnm, XL B 43 (RISM No. 551001363); D-MMm, 632 (RISM No. 453011466); I-Fa, 108-752 (RISM No. 850004374). For more on the importance of Roman in the dissemination of Pergolesi's music, see Claudio Bacciagaluppi, *Rom, Prag, Dresden. Pergolesi und die Neapolitanische Messe in Europa* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010), especially 94-9.

⁶⁹ This manuscript, for example, lacks the pedal point found in the autograph mentioned in footnote 65 and has the written-out ritardando in the "Amen."

⁷⁰ Gray's text accords more with a hypothetical "Roman version" more than Pergolesi's autograph. See US-FAy, MS Quarto 532 MS (RISM No. 000101112).

⁷¹ It too lacks the pedal point in the viola part in the opening ritornello, but has the written-out ritardando in the "Amen."

⁷² Howard Irving, *Ancients and Moderns: William Crotch and the Development of Classical Music* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 69-70.

Horace Walpole, who briefly joined Gray on his Tour, wrote to Horace Mann, then a British diplomat serving in Florence, to request that the latter procure some music for Elizabeth Rich, a talented amateur singer. Among the pieces he requested were "Serva Padrona," "il Pastor se torna Aprile" and Pergolesi's "office of the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows" – the *Stabat*.⁷³

The end of Pergolesi's life coincided with political events that repositioned Naples as a Grand Tour destination. The Kingdom of Naples emerged from the War of Austrian Succession having regained its independence, with King Carlo III ascending the throne in 1734. After consolidating control, the new king embarked on a series of construction projects meant to burnish the image of his new kingdom. These included the Teatro San Carlo, the largest opera house in Europe at the time of its completion in 1737.⁷⁴ In the wake of these events, ultramontane tourists increasingly extended their Italian sojourns southward to Naples. De Brosse's *Lettres* erroneously implied that the author was present in Naples when Pergolesi died:

Among all these musicians, my favorite author is Pergolesi. Ah! The agreeable genius, simple and natural. No one can write with more facility, grace and taste. Console me in my affliction; I have great need of it; my poor favorite came to die from his chest, at the age of thirty-three.⁷⁵

Though not published until well after de Brosse's death, those among his circle in Dijon could have become acquainted with the *Stabat*, "le chef-d'oeuvre de la musique latine," through these letters.⁷⁶ Likewise, Prince Friedrich Christian of Dresden ended his *Kavaliersreise* in Naples during the summer of 1738. The prince and members of his retinue acquired a number of manuscripts of Neapolitan sacred music during their brief visit, including a copy of the *Stabat* that served as the basis for the parts used in the Dresden Katholische Hofkirche.⁷⁷ Indeed, the Hofkirche score bears a closer resemblance to Pergolesi's autograph than those previously mentioned.⁷⁸ Though Friedrich Christian came principally to soak in the hot springs of Ischia, travel to Naples increased steadily in

⁷³ Elizabeth Rich also requested a song titled "Semplicetta Pastorella." See Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole Fourth Earl of Orford*, Vol. 1, edited by Peter Cunningham (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1891), 75-6.

⁷⁴ Carlo III also had built the Palaces of Caserta and of Capodimonte, founded the Capodimonte Porcelain Factory (1743) and the Neapolitan Academy of Fine Arts (1752) and began the collection that would eventually become the Neapolitan National Archeological Museum.

⁷⁵ "Parmi tous ces musiciens, mon auteur d'affection est Pergolese. Ah! Le joli genie, simple et naturel. On ne peut pas écrire avec plus de facilité, de grace et de goût. Consolez-moi dans mon affliction; j'en ai grand besoin; mon pauvre favori vient de mourir de la poitrine, à l'âge de trent-trois ans." De Brosse, Vol. 3, 279. Later editions (1836, 1858) state that de Brosse traveled through Italy between 1739 and 1740.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Bacciagaluppi and Stockigt, 151-2.

⁷⁸ For example, it does contain the opening pedal point in the viola part and no written-out ritardando at the close of the "Amen." See D-DI, Mus. 3005-D-1b (RISM No. 212006339).

the ensuing decades as the European vogue for Neapolitan music reached its zenith. Aside from music and geothermal spas, visitors were also drawn to Naples by the discoveries of Pompeii and Herculaneum (in 1748 and 1738 respectively) and a new fascination with what one might call the "volcanic sublime," induced in part by British diplomat William Hamilton's extensive studies of Vesuvius's explosive activity during the 1760s and 1770s.

As northern visitors flocked to Naples, Neapolitan musicians increasingly found employment outside of their city. Despite the large demand for music in Naples, the conservatories produced more musicians than the city's institutions required, a surplus of talent that fed a continent-wide diaspora of Neapolitan musicians and drove the vogue for Neapolitan music elsewhere.⁷⁹ The same conservatory pedagogy that trained Neapolitan musicians to be successful across the musical institutions of their city set them up well in their travels across Europe. In their travels, Neapolitan musicians not only brought music of their compatriots and colleagues with them, but promoted further musical importation from their homeland. Johann Adolph Hasse, for example, had been appointed *Kapellmeister* to the Wettin court in 1730 and though he did not accompany Friedrich Christian, his connection to Naples influenced the enthusiasm for Neapolitan music in Dresden. This Neapolitan musical diaspora formed part of the larger Italian artistic diasporic community consisting of painters, sculptors, architects, set designers, actors, etc. whose talents were likewise in demand across Europe.⁸⁰ The success of these artisans too lay in their ability to adapt to a variety of professional circumstances, traveling between civic and court settings, and producing wares for both traditional patrons and nascent marketplaces.⁸¹

While Renaissance legacies had encouraged Italian artisan migration for centuries, during the eighteenth century these travels increased exponentially and, rather than simply settling in a new court or city, "itinerancy" became the norm for Italian artisans.⁸² Itinerant opera buffa troupes drove the dissemination of *La serva padrona* and there is evidence that the *Stabat* traveled with these troupes as well. Regina Mingotti, who sang in one of the earliest public performances in London, began her career as part of her former husband

⁷⁹ Speaking generally of Italian artisans migrating northward, Shearer West cites other reasons as well: "the abolition of nepotism within the Catholic church (which initiated a decline in church patronage), economic change in Italy itself, and the competitive courts and markets outside Italy that sought a continual stream of competent and innovative individuals of talent to fill cultural voids." Shearer West, "Introduction: Visual Culture, Performance Culture and the Italian Diaspora in the Long Eighteenth Century," in *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by West (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 4.

⁸⁰ For perspectives on the Italian musical diaspora, see Reinhard Strohm (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001). For other case studies in musician mobility during this period, see Gesa zur Nieden and Berthold Over (eds.), *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe: Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2016).

⁸¹ West, 5-8.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 4.

Pietro Mingotti's troupe.⁸³ Her involvement with these performances may indicate an earlier acquaintance with the piece. Giuseppe Giordani's troupe, which had several Pergolesi *intermezzi* in their repertoire, performed the piece in Amsterdam on October 6, 1756, having stopped en route to Italy from London to mount a subscription series. Possibly the last performance they gave in the city was a benefit concert for two of their dancers, featuring the *Stabat*.⁸⁴

Manuscripts faintly trace other early voyages of the *Stabat*.⁸⁵ Though dating is imprecise, manuscripts copied around or before mid-century are extant in Italy (Milan, Bologna), Germany (Hamburg, Munich) and Sweden (Uppsala, Västerås).⁸⁶ Many early manuscripts survive in church and monastery archives (including those in Florence's Basilica della Santissima Annunziata, Zwettl's Cistercian monastery and St. Peter's Church in Fritzlar).⁸⁷ Such religious institutions played an essential role as media for the performance and transmission of the *Stabat* before the widespread advent of concert organizations.⁸⁸ Clerics and church musicians cultivated musical exchanges. Toscani conjectures that the mid-century performance materials for the piece in the music library of Venice's Chiesa di Santa Maria della Consolazione came to the Oratorian brotherhood there from their counterparts in Naples.⁸⁹ J.S. Bach, who had professional and personal relationships with musicians from the Dresden court such as Hasse and Jan Dismas Zelenka, seems to have worked from the Hofkirche copy of the *Stabat* in preparing his own arrangement of the *Stabat*.⁹⁰ Zelenka's professional ties to the Cistercian monastery at Osek could account for the presence of an early *Stabat* manuscript there (dated 1745).⁹¹

⁸³ This was in 1756. Later, in 1760, she sang the piece at the Parisian Concert Spirituel. See Appendix III.

⁸⁴ D. F. Scheurleer, "Een Merkwaardig Handschrift. Het Wilhelmus als danswijze – Ludwig van Beethoven te Amsterdam," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 7:1 (1901): 41.

⁸⁵ See Appendix I for information on manuscript copies of the *Stabat*.

⁸⁶ In Appendix I, see I-Mc (several in the Nosedà collection); I-Bsf, FN.P.I.3; D-Hs (most of the MSS); D-Mbs, Mus.ms 1288 (RISM No. 456010335); S-Uu (most of the MSS); S-V.

⁸⁷ In Appendix I, see I-Fa, 753 (RISM No. 850004375); A-Z, MS Suppl. 17 (RISM No. 600066943); D-FTZd, MS 26/4 (RISM No. 450020281).

⁸⁸ Tomasz Jeż, "The Reception of Neapolitan Music in the Monastic Centers of Baroque Silesia," *Studi pergolesiani* 8, edited by Claudio Bacciagaluppi, Hans-Günter Ottenberg and Luca Zoppelli (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 343-65.

⁸⁹ Toscani, "Sources," LXV.

⁹⁰ Like the copy in Dresden, it is closer to the autograph than other early manuscripts. For a modern edition, see Johann Sebastian Bach, *Psalm 51: für Sopran, Alt, Zwei Violinen, Viola und Basso continuo, nach dem Stabat mater von Giovanni Battista Pergolesi*, edited by Diethard Hellmann (Kirchheim/Teck: Hänssler Musik Verlag, [1989]).

⁹¹ Bacciagaluppi and Stockigt, 141-2. Marc Niubo notes, though, that Prague was also an important hub for Pergolesi dissemination in Bohemia during the 1740s owing to the period of Austrian Habsburg viceregal control over Naples. Interestingly, almost a third of the fifty eighteenth-century manuscripts of Pergolesi's music in Prague are of the *Stabat*.

Churches and monasteries would continue as important conduits for the dispersion of the *Stabat* well into the nineteenth century, bringing the piece into less urbanized areas.

Thus for the first decade after its composition, the *Stabat* circulated mainly through manuscripts, word-of-mouth and human movement. Its already pan-European dispersion by the end of the 1740s indicates the proliferation of new infrastructures by mid-century that enabled such extensive travel, migration and trade. But even as these patterns of circulation continued, the mediation of the piece changed irrevocably in the years 1748 and 1749. These years mark the initial absorption of the *Stabat* into new media forms. John Walsh Jr. issued the first published editions of the *Stabat* in those years, first as part of the series *Le Delizie dell'Opere* in 1748 and then as an independent edition in 1749.⁹² 1749 also witnessed the first documented public performances of the piece in Dublin and Stockholm.⁹³ Though already a commodity circulating in a cosmopolitan marketplace, until 1749 sources for the *Stabat* remained geographically tethered to Italy. After 1749, circulation became more widely diffused and thus accelerated. Access became regularized through the reproducibility of print, and the seasonality of the public concert calendar. London and Paris became the primary hubs for the reception and dissemination of the *Stabat*. Through print (which also included music criticism, starting in the 1750s) and performance, the *Stabat* attained a degree of mobility and iterability far beyond what was previously possible.

John Walsh Sr. and Jr.'s series *Le Delizie dell'Opere*, totaling eleven volumes (c. 1730-1764), highlighted select excerpts from new and popular London productions. Aside from the *Stabat*, volume 5 contained operatic arias and duets by Neapolitan composers Hasse, Domenèc Terradellas and Pietro Domenico Paradies. Despite the series' focus on select excerpts, Walsh Jr. chose to publish the complete *Stabat* already in 1748, reusing the plates for the freestanding edition of 1749. Walsh could only have been emboldened to undertake such a commercial venture if the *Stabat* had already achieved fame in England. By contrast, Walsh, who was the principle publisher of Handel's music during the composer's lifetime, did not issue a complete version of *Messiah* before his death in 1766.⁹⁴ Walsh's edition of the *Stabat* became the closest thing to an urtext for the rest of the century, its influence traceable through other publications and manuscript copies via variants, idiosyncrasies and

See Marc Niubo, "Giovanni Battista Pergolesi in Eighteenth-Century Bohemia," *Studi pergolesiani* 8, edited by Claudio Bacciagaluppi, Hans-Günter Ottenberg and Luca Zoppelli (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 287-9.

⁹² Generally, for information and citations regarding publications of the *Stabat*, see Appendix II.

⁹³ Generally, for information and citations regarding performances of the *Stabat*, see Appendix III.

⁹⁴ It only appeared in 1767, published by Walsh Jr.'s successors, Randall & Abell. Handel, while he was alive, may have been the principle reason for the delay. See Donald Burrows, "Handel, Walsh, and the Publication of 'Messiah,'" *Music and Letters* 97:2 (May, 2016): 246-8.

blatant errors.⁹⁵ Most subsequent English publications derive in some way from Walsh's first edition, as does the first French edition of the *Stabat* published by Bayard, le Clerc, Castagnery and Desbrettonne (Paris and Lyon, 1753).⁹⁶ Only minute textual differences, and a more spacious layout, differentiate this edition from Walsh's.⁹⁷ Like Walsh's edition, this one was then reprinted, reissued or copied by an array of French publishers in Paris, Lyon and Dunkirk. The monopoly of London and Paris on the *Stabat*'s publication was broken only by Johann Adam Hiller, who published the first keyboard reduction of the piece (Leipzig, 1774) and an arrangement for enlarged vocal and orchestral forces (Leipzig, 1776). Both editions, which replaced the original Latin with Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's German parody, circulated widely within Continental, protestant Europe, where the *Stabat*'s Catholicism had been something of a deterrent. This reduction even inspired another keyboard adaption by the composer Niels Schiørring (Copenhagen: Gyldendals Forlag, 1778) with a Danish text by Benjamin Georg Sporon.⁹⁸

The *Stabat*'s prominence within the medium of print presaged the eventual decline of manuscript trade in the nineteenth century, but for a while its print circulation existed contiguously and even in conflict with its manuscript circulation. Such was the multivalent state of the *Stabat*'s "text" in 1774 that Hiller lamented "[t]he score, after which I have written this [keyboard] arrangement, is a copy of a copy, for even the score engraved in copper in England is nothing but a copy, and in addition a very imperfect one."⁹⁹ Yet, paradoxically, print – even as it did not stabilize a text – made this possibility thinkable, reifying the *Stabat* as a work and drastically increasing its iterability. Print solidified the transformation of the *Stabat* into a standardized commodity, albeit one that would be constantly customized to suit changing circumstances, particularly through its continued intersections with manuscript copies. Still, the change in the *Stabat*'s media ontology was appreciable: in 1741 Elizabeth Rich had to send an inquiry through Walpole to Mann in Florence for Pergolesi's "office of the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows;" a decade later she could have simply walked into Walsh's London shop for a copy of the *Stabat Mater Compos'd by Sigr. Pergolesi*. Indeed, publishing literally made a name for Pergolesi. Even as many

⁹⁵ Tell-tale mistakes in the Walsh edition appear in, for example, D-B, Mus.ms. 17155/5 (RISM No. 455028437).

⁹⁶ Advertised in *Annonces, affiches et avis divers* for November 12, 1753. See Anik Devriès-Lesure, *L'édition musicale dans la presse parisienne au XVIIIe siècle: Catalogue des annonces* (S.L., CNRS Éditions, 2005), 399.

⁹⁷ For instance, the last eighth-note of the viola part in the seventh bar of the first movement is an E in Walsh's edition, but a Db in the French edition. Several of Walsh's more obvious mistakes are not corrected, though. The French edition encompasses 29 pages to Walsh's 26, and the Latin text is engraved freehand unlike the letter punches used by Walsh.

⁹⁸ Schiørring acknowledged Hiller's influence in his preface and Schiørring's arrangement recalls his predecessor's.

⁹⁹ "Die Partiture, nach welcher ich den Auszug geschrieben habe, ist eine Copie von einer andern Copie: denn selbst die in England in Kupfer gestochene Partitur ist nichts als Copie, und noch dazu eine sehr fehlerhafte."

variant spellings of his name appear on manuscripts from Central and Eastern Europe, the spelling of his name was soon standardized in French ("Pergolèse") and English ("Pergolesi") through these early publications.¹⁰⁰ And, in contrast to usual publishing practices, Pergolesi's name is more prominent on the title pages of both Hiller's publications than Hiller's own name (though both were inevitably smaller than the great Klopstock's).¹⁰¹

In all likelihood, public performances of the *Stabat* occurred in London and Paris, not to mention Dresden, Leipzig and elsewhere, before 1749, but specific documentation has not survived.¹⁰² The importance of the 1749 Stockholm and Dublin performances therefore lies not in the performances per se, but in the newspaper advertisements and concert programs that survive for these concerts. By documenting the *Stabat*, these new media paratexts, the material underpinnings of an emergent concert culture, also helped to represent the *Stabat* as a stable, reproducible commodity. Yet these concerts reified the *Stabat* without necessarily stabilizing its musical text.

For the performance in Stockholm, Johan Helmich Roman, formerly the director of the Swedish Royal Court Chapel, arranged the *Stabat*.¹⁰³ It is unclear through what means Roman initially encountered the *Stabat*. He had traveled extensively around Europe collecting music and building professional relationships between 1735 and 1737, including a long stay in London.¹⁰⁴ Roman's engagement with the piece was part of a larger engagement with an emergent concert culture in the Swedish capital. He inaugurated the concert series on which the *Stabat* had its Swedish premiere in 1731 and his arrangement was just one aspect of a project to demonstrate the suitability of the Swedish language for the performance of modern (i.e. Italianate) church music, an endeavor that eventually earned him a place in the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences in 1740.¹⁰⁵ Uncommonly for

¹⁰⁰ Possibly the farthest from the mark, "Sigr. Bergoleehse," appears on the title page of D-B, SA 148 (RISM No. 469014800).

¹⁰¹ Rudolf Rasch, "Basic Concepts," in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600-1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, edited by Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 34.

¹⁰² Claims in secondary literature for performances in Paris and London before 1749 lack references. For a survey of dated performances of the *Stabat*, see Appendix III.

¹⁰³ The actual work may have been accomplished by Roman's assistant, Per Brant. See Anna Lena Holm, *Tematisk förteckning över J.H. Romans vokalverk* (Stockholm: Musikaliska akademiens bibliotek, 1994), 231.

¹⁰⁴ Patrik Vretblad, *Konsertlivet i Stockholm under 1700-talet* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & söner, [1918]), 27.

¹⁰⁵ The concert series operated out of The Palace of the Nobility (Riddarhuset) and involved members of the Royal Chapel. Roman's church music project involved the extensive study and imitation of Neapolitan style. Besides the 1749 *Stabat* arrangement, he also produced a Swedish arrangement (nearly a recomposition) of a *Dixit dominus* by Leonardo Leo and the *Svenska Mässan* (ca. 1752) based on a Swedish parody of the Kyrie and Gloria text. Setting only the first two sections of the mass in this manner was common Neapolitan practice during Pergolesi's life. See Ingmar Bengtsson and Bertil H. van Boer, "Roman, Johan Helmich," *Grove Music Online*, accessed Dec. 7, 2018,

the time, the piece seems to have been performed complete, judging from the published libretto.¹⁰⁶ Roman provided a Swedish text, interspersed chorales from the 1695 Swedish Lutheran Psalm Book harmonized in four parts and added a bass soloist.¹⁰⁷ The anonymous parody text was mostly likely written for this performance, since it follows the scansion and the verse structure of the original Latin exactly. However, the Swedish lyrics focus more on Christ's sufferings than on the Virgin's experience of the crucifixion. These changes brought the *Stabat* closer to the conventions (musical and doctrinal) of Swedish Lutheranism. Roman's hybrid *Stabat* was a success: it was performed nearly annually in Stockholm into the nineteenth century and with some frequency in other Swedish cities. Judging from surviving librettos, Roman's version remained largely intact over time and also influenced similar *Stabat* adaptations in other parts of Scandinavia.¹⁰⁸

Nicolo Pasquali led the Smock Alley Band and probably instigated the *Stabat* performances in Dublin.¹⁰⁹ His contact with the piece could have come from his (presumably) Italian musical education or from his time in London, just before settling in Dublin. These performances in Dublin (numbering four in total during the 1749-50 concert season) were given under the auspices of the Charitable Music Society in Fishamble Street. Boydell observes that the *Stabat* was an unusual item for a concert in Dublin, where Handel's oratorios were already performed regularly.¹¹⁰ The bilingual libretto confirms the novelty of performing Latin church music at a public concert, caught between the language of the Catholic liturgy and the vernacular. Much like Walsh's 1748 *Le Delizie delle Opera*,

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

¹⁰⁶ "Jesu Christi Guds sons och mennisko- slägtets frälsares, bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse." (Stockholm, tryckt hos Lars Salvius: 1749).

¹⁰⁷ The bass joins the higher voices for "Skåda Jesu svåra pina" ("Stabat mater"), "Se! Gud fångslad" ("O quam"), "Jesus för vår synder qvider" ("Pro peccatis") and the two fugues, as well as replacing the alto in the solo movements "Når Guds vrede Jesum tuktar" ("Quae moerebat") and "Låt mig, Jesu" ("Fac ut portem"). Patrik Vretblad reports that additional arias with Swedish texts not listed in the program were embedded between sections of the *Stabat*. These included arias by Handel, Benedetto Marcello and Roman himself, an aria ("O Herre Gud, Guds Lamb") that comes close to sounding Neapolitan with its sparse two- or three-part textures and pulsating violin figures. Roman would later incorporate this aria into the *Svenska Mässan*. See Vretblad, 149. The chorale harmonizations survive in a book now in Stockholm's Musik- och teaterbiblioteket (S-Skma, KO/Sv.-Rr saml. Ro:86a, RISM No. 190023604). Fragments of the additional arias have been identified (S-Skma, Ro:62c, RISM No. 190101815). Roman also produced arrangements of the two fugal movements ("Fac ut ardeat" and "Amen") for solo violin (S-Skma, Ro:97/95, RISM No. 190023607).

¹⁰⁸ Copenhagen began a semi-annual performance tradition of the *Stabat* in 1751. For the first several decades, chorales were added and a Danish text was used that similarly minimized the presence of Mary. No single version of the *Stabat* commanded the loyalty of Copenhagen's public on the same level as Roman's in Stockholm, until that of Sporon.

¹⁰⁹ Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700-1760* (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1988), 131-2, 139.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 131-2.

these performances show that the *Stabat's* initial forays into new media marked the piece as a generic intruder. As in Stockholm, the program for the Dublin concerts gives some information concerning what people heard in 1749.¹¹¹ The text, entitled "The Plaint of the Blessed Virgin," was printed with the original Latin mirrored by a rather eccentric English translation. Based on this libretto, the *Stabat* again seems to have been performed in its entirety, but the presence of the Latin suggests that the English text was not sung, even though it is, like Roman's, in the same rhyme and verse scheme. Unlike the Swedish parody, it retains a focus on the Virgin and the breakdown of the text into "Duets" and "Songs" suggests that it retained Pergolesi's original vocal forces, even if four singers were advertised. It is unclear if the overture Pasquali wrote to the *Stabat* was used in 1749.¹¹² Since Boydell's "musical calendar" for Dublin stops in 1760, it is difficult at present to assess the longevity of the *Stabat's* popularity in the Irish city. It was performed several additional times before 1760 and at least twice after.

1749 was both an event and a non-event in the media history of the *Stabat*. Its absorption into the newish media of print publication and the public concert dramatically expanded its circulation. However, these new media never fully supplanted older ones, and the *Stabat's* absorption was only the byproduct of popularity already achieved through other media forms. Nevertheless, when Claude Matthieu Pellegrin wished to touch upon the *Stabat* in his *Dissertation sur la musique françoise et italienne* (Amsterdam, 1754) he sought out the score published in Paris the year before.¹¹³ This sketch of the *Stabat's* circulation during the 1740s corrects a persistent image of the piece as appearing precipitously on the stage of the Concert Spirituel in 1753, buoyed by the ongoing *Querelle des bouffons*. Jacques Lacombe, in his *Dictionnaire portatif* (Paris, 1752), already refers to

¹¹¹ They were printed by James Hoey, who was also probably involved in the organization of the concert itself, given that he sold tickets for later concerts of the *Stabat* in Dublin (1751). See Boydell, 149. In 1764, he also published an Italian-English libretto for the Dublin premier of Pergolesi's *La serva padrona*. On the cover of this libretto, Hoey noted: "The Music by the celebrated Pergolesi/Author of that of Stabat Mater." The *Stabat's* arrival in Dublin fifteen years prior to *La serva* is notable.

¹¹² The music for this is now lost. Pasquali led several consequent performances of the *Stabat* during his time in Dublin, so it could have been written later. Our knowledge of the overture comes from Bremner's preface to Pasquali's *The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord* in which the publisher promises soon to issue a score of the overture along with other unpublished Pasquali manuscripts in his possession. Whether this happened or not is unknown, but Pasquali's overture was performed as a concert item separate from Pergolesi's *Stabat* in Edinburgh (where Pasquali moved in 1752) on December 23, 1760. See W. Forbes Gray, "The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall" in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, Vol. 19 (Dec. 1933), 215.

¹¹³ He refers to it in his text as "*Stabat mater del Signor Pergolese*" as the title appears on the 1753 Paris publication. Pellegrin was a French partisan in the *Querelle* and after invoking the *Stabat*, commenced with ridiculing it. See the reprint of Pellegrin's *Dissertation* in *La Querelle des Bouffons; Texte des pamphlets*, Vol. 3, introduction, commentary and index by Denise Launay (Geneva: Minkoff, 1973), 2376-7.

"the *Stabat mater*" of Pergolesi, using the definite article, as a "universally regarded...masterpiece."¹¹⁴ Though published in 1752, the censor's notice indicates that Lacombe's text was approved on October 23, 1751, well before either the *Stabat*'s Parisian premier or the opening volleys of the *Querelle*. By 1751, the *Stabat* had already traveled far and wide, defining Pergolesi's posthumous reputation as much as, if not more than, *La serva pardona*.

MEDIA AESTHETICS I: PROLIFERATION

Pergolesi, the great Pergolesi became inimitable through the simplicity joined to the grandeur of his style, through the truth of affect, through the naturalness, and vigor of expression, through the fine-tuning and unity of design, for which he is deservedly called the Raphael, and the Virgil of music.

Stefano Arteaga, *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano*
(Venice, 1785)¹¹⁵

On the cusp of this 1749 media juncture, it is necessary to pause and contemplate the bases for the *Stabat*'s appeal. On the one hand, its fame cannot be separated from the broader dissemination and popularity of Neapolitan and similar Italianate musical styles across Europe. On the other hand, new media did fundamentally deracinate and deterritorialize the piece from the musical culture of early eighteenth-century Naples. Arteaga's words effectively summarize much of the positive reception of Pergolesi's music during the eighteenth century, but most of his points could have applied to the oeuvre of any composer working within the Neapolitan, or really Italian or even Italianate, tradition.¹¹⁶ Pergolesi was no more "inimitable" than, as Chabanon suggested, he was original. His music existed firmly within the stylistic premises in which he was trained. Only through the exceptional circulation of his music, and because of the new possibilities for mobility and iteration that new media afforded it, the character or idea of "Pergolesi" became invested with all the "revolutionary" aesthetic principles that Neapolitan music sounded for more northerly listeners.

¹¹⁴ Jacques Lacombe, "Avertissement," *Dictionnaire portatif des beaux-arts* (Paris: La Veuve Estienne & Fils; Jean-Th. Herissant, 1752), viii.

¹¹⁵ "Pergolesi, il gran Pergolesi divenne inimitabile per la semplicità accoppiata alla grandezza del suo stile, per la verità dell'affetto, per la naturalezza, e vigore della espressione, per l'aggiustatezza, ed unità del disegno, onde vien meritamente chiamato il Raffaello, e il Virgilio della musica." Stefano Arteaga, *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano*, Second edition, Vol. 1 (Venice: Carlo Palese, 1785), 22.

¹¹⁶ Northern European writers were not always judicious in differentiating Neapolitan musicians from Italian musicians more generally. For example, Jérôme de Lalande counted among the composers who adorned Naples with their works the names of Corelli and Galuppi, two composers who composed most of their celebrated works elsewhere on the peninsula. See Jérôme de Lalande, *Voyage en Italie*, second edition, Vol. 7 (Paris: La veuve Desaint, 1786), 193.

The deep saturation of Neapolitan/Italianate style across Europe and certain of its essential characteristics allowed it to perform for audiences and critics a communicative ideal that was both necessary for and an effect of media proliferation. Danuta Mirka observes that communication became the fundamental concern of musicians and critics in the later eighteenth century, lurking below the mainstream discourses around expression, imitation and the relationship between music and text, because of the diffusion and dispersion of composers and listeners through various new media.¹¹⁷ Even if critics ultimately clung to a loose Aristotelian mimesis grounded in the primacy of lyrical sense over musical sound, fissures in this orthodoxy opened at the intersection of sensibility and Neapolitan music's reception.¹¹⁸ Neapolitan music proved especially capable of a Gell-esque distributed agency, the audible traces of its pedagogy serving to guide the attention of listeners across its compartmentalized aural structures and training listeners in its stylistic syntax.¹¹⁹ As Jonas Hanway observed in his *Thoughts on the Importance of the Sabbath* (London, 1765), "[s]ome Italian masters please almost every ear, even when there is no knowledge of [musical] science."¹²⁰ Its schematic modularity, periodicity and textual sparsity allowed Neapolitan style to be heard as a proto- or ur-language of emotional communication, that could express sentiment in a manner that was at once immediate, acting through the medium of the human body itself, and ostensibly unmediated, not requiring a secondary semiotic system or man-made language. Rousseau made much of this perceived quality of Italian music in his *Essai sur l'origine des langues* (1781) and his *Lettre sur la musique françoise* (1753), the latter including some experiments that, for Rousseau, demonstrated the superiority of Italian music over French. He noted that French singers could more easily and more effectively perform Italian arias than Italian singers could interpret French ones. He also recounted the experience of an Armenian, who "never heard any music," listening to arias of Galuppi and Rameau for the first time. The former produced the intended emotional reaction, while the latter left him with "more a sense of surprise than pleasure."¹²¹ In both instances, the mediacy of Italian music, its ability both to communicate readily and thereby circulate with ease, signified its preeminence.

Chabanon, Hanway and Rousseau all framed the efficacy of Italian music in terms of "pleasure," a pleasure, I argue, that points to the deep entanglement between the perceived sentimental capacities of Neapolitan/Italian music and its galant formal features. Rousseau, in his *Dictionnaire* entry for "Expression," opined that, "music's charm does not only consist of imitation, but of agreeable imitation...one can not paint feeling [in music] without giving it [music] that secret charm which is inseparable from it [feeling], nor touch

¹¹⁷ Danuta Mirka, "Forward," in *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music*, edited by Mirka and Kofi Agawu (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1-2.

¹¹⁸ Neubauer draws out these tensions, even if his whole book is marked by a teleological bias toward the aesthetics supporting early nineteenth-century instrumental music.

¹¹⁹ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

¹²⁰ Jonas Hanway, *Thoughts on the Importance of the Sabbath* (London: S.n., 1765), 69.

¹²¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre sur la musique françoise* (S.l.: s.n., 1753), 26-9.

the heart if one does not please the ear."¹²² For Rousseau, and those like Arteaga who wrote under his thrall, the key to this "agreeable imitation" was "unity of design." Rousseau's *Dictionnaire* offered a definition for musical "design" as follows: "the invention and the conduct of the subject, the layout of each Part, & the general organization of everything."¹²³ "Design" brought together "beaux Chants" and "bonne Harmonie" by linking "all the work's parts" ("Chant," "Mouvement," "Caractère," "Harmonie" and "Modulation") to a "principle subject" and thereby making the piece "one."¹²⁴ He acknowledged the struggle in maintaining this unity, which ideally operated both within and between movements, "with an elegant variety."¹²⁵ Other writers elaborated on this idea. Laurant Garcin (*Traité du Mélo-drame*) believed Italian music to be "beautiful" and "touching" because of "its movement, its means, [and] its customary forms [sa marche, ses moyens, ses formes habituelles]." Italian arias, moreover, were "melodic, periodic, cadenced, [and] above all *one* [mélodieuse, périodique, cadencée, *une* enfin]."¹²⁶ Earlier, in *L'Esprit*, Blainville spoke of the "hidden harmony" of Italian music (Corelli, Vivaldi, Telemann, Hasse, Pergolesi, Terradellas, Jommelli, etc.), "that comes from style, from the clarity of the rhythm [précis de la mesure] and the beautiful assemblage of parts."¹²⁷ André Morellet ("De la expression en musique," 1771) believed that "imitation in all the arts must embellish nature."¹²⁸ Music "asks for the rhythm to cadence, the periods to be rounded, the voice to be sustained [and] fortified by the accompaniment" in order to "give the copy the charm that nature refused to the original."¹²⁹ He continues in the next paragraph to assert that Homer, Guido Reni and Pergolesi (representative of poetry, painting and music) "make the soul feel delicious

¹²² "Surtout il faut bien observer que le charme de la Musique ne consiste pas seulement dans l'imitation, mais dans une imitation agréable; & que la déclamation même, pour faire un grand effet, doit être subordonnée à la Mélodie; de sorte qu'on ne peut peindre le sentiment sans lui donner ce charme secret qui en est inséparable, ni toucher le coeur si l'on ne plaît à l'oreille." Rousseau, *Dictionnaire*, 211.

¹²³ "l'invention & la conduite du sujet, la disposition de chaque Partie, & l'ordonnance générale du tout." *Ibid.*, 142.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ This passage does not appear in the 1772 edition of the *Traité*. It does however appear as a quotation of the *Traité* in François-Jean de Chastellux's "Observations sur un ouvrage nouveau, intitulé: *Traité du Melo-Drame...*" (1771) and Jean-François Marmontel's *Éléments de Littérature* (1787). Possibly, these authors drew on an earlier published edition of the *Traité* that has not survived. See Laurant Garcin, *Traité du Mélo-drame* (Paris: Vallat-la-Chapelle, 1772); Chastellux, "Observations sur un ouvrage nouveau," *Mercure de France* (Sept., 1771): 144; Marmontel, *Éléments de Littérature*, Vol. 2 (S.l.: S.n., 1787), 104-5.

¹²⁷ Blainville, 83-4 (footnote).

¹²⁸ "L'imitation dans tous les arts doit embellir la nature." André Morellet, "De la expression en musique," *Mercure de France* (Nov., 1771): 132.

¹²⁹ "Elle demande à cadencer sa marche, à arrondir ses périodes, à soutenir, à fortifier la voix par l'accompagnement...donne à la copie un charme que la nature a refusé à l'original." *Ibid.*, 133.

sentiments that nature alone would never have nurtured."¹³⁰ The pleasures of Neapolitan music were thus both syntactical and sensible – or syntactical and *thereby* sensible. In Arteaga's terms, "vigor of expression" and "truth of affect" were impossible without first a galant "unity of design."

Already, Morellet's pamphlet suggests the special position accorded Pergolesi within these discourses. But why was his particular instantiation of Neapolitan style so successful? Certainly, Pergolesi was perceived by eighteenth-century writers as exceptional. Garcin, Blainville and above all Rousseau singled him out and sang his praises. Pierre-Louis Ginguené observed that "order, clarity, good disposition of parts, elegance" contributed to the early success of much Italianate music from Pergolesi's time; but, he continued, most pieces lacked "the creative fire" of Pergolesi's genius and ultimately disappeared. "They are dead," he intoned.¹³¹ Others noted the particular staying-power of Pergolesi's *Stabat* (here, in a review of a 1784 performance):

The subject of this music, whose repetition always makes a new pleasure, seems to have been exhausted by this famous composer; and it is astonishing that others have tried on the same subject, but is it not so that their essays only recall the production of Pergolesi and arouse the desire to hear it repeated.¹³²

Laying aside whatever aesthetic arguments placed Pergolesi and his *Stabat* above his contemporaries and their works, my contention – and, in broadest terms, this is the argument that the rest of this dissertation will elaborate – is that the unprecedented liveliness and longevity of Pergolesi and his *Stabat*, as well as eighteenth-century perceptions of its outsized emotional effect, registered a complex new pattern of intersecting mediations that emerged during the period. And, as new media forms and protocols proliferated – particularly print media and their discursive allies – the already copious circulatory capacities of Neapolitan music met the immense circulatory potentialities of a new media regime. Transduced into text and performance, Pergolesi's music took a form around which new kinds of interests and engagements could accrue.

Sentimental musical aesthetics, with their emphasis on the personal experience of feeling, needed a sensible composer-hero, whose unique capabilities for feeling surpassed most, in order to close the communication loop responsible for the circulation of sentiments through music. "The musician feels forcefully [vivement]," wrote Rousseau idealistically, and only then can he "render with energy all the ideas that he must render &

¹³⁰ "Homère, le Guide, Pergolèse font éprouver à l'ame des sentimens délicieux que la nature suele n'auroit jamais fait naître." Ibid.

¹³¹ "L'ordre, la clarté, la bonne disposition des parties, l'élégance même y étaient, et leur donnèrent quelque succès à leur naissance: mais le feu créateur n'était point en eux; c'est lui seul qui vivifie: ils sont morts." Pierre-Louis Ginguené, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Nicolas Piccinni* (Paris: La Veuve Panckoucke, An IX [1801]), 13.

¹³² "Le sujet de cette musique, dont la répétition fait toujours un nouveau plaisir, paroît avoir été épuisé par ce célèbre compositeur; & il est étonnant, que d'autres se soient essayés sur le même sujet, mais il ne l'est pas que leurs essais ne fassent que rappeler la production de Pergolese & naître le desir de l'entendre répéter." "Italie, Rome (le 15 Avril)," *Journal historique et littéraire* 2 (May 15, 1784): 123-4.

all the sentiments that he must express."¹³³ Pergolesi, thrice distant from most who wrote about him by space, time and death, served as a useful screen for the projection of sentimental fantasies. Other media as well, with increasing frequency, framed Pergolesi as the harbinger, the greatest exponent, the innovator, the avatar and/or the personification of Neapolitan style, attributing to his spirit and hands all of its expressive innovations. "The sensible Pergolesi," according to a 1773 concert review in the *Mercure de France*, was "the first musician for the expression of sentiment."¹³⁴ In his entry for "design," Rousseau acclaimed "the immortal" Pergolesi: "his *Stabat mater*, his [cantata] *Orfeo*, [and] his *Serva Padrona* are, in three different genres, three equally perfect masterpieces of *Design*."¹³⁵ Saverio Mattei continued Arteaga's line of thought in his *Elogio di Jommelli* (Colle, 1785), praising Pergolesi as the "Raphael of music." With Pergolesi "we began to distinguish the accent, the meter, the continuation of the melodies [si cominciò a distinguere l'accento, il metro, la continuazione delle melodie]," melodies marked by a "regularity of motives well continued and extended [regolarità di motivi ben continuati, e distesi]."¹³⁶ Jean-François Marmontel, reflecting on the "progress of music in France," believed that "the French realized that something was missing in their vocal music" after encountering Pergolesi:

Pergolesi's music had made them feel the effects of rhythm and meter [*du nombre et de la mesure*], the gradations of light and dark, the intelligence of design, the cohesion and unity of accompaniment with melody, the great secret of the musical period in the construction of arias.¹³⁷

Pergolesi, above all other composers, wrote Marmontel, knew how "to imprint with force on the souls of others the profound sentiment that penetrated him."¹³⁸

Along with his "design," Pergolesi's enthusiasts tended to focus, as Arteaga and de Brosses did, on the simplicity and naturalness of his music as intrinsic to its heightened effect. Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart equated "the distinctive character of Pergolesi's genius [das Gepräge des pergolesischen Genies]" with the composer's "extreme simplicity [äusserste Einfachheit]" in his *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna, 1806).¹³⁹

¹³³ "le Musicien sent vivement & rend avec énergie toutes les idées qu'il doit rendre, & tous les sentimens qu'il doit exprimer." Rousseau, *Dictionnaire*, 210.

¹³⁴ "Spectacles, Concert Spirituel," *Mercure de France* (May, 1773): 157.

¹³⁵ "Son *Stabat Mater*, son *Orfeo*, sa *Serva Padrona* sont, dans trois genres différens, trois chef-d'oeuvres de *Dessein* également parfaits." Rousseau, *Dictionnaire*, 143.

¹³⁶ Saverio Mattei, *Memorie per servire alla vita del Metastasio; ed Elogio di N. Jommelli* (Bologna, A. Forni, 1987), 73, 102.

¹³⁷ Jean-François Marmontel, "Essay on the Progress of Music in France," in Enrico Fubini, *Music & Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe: A Source Book*, translations by Wolfgang Freis, Lisa Gasbarrone, Michael Louis Leone, translations edited by Bonnie J. Blackburn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 367.

¹³⁸ "d'imprimer avec force dans l'âme des autres le sentiment profond dont il est pénétré." Jean-François Marmontel, "Lettre de M. Marmontel à M. de la Harpe," *Mercure de France* (Sept. 15, 1778): 163.

¹³⁹ Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, edited by Ludwig Schubart (Vienna: J.V. Degen, 1806), 50. Schubart may have had something of a

Pergolesi's "phrasing [Satz] is always simple [einfach]," requiring only "two violins, a viola and a very simple [simpeln] bass" and none of the "bluster [Wettergetöse]" of drums and wind instruments then fashionable.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, "his modulations [Ausweichungen], as good as his harmonic progressions [harmonischen Gänge], are very simple [höchst einfach], and he needs so few notes to express his thoughts."¹⁴¹ Schubert's notion of "Einfachheit" encompassed what others would describe as "design" and "unity." Etymologically, the term itself connotes a sense of "oneness" lacking in the otherwise synonymous German word "simpel." But Schubart also connects this simple unity to Pergolesi's thin textures and minimal instrumentation, music elements perhaps even more readily perceptible than phrasing or motivic economy. Simplicity was the handmaiden of "naturalness." But the "naturalness" of Pergolesi's music was not the "naturalness" of Vivaldi's *Four Seasons*, not a straightforward attempt to mimic the sounds of nature in music, but a "naturalness" that opposed the more "artful" aspects of musical composition. Complicated artificial contrivances – virtuosity, counterpoint, literal mimesis of natural objects – contrasted with the "simpler" tendencies of galant music. Schubart found the *Stabat's* "modulations [Modulationen]...natural, as if art had nothing to do" with them.¹⁴² In these ways, we can see how these four terms – design, unity, simplicity, nature – parsed the mediacy of Pergolesi's music for eighteenth-century critics, the connection between its galant features and its perceived communicative ability. It also demonstrates how investment in individual composers and works focused and thereby heightened the appreciation and the effect of mediacy beyond any abstract appreciation of Neapolitan style.

Media dispersed the tableau at the center of the *Stabat mater* hymn. Already, the Latin text itself, with its vivid depictions of embodied female suffering and inarticulate evocations of sympathetic communication between its central figures, well mirrored popular sentimental tableaux in contemporary plays and novels (cf. *Caliste*).¹⁴³ Sentimental aesthetics further implicated Pergolesi, his own sensibility and feelings, within his musical setting, suggesting an empathetic connection between Pergolesi and the Virgin. Media proliferation allowed listeners to place themselves within this ever-expanding tableau, virtually joining their sensitive responses to the piece with the feelings of the Virgin, Pergolesi and other listeners (real or imagined). Already in 1749, new media was encouraging such sentimental connectivity. Even though the Latin text of the *Stabat* was sung at its first performances in Dublin, the printed libretto invited a novel kind of

point here. Pergolesi perhaps wore his galanterie more ostentatiously than his Neapolitan contemporaries.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 49.

¹⁴¹ "Auch sind seine Ausweichungen so wohl, als seine harmonischen Gänge höchst einfach, und er braucht zum Ausdruck seiner Gedanken so wenig Noten." Ibid., 49-50.

¹⁴² "Die Modulationen sind so natürlich, als hätte die Kunst gar nichts dabey zu thun gehabt." Ibid., 50.

¹⁴³ Richard Will has already situated the *Stabat* within the gender dynamics of eighteenth-century sensibility. See Richard Will, "Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* and the Politics of Feminine Virtue," *The Musical Quarterly* 87:3 (Oct., 2004): 570-614.

sentimental communion among the audience via the English translation. The "Quando corpus" was rendered:

O! hear us Jesus! Jesus hear
Our humble Pray'rs, secure our Fear,
When thou in Judgment shall appear.
Now give us Sorrow, give us Love;
That so prepar'd we may remove
When call'd from this to the blest World above.

No longer a moment of spiritual introspection, these final moments became a collective invocation. Similar moments of communion were provided by the hymns Roman interpolated in Stockholm, even though the Swedish translation maintained the first person perspective of the original poem and removed Mary completely in favor of direct appeals to Jesus:

Oh Jesus Christ!
Our consolation surely,
We beg you enthroned:
Let your pain, cross and death
Bring us to joy.¹⁴⁴

The shift from the Latin's first person to a media "we" invited listeners in a concert setting to imagine themselves as an audience – a public that, secularizing the congregational logic of liturgical music, shares an emotional experience.

Music print likewise encouraged purchasers to imaginatively engage with other consumers. In the preface to his 1774 arrangement of the piece, Hiller had been explicit that his publication was aimed at "music lovers, with a throat not unusable for singing and sufficient skill on the keyboard, who seek not their critical improvement, but their pleasure."¹⁴⁵ This was unpretentious music for a new public, whose dispersed but collective activity likewise secularized the devotional purposes of the *Stabat*. Pergolesi afforded "a serious pleasure [ein ernsthaftes Vergnügen]," explained Hiller, since "the sufferings of our Savior, and what a human heart feels in its contemplation, are here expressed [ausgedrückt] with such vivid strokes, in such eloquent tones, that one does not deserve to be a human if one could remain cold and unmoved."¹⁴⁶ In this preface, Hiller invited the buyers of his arrangement to connect sympathetically with Pergolesi, Mary and

¹⁴⁴ "Ach Jesu Christ!/Vår tröst förvist,/Vi Tig i trone bedje:/Lät Tin pina, korss och död/Lända oss til glädje." This is Psalm No. 154, Verse 12 in the Old Swedish Psalm Book (1695) and was placed between the equivalent in Roman's arrangement of "Sancta mater" ("Dödsens fångar Du förlossat") and "Fac ut portem" ("Lät mig, Jesu").

¹⁴⁵ "Musikliebhabern, die bey einer zum Gesange nicht ganz unbrauchbaren Kehle, und bey hinlänglicher Fertigkeit auf dem Claviere, nicht kritische Verbesserungen, sondern ihr Vergnügen suchen."

¹⁴⁶ "die Leiden unsers Erlösers, und was ein menschliches Herz bey deren Betrachtung empfindet, werden hier mit so lebhaften Zügen gemahlt, in so redenden Tönen ausgedrückt, daß man nicht verdiente ein Mensch zu seyn, wenn man dabey kalt und ungerührt bleiben könnte."

Jesus, and with other sensitive *liebhaber*. Each new print of the *Stabat*, whether a published score or libretto, expressed and ex-pressed, *ausgedrückt* and *ausgedruckt*, the new sentimental relationships articulated through new media. And with sentiment, more was always more. Each iteration added another layer of resonance and meaning around the *Stabat*.

The sentimental valences that accrued around the *Stabat* sustained several idealist notions about new media. Writers tended to conflate the novelty of Neapolitan music with the new sensibility as well as the spread of new media and the economic and social welfare of nations that was both cause and effect of media proliferation. The *Encyclopédistes* recognized Pergolesi as an avatar of musical progress and later writers sensitive to their aesthetics confirmed Pergolesi as an agent of progressive change. These arguments folded into still grander arguments about the advancement of Western civilization during the eighteenth century. François-Jean de Chastellux's summation of the progress of human understanding and its contribution to societal health, *De la félicité publique* (Amsterdam, 1772), reserved a special place for Pergolesi:

If we pass on to the agreeable arts, those amiable comforters of life, which have but too much right to challenge our attention, we shall not cease to congratulate ourselves on our riches. Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, patronised by the Medici, advanced at once towards perfection. They sank, for a while, amidst the calamities of the times, but now revive in all their lustre. As to Music which maintains over the senses, a still more immediate, and continual empire, what progress hath it not made in our days? no, antiquity never presented a more captivating allurements to a mind glowing with sensibility, than the union of a Pergolese, and a Metastasio, a rare, and valuable union, from which arose the pleasures of Europe, and which drew from each audience more delicious tears than had ever been offered by enthusiasm to talents.¹⁴⁷

At the local level, musical activity, particularly the performance of widely-recognized masterpieces like Pergolesi's *Stabat*, was correlated with civic well-being. The *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* opined that, "[t]here is no shortage of men of knowledge and taste, and there is much sound reason and enlightenment in Oldenburg," a city where "music is

¹⁴⁷ This is from the English translation, *An Essay on Public Happiness*, Vol. 2 (London: T. Cadell, 1774), 163-4. The original French reads: "Si nous passons ensuite aux arts agréables, ces aimables consolateurs de la vie, qui n'ont que trop de droits à réclamer notre attention; nous ne cesserons pas de nous applaudir de nos richesses. La Peinture, la Sculpture & l'Architecture protégées par les *Médicis*, parvinrent tout à coup à leur perfection. Dégénérées un moment à cause du malheur des tems, elles reparoissent maintenant dans tout leur éclat. Mais la Musique qui exerce sur nos sens un empire encore plus immédiat, plus continuel, quels progrès n'a-t-elle pas faits de nos jours? Non, l'antiquité n'a rien produit de plus touchant pour une ame sensible que l'union d'un Pergolese & d'un Métastase, union rare & précieuse d'où naquirent les plaisirs de l'Europe, & qui fit couler les larmes les plus délicieuses que l'enthousiasme ait jamais offertes aux talents." François-Jean de Chastellux, *De la félicité publique*, Vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Marc Michel Rey, 1772), 88.

loved.”¹⁴⁸ The author goes on to draw attention to the winter amateur public concert series and the “spiritual oratorios” by Pergolesi, Graun and Kreusser that were featured.¹⁴⁹

Of course, the *Stabat*'s fame was to an extent self-perpetuating. Audiences wanted to hear it because it was famous and it was famous because audiences wanted to hear it. Because of the *Stabat*'s superlative reputation, Oldenburg's own reputation was burnished by having the *Stabat* performed there. Mediacy was at the core of the *Stabat*'s value. Claims for the “universality” or “immortality” of Pergolesi or his *Stabat* played directly into this mediacy. The best musical works, like the paintings of Raphael and the poetry of Virgil, would be effective and appreciated everywhere and always. But like Lacombe's pronouncement of the *Stabat*'s “universal regard,” Rousseau's assertion of Pergolesi's immortality during the 1760s was at best presumptuous. Even if Pergolesi's *Stabat* enjoyed unprecedented acclaim across Europe and steady performance into the next century, such statements, and comparisons to Raphael or Virgil, were always rhetorical flourishes that fed the ideology of sensibility and media proliferation. Sympathy, within the physio-politics of the eighteenth century, could be the basis of moral systems because each human possessed an equal capacity to move and be moved by the feelings of others. The principles of sensibility were ubiquitous and constantly valid because every person had the same sensorium. If certain works could be circulated and repeated without end, then media might also possess an absolute capacity to mediate.

Not everyone was a Pergolesi aficionado, but his detractors seldom attacked the substance of his supporters' arguments, just the value of mediacy and its pleasures. Joseph Martin Kraus (*Etwas von und über Musik*, Frankfurt, 1778) remarked that Pergolesi was “kein Nierenprüfer [not one who examines things deeply, lit. not a kidney-examiner]” and condemned the *Stabat*'s empty quest for “pleasure through the expression of its text.”¹⁵⁰ Such judgments, though, were in the minority, and even those like Charles Avison, who had a mixed opinion of the composer, acknowledged that “the Critic of Taste is almost tempted to blame his own Severity in censuring Compositions [by Vinci, Bononcini, d'Astorga and Pergolesi], in which he finds Charms so powerful and commanding.”¹⁵¹ Others quibbled about the enormous role in music history accorded Pergolesi by his devotees. Boyer did not deny his expressive talents, but recognized new media's role in Pergolesi's outsized reception. He diagnosed Pergolesi's reputation in France as the product of the little knowledge the French public possessed of Neapolitan music beyond Pergolesi's *Stabat* and *La serva padrona*.¹⁵² Indeed, by 1772, the French public would have been seldom exposed

¹⁴⁸ “An Männern von Kenntnissen und Geschmack fehlt es nicht und in Oldenburg ist viel gesunde Vernunft und Aufklärung. Die Musik wird hier geliebt.” “Vermischte Auszüge aus Briefen unsrer Correspondenten,” *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 115 (Sept. 23, 1789): 959-60.

¹⁴⁹ The *Stabat* was performed in Oldenburg in 1784.

¹⁵⁰ “Pergolesi. Mir ist er kein Nierenprüfer. Sein *Stabat Mater* ist fehlerhaft und durch und durch der Text zum Ausdrucke genotzüchtigt.” Joseph Martin Kraus, *Etwas von und über Musik für's Jahr 1777* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichenbergschen Erben, 1778), 97.

¹⁵¹ Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London: C. Davis, 1752), 43.

¹⁵² Boyer, 191-2

to music composed by Pergolesi's contemporaries. Even *La serva* would have been known more from reputation, stemming from the infamous *Querelle des Bouffons*, than from actual performances. Only the *Stabat*, performed almost every year at the Concert Spirituel, would have been a "living," "vital" work. Boyer's observation points to the role new media and their protocols played in perpetuating the *Stabat's* fame at the expense of Pergolesi's other works and the works of his contemporaries. These are the subject of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 2: SPIRITUAL CONCERTS¹

In 1768, a group of amateur musicians gathered at Johannes Benzon's estate (Sohngårdsholm) in the northern Danish municipality of Aalborg to inaugurate a new regional performance organization. The first meeting of "Det Musicalske Selskab" ("The Musical Society") was organized by local organist Peter Adam Hartwich and featured Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* among the "Vocal- og Instrumental-Passionsmusique."² Over the course of the century, such societies reorganized the social relations around music-making, carving out new spaces for the consumption of music and aggregating listeners into new audiences and publics. These organizations not only directed the energies of their members inward, toward the cultivation of musical conviviality, but outward as well, connecting their activities to the many other concert societies that sprang up around Europe. In the case of Aalborg, the name of the enterprise indicates that its model was Copenhagen's already active "Det Musicalske Selskab," which had likewise given multiple performances of the *Stabat* since 1751.³ Indeed, a certain cosmopolitan repertoire played an essential role in cultivating these new musical sociabilities, channeling the interests of amateurs, connoisseurs and professionals alike. Through Pergolesi's widely dispersed piece, a local music society in Aalborg connected themselves, both imaginatively and materially, with a community of music enthusiasts beyond the surrounding region, beyond Denmark, and even beyond Europe. The medium that made such musical cosmopolitanism newly thinkable – and a medium with which the *Stabat* was intimately bound up – was the spiritual concert.

Concert Spirituel (Paris, Berlin); Concerto Spirituale (London); Geistliche Concert (Leipzig); Concierto Espirituale (Madrid, Barcelona); Gejstlig Koncert (Copenhagen); Andelig Musik (Stockholm); Aandelige Concert (Copenhagen); Passions-Musique (Stockholm); Spiritual-Concert (Edinburgh, Rotterdam).⁴ By the end of the century, one

¹ For all concert performances of the *Stabat* mentioned in this chapter, and hundreds more not directly referenced here, see Appendix III.

² Jens Henrik Koudal, *For borgere og bønder: Stadsmusikantvæsenet i Danmark ca. 1660-1800* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag; Københavns Universitet, 2000), 410.

³ This date comes from Giuseppe Radiciotti, *G. B. Pergolesi, vita, opere ed influenza su l'arte* (Roma: Edizione "Musica," 1910), 252. The Danish Royal Library has several programs for *Stabat* performances in the 1750s and later by Copenhagen's Det Musicalske Selskab, but not from 1751.

⁴ Some of these terms referred to concert-presenting organizations themselves (the Concert Spirituel or the Concierto Espirituale), while most referred to single events. Other cities, such as Vienna, Moscow and St. Petersburg, had similar events without similar nomenclature. The label "Concerto Spirituale," used in London advertisements, particularly suggests the cosmopolitan mixture of French concert practices and Italian music that delineated these offerings from standard oratorio concerts. For more on the Conciertos Espirituales see José Subirá, "Conciertos espirituales españoles en el siglo XVIII,"

could attend “spiritual concerts” across Europe in large cities and even in many provincial ones, like Aalborg, which replicated the models from nearby urban centers. Spiritual concerts – annual or semi-annual public subscription concerts staged during Lent – were a new medium in the eighteenth century. Not that a “concert” or even a “public concert” were entirely new to this period. The newness of the spiritual concert had to do with the standardization, regulation and integration of various media forms and social practices that together constituted an emergent “concert culture,” familiar in nineteenth-century cities. The “spiritual” dimension points to the role played in the consolidation of this new medium by large-scale sacred vocal pieces, like the *Stabat*, which feature prominently in spiritual concert programming. The Aalborg society’s selection of the *Stabat* for its inaugural concert was not happenstance, but a reflection of its status within this repertoire. More than perhaps any other work, it represented the new genre of “spiritual” music, an admixture of church and theater styles suitable to a new hybrid space, the concert hall, conceptually somewhere between the church and the theater. Within this stylistic space, the tropes of spiritualized sentiment and sentimentalized spirituality became native to the new media form. Emblematic of the spiritual concert, Pergolesi’s *Stabat* thus owed its status, geographical reach and longevity to this new medium.

A MEDIA ARCHEOLOGY OF THE SPIRITUAL CONCERT

Concert spirituel, (*Hist. mod.*) public spectacle in which are performed, during the times when all other spectacles are closed, motets and symphonies. It is established in the Salle des Suisses in the Tuileries [Palace]. It was built with comfortable loges & a large orchestra; and this spectacle was more or less attended according to the degree of intelligence of the people who were in charge of it.⁵

Louis de Cahusac, “Concert spirituel” in the *Encyclopédie*
(Paris, 1753)

Most self-proclaimed spiritual concerts had as their model the Concert Spirituel in Paris, which continued unbroken from 1725 to 1790, though each organization adapted the format to local circumstances. The form’s mobility was remarkable. French colonial power extended its reach as far as the Americas, with three “concerts spirituels” advertised during

in *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, edited by H. Hüschen (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1962), 519-29.

⁵ “Concert spirituel, (*Hist. mod.*) spectacle public dans lequel on execute, pendant les tems que tous les autres spectacles sont fermés, des motets & des symphonies. Il est établi dans la salle des suisses des Tuileries. On y a fait construire des loges commodes & un grand orchestre; & ce spectacle a été plus ou moins fréquenté, selon le plus ou moins d’intelligence des personnes qui en ont été chargées.” Louis de Cahusac, “Concert spirituel,” in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, edited by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert, University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Autumn 2017 Edition), edited by Robert Morrissey and Glenn Roe, <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>. Originally Vol. 3, 803.

Lent, 1769 in Cap-Français, Saint-Domingue (now Cap-Haïtien, Haiti).⁶ Cahusac summarized the main features of the Parisian Concert Spirituel in his *Encyclopédie* entry, which appeared in the same year as the organization's first performance of the *Stabat*. This passage highlights the connection between the concert series and its particular repertoire (*grand motets*, the most prominent genre of large-scale French religious composition since the heyday of Louis XIV's Chapelle Royale), as well as its particular, demarcated space (the Tuileries Palace). In 1725, Anne Danican Philidor had purchased, with funds from his business partner Michel de Launoy, the privilege for an exception to the Académie Royale de Musique's monopoly on musical performances in Paris.⁷ In the early years of Louis XV's personal rule, Philidor had recognized a potential commercial opportunity – to present a now antiquated and unfamiliar repertoire to the Parisian public. Over the subsequent decades, until the Revolution forced its closure, the Concert Spirituel persisted, through varied fortunes and several changes of management, as a private enterprise offering paying audiences opportunities to hear sacred music during Lent.⁸

To be sure, the Parisian Concert Spirituel and all spiritual concerts had more remote origins in the haphazard collection of local music societies, academies, and collegia musica of the seventeenth century. Most of these organizations consisted of amateurs (noble and bourgeois) performing for one another. Exceptions occurred in London, Paris, Oxford, Lübeck and Amsterdam, where “public” concerts seemed to have existed from around the mid-seventeenth century. These scattered organizations and concerts ventures did not constitute a concert culture, however, since they either met irregularly, existed only briefly, were accessible only to members or failed to establish relationships with print media that supported participation and interest beyond an immediate coterie.⁹ During the 1680s and

⁶ John G. Cale, “French Secular Music in Saint-Domingue (1750-1795) Viewed as a Factor in America's Musical Growth” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1971), 48.

⁷ The standard text on the Parisian Concert Spirituel remains Constant Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel: 1725-1790* (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 1975) from which this account derives.

⁸ There was a brief period (1734-1748) during which it came under the Opéra's management.

⁹ My assertion here follows Michael Schaich's recent contention that the “public sphere” existed prior to the eighteenth century, but that access to it remained sporadic. See Michael Schaich, “The Public Sphere” in *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Peter H. Wilson (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 125-140. As early as the 1640s, public concerts were organized in Paris (Jacques Champion de Chambonnières' *Assemblée des Honnêtes Curieux*) and Amsterdam for a paying audience. Oxford had public concerts since the 1660s, though little is known of these, while Lübeck's *Abendmusik* tradition appears even older. Proto-concert culture seems to have ultimately first developed in the final decades of the century in London, under such impresarios as John Banister and Thomas Britton. Only there did concerts with a documented degree of consistency and longevity occur as evinced by newspaper advertisements. Not only did these organizations interface with print media, but they also became identifiable with

1690s, oratorio performances in theaters and aristocratic palaces occurred in several Italian cities, as an acceptably sacred substitute for opera during Lent, mirroring the annual regularity of the opera season. Many later spiritual concerts derived their ostensible rationale from this tradition, whether in the protestant north, Catholic south or the Orthodox east, and oratorios frequently anchored eighteenth-century spiritual concert programs. Even so, the spiritual concert was not merely a sacred stand-in for opera. Because they offered similar kinds of musical-sentimental engagements as opera, but with smaller operating expenditures and less questionable morals, they became a phenomenon in their own right, filtering into locations where religious or economic factors had impeded the growth of operatic culture. In Copenhagen, the austere version of Pietism endorsed by Christian VI (who reigned 1730-46) and, to a lesser extent, Frederik V (who reigned 1746-66) meant that the passion concert emerged as the main yearly musical event before opera was firmly established in the later part of the century.¹⁰ As Ludvig Holberg noted in 1750, “during Lent when the sacred concert takes place, the concert hall swarms with people, in particular women.”¹¹

Spiritual concerts represented a coalescence of various media forms and protocols of association that articulated new shared musical experiences – of a concert itself, of musicians who themselves toured between different concert series and, above all, of certain works. The Concert Spirituel represented a paradigmatic, though exceptional, assemblage of these material conditions. The activities of no other regular concert organization of any substantial longevity were as commercialized as those of the Concert Spirituel. Entry to its concerts meant buying a ticket, and the members of orchestra and most of the administration consisted of professional musicians who were paid for their services. This contrasted with most other concert-giving organizations in the eighteenth century, which at their core remained, for the most part, societies of serious amateurs, with performances subsidized mostly through membership dues and paid subscriptions. Such organizations gradually changed their protocols to offer tickets to non-subscribers and to employ increasing numbers of professional, or at least non-member, musicians, especially as soloists.¹² Despite the variety of institutional protocols, such organizations were an

certain spaces, like Britton’s Clerkenwell store. For some information on concerts in Paris, London and Amsterdam see: Stephen Rose, “Music in the Marketplace,” in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, edited by Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 60-1 as well as Donald Burrows, “London: Commercial Wealth and Cultural Expansion,” and Rudolf Rasch “The Dutch Republic,” in *The Late Baroque Era: From the 1680s to 1740*, edited by George J. Buelow (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993), 361-3 and 398 respectively.

¹⁰ Sigurd Berg and Niels Krabbe, “Copenhagen,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed Dec. 10, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

¹¹ From a letter translated in Peter Hauge, “Introduction,” to Johann Adolph Scheibe, “Vor Harpe Er Blevet Til Sorrig,” edited by Hauge (Copenhagen: Dansk Center for Musikudgivelse; Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 2012), xii.

¹² By and large, economic pressures necessitated these changes. In this regard, it is important to note that few concert organizations operated on secure financial footing for

impetus for the reconfiguring and expansion of eighteenth-century sociability around music.

Crucially, buying a ticket and attending the Concert Spirituel was not the only way of participating in Parisian concert culture. Print media extended the experience beyond the walls of the Tuileries. From the beginning, prominent Parisian newspapers (initially the *Mercure de France* and later *Annonces, Affiches et Avis divers; Avant coureur des Spectacles; Almanach musical, Courrier de l'Europe, Journal de musique, Journal de Paris* and others) advertised up-coming concerts and began engaging in light concert reportage, even discussing the merits of particular works, not merely events or performers.¹³ Meanwhile, it was common for new music publications to appear in conjunction with the programs of the Concert Spirituel. Thus the *Premier Concerto pour le Clavecin, Violon Alto & Basso, par Mr. N. le Pin* reminded customers on its title page that it had been “executé par l’Auteur au Concert Spirituel” and the first Parisian publication of Pergolesi’s *Stabat* coincided with its Concert Spirituel premiere (1753).¹⁴ The proliferation of these media meant that participation was not limited to those who were present in the concert space.¹⁵ Few other cities, though, possessed the number of newspapers that Paris did, and fewer still possessed a thriving music publishing industry, which, by the middle of the century, was largely unconstrained by the requirements of royal privilege.¹⁶ In cities without periodicals carrying concert reportage or music publishing enterprises, programs and librettos provided some of the same functions, carrying the names of pieces, composers and performers beyond concert spaces. The mobility of print and the commercialization of the manuscript trade, to a degree, also extended concert culture into areas geographically removed from the centers of music publishing.

While the founders of the Concert Spirituel had sought primarily to preserve and disseminate the repertoire of Louis XIV’s Chapelle Royale, it is evident that the programs of

long during this time. Subscriptions could dry up, mismanagement was possible and competition between rival organizations in the same city could be ruinous. Even as its early success forced the closure of the Concert Italien, the cyclical fortunes of the Concert Spirituel still precipitated several changes in management.

¹³ The various periodicals that covered the Concert Spirituel can be traced through Pierre’s program appendix (229-344).

¹⁴ This is advertised in Carl Friedrich Cramer, *Magazin der Musik*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (Hamburg: Musicalischen Niederlage, 1783), 1345.

¹⁵ Posters advertising upcoming Concert Spirituel performances also survive.

¹⁶ In France, the Ballard family maintained their monopoly on music publishing from the mid-1500s well into the 1700s, through their royal connections and the *privilèges* granted on their behalves. The loosening of monopolies and other restrictions on music publishing led to an increase in competition across Europe. The gradual abandonment of movable type for engraving also increased commercial activity in music publishing: it allowed for greater flexibility in print runs and better suited the rhythmic complexity of eighteenth-century music. See Laurent Guillo, “Legal Aspects” and Rudolf Rasch, “Introduction” in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600-1900: Concepts and Issues*, edited by Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 126-9 and 5-6.

the Concert Spirituel soon strove to balance “ancient” and “modern” music. As Cahusac’s entry makes clear, by the 1750s, the Parisian concerts were associated with cosmopolitan musical exchange as much as the peculiarly French sacred musical tradition that had initially been its *raison-d’être*. Older French repertoire now rubbed shoulders with “morceaux de chant neufs” and “airs Italiens des excellens maîtres.”¹⁷ And Cahusac noted that, “[w]henever some instrumentalist of reputation appears in Paris, or some foreign male or female singer, it is there that one is sure to hear them.”¹⁸ No series of spiritual concerts was exclusively a “museum of musical works,” much if not most of the music performed was “new,” but all maintained some core repertoire of older “classics.” Institutional reasons partially lay behind this. For most of the century the price of acquiring and/or copying new music was high; performing music that was already possessed and copied saved money.¹⁹ The religious auspices under which most organizations operated also promoted a degree of aesthetic conservatism. But most importantly, audiences discovered new pleasures in rehearing music, pleasures unique to the iterability of the spiritual concert medium. It is thus overly deterministic to read “canon formation” as a function of ideology in a strictly national context, as William Weber does in his venerable study of the eighteenth-century invention of the musical “classics” in England.²⁰ The same blend of religious conservatism and nativism that, in Weber’s view, motivated the Academy of Ancient Music to embrace the music of an Anglicized Handel alongside sixteenth-century English vocal polyphony can be diagnosed in Philidor’s cultivation of older French repertoire such as Michel-Richard Delalande’s *grand motets*. But both English and French institutions were responding in their own ways to the spread of Italian music and musicians, via organizations such as London’s Italian opera companies or the Concert Italien, whose position in Parisian cultural life the Concert Spirituel eventually usurped.²¹ And each institution established a kind of restricted musical economy, sustained

¹⁷ Cahusac, originally Vol. 3, 804

¹⁸ “Lorsqu’il paroît à Paris quelque joüeur d’instrument de réputation, ou quelque cantatrice ou chanteur étrangers, c’est-là qu’on est sûr de les bien entendre.” Originally Vol. 3, 804

¹⁹ Beverly Wilcox has drawn attention to the role of the Concert Spirituel’s large library of music in determining the organization’s repertoire choices. Similar claims could undoubtedly be made about any other concert organization discussed in this chapter. See Beverly Wilcox, “The Music Libraries of the Concert Spirituel: Canons, Repertoires, and Bricolage in Eighteenth-Century Paris” (PhD diss., University of California, Davis, 2013).

²⁰ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

²¹ The Concert Italien (1724-8) represented the culmination of the cultivation of Italian music during the Regency. The death of Louis XIV in 1715, and consequentially his France-first artistic mercantilism, opened the door for various aristocrats, including the Marquise de Prie, the founding sponsor of the Concert Italien, to pursue their musical Italophilia openly. For information on the Concert Italien, see Julie Anne Sadie, “Paris and Versailles,”

by carefully curated libraries of older manuscripts and publications, which at once resisted and benefited from a more general expansion of musical commerce. The stability and continuity that scholars have long associated with the congealment of canons is perceptibly less a function of ideologically-motivated repertoire choices than a function of the medium of the spiritual concert (and of media in general), which enabled new kinds of musical mobilities across space *and* time.

Contemporary musicology has failed to reckon with the broad dissemination of the *Stabat* partly because its popularity defies the historiographical paradigms of “canon formation.” Pancrace Royer introduced the *Stabat* to the Concert Spirituel, with the aim of “revitalizing” its repertoire once he had wrested control of the series back from the Opéra in 1748.²² Yet, from this point onwards, the *Stabat* was performed at the Concert Spirituel almost every Lent until the series ended in 1790, accumulating more performances than any other single piece and almost singlehandedly making Pergolesi the third most performed composer during the series’ existence.²³ Examining the programs of the Academy of Ancient Music and the Concert of Ancient Music, Weber concludes that the *Stabat* was an anomaly among their repertoire, its relative youth and Italian provenance illustrating only how imprecise and malleable the term “ancient” was.²⁴ Far from anomalous, the media juxtaposition of the *Stabat* and “ancient” works from ostensibly nativist canons was the consequence of the increasing stability of the media form in which they appeared: the formal fixity of the spiritual concert allowed for “ancient” music to be continually revisited as well as cosmopolitan masterpieces to circulate. The *Stabat*’s mobility across these aesthetic boundaries reveals such categorizations to be artifacts of media themselves, rather than ideologies that existed prior to or beyond the material and formal means of circulation.

in Buelow, *The Late Baroque Era*, 177-8 and James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music: From Beaujoyeulx to Rameau* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997), 38.

²² Ibid., 4.

²³ For the performance history of the *Stabat* at the Concert Spirituel, see Sylvie Mamy, “Le *Stabat Mater* au Concert spirituel,” in *Studi pergolesiani* 3, edited by Francesco Degrada (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1999), 233-250. Beverly Wilcox places the number of *Stabat* performances at the Concert Spirituel at 92. The next most-performed single piece is Delalande’s *Cantate Domino* with 66 performances. However, both Mondonville and Delalande have more performances overall than Pergolesi. See Wilcox, 254.

²⁴ Weber, 65, 78. Weber does not note the *Stabat* among the works by Pergolesi played by the Academy of Ancient Music, but other sources suggest that its repertoire included the *Stabat*. Benjamin Cooke, librarian than conductor of the Academy, produced an arrangement of the *Stabat* (GB-Lcm, MS 816) in 1759 that seems to have been destined to be performed there, though no reference to such a performance exists. See Tim Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2014), 100. Furthermore, the text was included in both editions of *The Words of Such Pieces As Are Most Usually Performed By The Academy of Ancient Music* (London: S.n., 1761; London: J. Dixwell, 1768), 37-40 and 37-9.

Indeed, spiritual concerts, taken together, constituted one of the primary media allowing for the juxtaposition and evaluation of ideologically charged spatial-temporal aesthetic categories. Pergolesi's *Stabat* was both "new" and "cosmopolitan" during its Russian premiere in Saint Petersburg in 1774 and decidedly "old" and perhaps even "French" when it was performed for the fiftieth time in Paris only the year before. And as the medium of the spiritual concert spread across Europe, so the *Stabat* moved in the channels it created, and was ultimately performed in some places with a regularity that rivaled Paris. In this new media environment, tradition and novelty, nativism and cosmopolitanism, ancient and modern continually switched places and were jumbled up – even in reference to the same works. Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* was no anomaly in the context of eighteenth-century canon formation, as Weber would have it. Rather, it was the work that perhaps most embodied the contradictory impulses of the spiritual concert: Italianate yet soberly ancient, sacred yet with the appeal of an operatic style, modern yet traditional.

THE *STABAT MATER* IN 1770

[A] good composition, although at different times is heard often, always pleases, as it happens with Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*.

Antonio Eximeno, *Don Lazarillo Vizcardi: Sus investigaciones músicas*
(written Madrid, 1798-1808)²⁵

By the time Eximeno penned *Don Lazarillo Vizcardi*, the *Stabat* had become central to the spiritual concert medium, and was heard routinely across European cities during Lent. While Appendix III offers a panorama of the *Stabat*'s performance history, examining one year in depth offers a useful snapshot of how the piece interfaced with local concert cultures. In 1770, at least twenty-one documented performances of the *Stabat* occurred on spiritual concerts in ten different cities: Paris (5 performances), London (4), Stockholm (3), Sorø (2), Leipzig (2), Lyon (1), Florence (1), Oxford (1), Salisbury (1) and Breslau (now Wrocław) (1). While the record suggests that 1770 was a popular year for performances of the *Stabat*, this is more likely a product of contingent document survival rather than an indication of some "moment" in the history of the *Stabat*'s reception. Except for the October concert in Salisbury, all of these performances took place during or near Lent. While nearly all performances of the *Stabat* in Europe occurred during Lent, its unseasonable performance in Salisbury was not unusual for Britain, where greater flexibility in the scheduling of *Stabat* performances was a feature of its reception. A handful of the 1770 performances were the consequence of short-lived initiatives. One of

²⁵ "una Buena composicion, aunque en diversos tiempos se oiga muchas veces, siempre agrada, como acontece con el *Stabat Mater*, de Pergolese." Antonio Eximeno, *Don Lazarillo Vizcardi: Sus investigaciones músicas con ocasion del concurso á un magisterio de capilla vacante*, edited by F.A. Barbieri, Vol. 1 (Madrid: [M. Rivadeneyra], 1872), 125. Date of composition from Carmen Rodríguez Suso, "Eximeno (y Pujades), Antonio," *Grove Music Online*, accessed Dec. 12, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

the Stockholm concerts was a benefit for the violinist Erik Ferling, then employed by the Swedish Royal Court Chapel, while all of the performances in London were arranged by Johann Christian Bach as part of an ill-conceived attempt to rival the oratorio concerts already staged at Drury Lane and Covent Garden.²⁶ The remainder were mounted by concert-giving organizations in various phases of their life cycle. Several had existed in one form or another for decades (the Concert Spirituel and the Grosse Concert, founded 1743), while others were not yet ten years old (the Academia degl'Armonici, founded 1766, and the Cavaljer-Concerten, founded 1769). Most of these bodies would remain active until the dislocations wrought by the French Revolution and its aftermath – though Lyon's Académie folded within four years because of diminishing subscriptions, and the Cavaljer-Concerten were suspended even sooner.²⁷

Most of the 1770 *Stabat* performances were the outcome of relatively new relationships between concert-presenting bodies and particular physical spaces. Informal music gatherings of considerable scale had existed in Oxford since the 1650s, but the history of the Musical Society is closely bound up with the purchase and refurbishment of Holywell Hall in 1741.²⁸ Lyon's Académie originally consisted of the Académie des Beaux-Arts and the Académie des Sciences et Belles-Lettres, but the construction of a purposeful-built space for the former (the Hôtel du Concert) in 1724 was vital for the eventual separation of the two organizations by the end of the 1730s. Even then, for major Lenten concerts (including the 1770 *Stabat* performance) the Académie used a larger space in the Hôtel de Ville, which could better accommodate a holiday audience.²⁹ In Stockholm, the Stora Riddarhussalen (Great Hall in the Palace of the Nobility) had been the site of many concerts ever since Roman first presented his series there in 1731. Since its reestablishment after the Seven Years War, Leipzig's Grosses Concert operated out of the Three Swans Tavern. It would undergo another reconstitution in 1781, moving to a floor of the local cloth merchants' hall remodeled by the city government, and rechristened as the Gewandhaus.³⁰

The 1770 season captures the diversity of economic activities that undergirded the spiritual concert medium. Unlike the Parisian Concert Spirituel, at this time these other organizations used a mixture of subscriptions and individual ticket sales to fund themselves, and employed amateurs to varying degrees in the orchestra. The Articles of the Oxford Musical Society, adopted in 1757 and upheld with only minor modifications

²⁶ Charles Sanford Terry, *Johann Christian Bach* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1929), 120-1.

²⁷ Leon Vallas, *Un siècle de musique et de theater à Lyon, 1688-1789* (Lyon, Chez P. Masson Libraire, 1932), 355-358. The last Cavaljer-Concert occurred in 1772 according to Vretblad, 185.

²⁸ Jenny Burchell, *Public or Commercial Concerts?: Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle, 1730-1799* (New York: Garland, 1996), 174-5.

²⁹ Vallas, 178-91.

³⁰ George B. Stauffer, "Leipzig," *Grove Music Online*, accessed Dec. 11, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

until 1789, formalized the annual subscription fee and set ticket prices for individual concerts; it also described the different fees due to unpaid “Gentleman” performers, local professionals contracted for the season and guest musicians.³¹ The Florentine Accademia relied on a similar combination of subscription and ticket sales, and also employed a mixed amateur-professional ensemble.³² L’Académie des Beaux-Arts in Lyon was forced to supplement their subscriptions with funds from the city administration.³³ The Utile Dulci (1766-1786) was both a musical and literary society, and its concerts featured professionals and amateurs.³⁴ Of course, Bach’s concerts and Ferling’s benefit were strictly commercial ventures, with musicians hired solely for the concerts themselves.

Print, as mentioned before, defined the new concert culture, as much as new spaces and new principles of professional association. The 1770 performances of the *Stabat* were amply documented. Periodicals advertised and reported on these concerts: *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, the *Gazzetta Toscana* (Florence), the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (London), the *Avant-coureur de spectacles* (Paris), the *Mercure de France* (Paris), the *Salisbury Journal*, *Stockholms Post-tidningar* and the *Dagligt Allehanda* (Stockholm). Horace Coignet, the son of L’Académie’s music librarian, mentioned the performance in Lyon in a reminiscence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s visit to the city in 1770, itself first published in an 1822 Lyonnaise periodical. Moreover, many audience members experienced and remembered these performances via published textbooks and librettos – a common souvenir of Scandinavian and German performances in particular, because such performances frequently replaced the original Latin with a parody in the local language. Programs for the Stockholm, Sorø and London concerts survive and one would likely have been distributed in Leipzig as well.³⁵ Frequently, Pergolesi’s *Stabat* was the only portion of a concert that was mentioned by these publications, which thus drew out and isolated Pergolesi’s work from otherwise varied concert programs. Reading and re-reading them

³¹ The Articles are reprinted in Burchell, 178-82.

³² Robert Lamar Weaver and Norma Wright Weaver, *A Chronology of Music in the Florentine Theater: Operas, Prologues, Finales, Intermezzos and Plays with Incidental Music*, Vol. 2 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1993), 75.

³³ Frank Dobbins, “Lyons,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed Dec. 11, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

³⁴ Martin Tegen, “Stockholm,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed Dec. 11, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>. The Grosse Concert in 1770 still relied on a mix of amateur and professional talent with funding mostly from subscriptions. The Salisbury Music Festival was mostly an individually ticketed affair, separate from the cities subscription concerts until the mid 1770s. It employed amateur and professional musicians from Salisbury and from other music centers nearby. See Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, “Introduction” to *Music and Theatre in Handel’s World: The Family Papers of James Harris 1732-1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), xxxii.

³⁵ One was distributed for a performance at the Grosse Concert in 1775. See Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Werke und Briefe: Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe*, Vol. 1:2, edited by Horst Gronemeyer and Klaus Hurlebusch (Berlin; Boston: de Gruyter, 2015), 434.

could have sustained the *Stabat's* complex, scattered social life as much as opportunities to hear and rehear the work.

By 1770, the *Stabat* had become a mainstay of Lenten concerts in Paris (since 1753) and Stockholm (since 1749) as well as a common item among the competing impresarios of the London concert scene (since 1752). To be sure, Pergolesi's *Stabat* was hardly the only large-scale religious vocal piece to have featured recurrently on spiritual concerts. Yet, the *Stabat* was foremost among a coalescing repertoire of transportable sacred works, both Italian and Italianate, which were disseminated almost as widely. The typical spiritual concert was anchored by one of these large-scale sacred vocal pieces, surrounded by a miscellany of solo arias, concertos, instrumental pieces and smaller-scale choruses.³⁶ Jommelli's setting of Metastasio's *La passione di nostro signore Gesù Cristo* (1749) was a frequent choice. In 1770, excerpts were performed alongside the *Stabat* at the London and Salisbury concerts. Inevitably, spiritual concerts in German cities emphasized works in the German language or composed by native musicians: two oratorios by Hasse – *La conversion di S. Agostina* and *Sa. Elena al calvario* – were performed in 1770 by the Grosses Concert, while Carl Heinrich Graun's *Der Tod Jesu* was performed the following year. (*Der Tod Jesu* became closely associated with the spiritual concert medium in Germany, but never penetrated far beyond a geographical area defined by northern Protestantism.)³⁷ Handel was also a fixture on spiritual concerts across Europe – though of course nowhere as frequently as in London and the English provinces. The failure of J.C. Bach's concert series in 1770 had much to do with the popularity of the Handel oratorios presented across town. This repertoire of large-scale sacred works was by no means static, however, for it readily absorbed new additions composed, unlike the *Stabat*, to suite the generic "spiritual" template. Thus Haydn's own *Stabat mater* (1767) soon became his most widely disseminated work, in part via the spiritual concert medium, and other settings of Metastasio's *La passione* and even Karl Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* followed in the slipstream.³⁸

³⁶ In London, for example, several solos for various instruments (horn, violoncello and violin), a trio and a "grand chorus" by Guglielmi rounded out the program. Similarly, solos for violin and violoncello were performed alongside the *Stabat* for Ferling's benefit concert. Conversely, the first half of the Oxford concert was devoted to Burney's more substantial anthem *I will love Thee, O Lord my strength*.

³⁷ It was performed yearly in Berlin, much like the *Stabat* in Paris and Stockholm, well into the nineteenth century. For a brief summary of the reception history of *Der Tod Jesu*, see Thomas Henry Krause, "Historical Background and Analysis of Carl Heinrich Graun's *Der Tod Jesu*" (DMA thesis, University of Southern California, 1991), 37-41.

³⁸ For information on Haydn's *Stabat mater* and its reception, see Daniel Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School, 1740-1780* (New York, W. W. Norton, 1994), 305-9 and David Wyn Jones, *Haydn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 372-3. Examples of other *La passione* settings include those by Naumann, Mysliveček, Uttini, Salieri, Paisiello, Reichardt, Zingarelli, Guglielmi and Mayr. It is not surprising, given the esteem with which his opera librettos were held and the number of times that they were re-set that Metastasio also managed to produce an oratorio text that was a "hit." Ramler's libretto was also set by Telemann, Princess Anna Amalia von Prussia and J.C.F. Bach. Many of these composers

As much as the *Stabat*'s mobility was an artifact of the associational practices of spiritual concert, it also promoted other mobilities. One can see this in the journeys of the *Stabat*'s 1770 performers. Gertrud Schmeling, who sang the *Stabat* in Leipzig in 1770, later sang it in London (1785, 1793) and Liverpool (1799);³⁹ Gaetano Guadagni, who performed in the 1770 Bach concerts in London, had already sung the *Stabat* in Dublin (1752) and Paris (1754); Elizabeth Linley performed the piece in both Oxford and Salisbury in 1770. Ferling was ultimately hired to direct the new "Åbo Musikaliska Sällskapet" ("The Åbo Musical Society") in Swedish Finland, which began performing the piece during Lent according to Stockholm's precedent.⁴⁰ Other singers became regular fixtures in institutions that seemed increasingly permanent. Giovanni Manzuoli and Giacomo Veroli, who sang in Florence, performed the piece frequently for more than a decade from 1766,⁴¹ while Louis-Augustin Richer, one of the Concert Spirituel singers, sang the piece regularly for nearly a quarter of a century, beginning in 1753.⁴²

The 1770 concerts further show how the spread of the *Stabat* and the spread of the spiritual concert medium went hand in hand, and the varied negotiations that this spread entailed. The earliest recorded performance in Florence occurred four years earlier. (This was essentially a "reintroduction" of the piece, which had been known in the city since the 1740s.)⁴³ The (re)new(ed) presence of the *Stabat* in Florence was instigated by George Nassau Clavering-Cowper, 3rd Earl Cowper, an English Grand Tourist who turned expatriate in 1760. Cowper patronized legions of painters, scientists and musicians, hosting concerts at his villas and financing various Florentine *accademie*.⁴⁴ The first 1766 performance occurred at his residence, Tre Visi, while the third performance that year was mounted by the Accademia degli Armonici, which eventually elected Cowper to its board (1772).⁴⁵ Cowper's desire seems to have been to cultivate a concert culture in Florence similar to

were involved with spiritual concert organizations and performances of Pergolesi's *Stabat* later in the century, suggesting a rich field of engagements with the medium.

³⁹ Later in her career she used her married name, Mara.

⁴⁰ The town of Åbo (now Turku) was under Swedish control during the century. In Finnish, the society is referred to as "Turun soitannollinen seura." See Otto Emanuel Andersson, *Musikaliska Sällskapet i Åbo, 1790-1808* (Åbo: Bro, 1940), 80, 139-41 and Fabian Dahlström and Erkki Salmenhaara, *Suomen musiikin historia*, Vol. 1 "Ruotsin vallan ajasta romantiikkaan, keskiaika-1899" (Porvoo: W. Soderström, 1995), 226-33.

⁴¹ According to the Weavers' chronology, one or both performed the piece at least once in the following years: 1766, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775 and 1778.

⁴² Mamy, 245-6.

⁴³ Thomas Gray collected there between 1739 and 1742. See US-FAy, Quarto 532 MS (RISM No. 000101112).

⁴⁴ For information on Cowper's activities in Florence, see Elizabeth Gibson, "Earl Cowper in Florence and his Correspondence with the Italian Opera in London," *Music & Letters* 68:3 (Jul., 1987): 235-252.

⁴⁵ Gibson, 236.

London's.⁴⁶ In particular, Cowper introduced Handel's oratorios to Florentine audiences, commencing with *Il convito di Alessandro Magno* (*Alexander's Feast*, translated by Antonio Pellori) and *Messiah* (also translated by Pellori) in 1768.⁴⁷ The 1766 performance of the *Stabat*, in conjunction with these later Handel performances, recalls the repertoire of the Academy of Ancient Music. But whereas Handel's music did not become an institution in Florence as it did in England,⁴⁸ Pergolesi's *Stabat* was routinely performed there until the Grand Duchy's invasion by Napoleonic forces in 1800.⁴⁹ Indeed, a scholarly focus on the transnational spread of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* in the eighteenth century tends to provincialize the reception of Handel in Britain, so often regarded by music historians as the origins of concepts of the canon and the classics.

Not all audiences were happy with such cosmopolitan comings and goings. Edward Poore, who attended the 1770 performance in Oxford, described the scene in a letter to his friend James Harris:

I got to the concert room just as the first act ended. The beginning of the second [which featured the *Stabat*] was immediately overpower'd by loud hisses & catcalls; a thorough riot ensued; loud shouts, clapping & hissing: some trying to pull up benches, & an audible cry of, Oratorios for ever! No Monkish Rime! No Popery! The performers were all driven off; & most of the peaceable part of the audience hastened out: after a full hours total interruption the performance went on, not uninterrupted to the end with catcalls, groans, & hisses.⁵⁰

According to Burchell, riots were not uncommon at Music Society concerts.⁵¹ Nevertheless, at a time when Handel and the Handelian Oratorio concert was increasingly associated with British national and religious identity, especially in the providences, the *Stabat* could be heard as a suspiciously foreign, suspiciously Catholic affront. The spiritual concert routinely prompted the confrontation of the local and the cosmopolitan, investing them with personal and emotional meaning for many listeners. The riot in Oxford merely represents an extreme example of the clashes that inevitably followed the spiritual concert's dispersion. Despite various forms of resistance, the *Stabat* performances of 1770 attest to the gradual coalescence of the spiritual concert as a medium. They show how the emergence of concert culture in the eighteenth century was uneven, fragile and contingent on local circumstances, and yet something in which people were increasingly invested. That repertoire was shared across wide geographies – repertoire such as the *Stabat* – bolstered such investments, clarifying and teaching the protocols of the spiritual concert itself.

⁴⁶ According to the Weavers, public concerts supported by tickets and/or subscription existed in Florence in the earlier part of the century (74).

⁴⁷ John A. Rice, "An Early Handel Revival in Florence," *Early Music* 18:1 "The Baroque Stage II" (Feb., 1990): 64.

⁴⁸ Rice, 69.

⁴⁹ This is when the Weavers' chronology stops.

⁵⁰ Burrows and Dunhill, 589.

⁵¹ Burchell, 187.

ARRANGING THE *STABAT*

The industry of many a well-known and brave composer, who daily produces new pieces, in every manner, is to be praised. But if we entirely forget all the good things that have come before; if we shy away from the little effort [required] to give it [the *Stabat*] that shape that accords with our constitutions, we act unjustly.

Johann Adam Hiller, "Vorbericht" to *Johann Baptist Pergolese vollständige Passionsmusik zum Stabat Mater* (Leipzig, 1776)⁵²

As I argued in the previous chapter, a pronounced adaptiveness was baked into the compositional style that Pergolesi learned at the Poveri. Thin, fundamentally two-part textures meant that instrumental or voice parts could be added or subtracted, modular approaches to form and syntax made for simple cutting and pasting and text setting that favored the expression of general affects over local word painting made parody unproblematic. As Hiller's words imply, to participate in the cosmopolitan milieu of *Stabat* performances was also to reformat the piece for local conditions. The reifications of printed scores may have allowed for export and import, but we must not assume that they inevitably implied authority – indeed, a single, stable version of the piece did not exist.

If one were to have attended all twenty-one of the 1770 concerts, one would have heard at least eleven distinctive incarnations of the piece, at least one per city. By this time, the Parisian Concert Spirituel tended to offer only selected movements from Pergolesi's setting in each of its concerts.⁵³ However, many, if not most, performances in 1770 were complete – and some had even acquired supplementary movements.⁵⁴ As per tradition, Roman's arrangement was used in Stockholm, advertised as "with the associated chorales." Chorales were also intercut into the Sorø performances, where two different librettos, one in German and one in Danish, show their placement.⁵⁵ Like these Scandinavian

⁵² "Der Fleiß so manches berühmten und braven Componisten, der täglich neue Stücke, in allerley Art, hervorbringt, ist allerdings zu loben. Wenn wir aber alles vorhergegangene Gute darüber ganz vergessen; wenn wir die kleine Mühe scheuen, ihm diejenige Gestalt zu geben, die es nach unseren Verfassungen haben soll, so handeln wir ungerecht."

⁵³ The most frequently performed movements were "Stabat mater," "Vidit suum" and "Quando corpus." See Mamy, 239.

⁵⁴ The majority of surviving librettos from the eighteenth century indicate a complete performance of the piece. By standards of the day, the *Stabat* was not a long work. It was roughly the length of the average act of an opera or oratorio and, consequentially, may have been performed as a whole more often than other works.

⁵⁵ The different placement of chorales between these two librettos, in addition to the dissimilar translations, suggest separate performances, one formatted for a Danish-speaking audience/congregation and one for a German-speaking audience/congregation. This linguistic division was not unusual in larger Danish city. Helsingør, for example, had separate organists serving its Danish and German congregations around 1700. See Jens Henrik Koudal and Michael Talbot, "Stephan Kenckel's Collection of Music and Musical

performances, the performances in Leipzig used an alternative text in the local language. In fact, 1770 marked the premiere performance of Klopstock's parody. Though the performances in Oxford, Salisbury and London were likely in Latin, as most contemporary performances of Italian sacred music in Britain were, the bilingual libretto associated with the London concerts contains the same idiosyncratic English translation used in Dublin in 1749.⁵⁶ Scattered evidence suggests that some performances augmented Pergolesi's instrumental and vocal forces. A bass soloist participated in Stockholm and precedent makes it likely that a choir sang at least the chorales both there and in Sorø.⁵⁷ A manuscript with added four-part choruses for select *Stabat* movements associated with the Lyon concert also survives.⁵⁸ Beverly Wilcox has identified this as a copy of Royer's additions from 1754, though it is unclear if any of Royer's additions were used in Paris in 1770.⁵⁹ It is possible that the "grand Chorusses" by J.C. Bach mentioned in connection with a 1786 performance in Winchester were originally written for the 1770 concert.⁶⁰ Several of these performances probably also augmented the orchestral score with winds, but the only direct confirmation of this in 1770 is two flutes parts that appear among manuscript materials associated with the Sorø performances.⁶¹

Instruments: A Danish Musical Life in the Early Eighteenth Century," *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 43 (2010): 64.

⁵⁶ This translation reappears again, similarly laid out, in an Academy of Ancient Music program for March 27, 1800: "Translation of the *Stabat Mater* of Pergolesi, and the *Adeste Fideles*, as performed this evening," *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, Gale Group, accessed Dec. 12, 2017, <http://find.galegroup.com/>.

⁵⁷ This was at least the case in Stockholm, but the imitation of *Stabat* performance practices there by other Swedish cities makes it likely that performances elsewhere included choruses. See Leif Jonsson and Anna Ivarsdotter-Johnson, *Musiken i Sverige*, Vol. 2 "Frihetstid och gustaviansk tid, 1720-1810," edited by Jonsson (Stockholm: Fischer, 1993), 141.

⁵⁸ F-LYm, MS Rés FM 133979. See Alessandro di Profio, "La réception de Pergolèse en France. La construction d'un mythe européen," in *Studi pergolesiani* 6, edited by Claudio Toscani (Milan: Centro Studi Pergolesi, 2011), 176.

⁵⁹ Wilcox suggests that Royer's additions were designed to make the piece sound more like a *grand motet*. These choral additions were kept in the Concert Spirituel library and presumably recycled for later performances. See Wilcox, 25, 70, 221.

⁶⁰ In 1770, Bach also added choral movements among other things to Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice*. A tradition existed in England of adding choruses to the *Stabat*, which dated back to the earliest public performances. There is some ambiguity concerning whether these were completely new compositions or arrangements of already existing movements of the *Stabat*. Aside from Cooke's arrangement, which already has been mentioned, and Bach's, Felice Giardini (1758) and Samuel Arnold (1776, 1790) also supplied choruses for different performances. Across Europe, "O quam" and the two fugues were especially susceptible to choral reworkings.

⁶¹ Parts now in DK-A associated with these concerts include those for two flutes (MS R23, RISM No. 150201881). It is unclear how much of Hiller's 1776 arrangement had been

Taken together, these concerts reveal the predominant reformatting strategies that aided the *Stabat*'s diffusion through the spiritual concert medium. Textual parody was clearly vital to its circulation well-beyond 1770, particularly in non-Catholic lands where familiarity with the Latin hymn would have been minimal and where the suggestion of "popery" could still trigger disdain or excite hostility. The most successful single parody of the century was that of Klopstock, then the most popular German-language poet, especially in its pairing with Hiller's two arrangements. Klopstock's free reinterpretation had been written around 1766, and was first published in Hiller's *Musikalische Nachrichten und Anmerkungen auf das Jahr 1770* following its public unveiling with Pergolesi's music at the 1770 Grosse Concert. Klopstock's parody was performed in Leipzig, Berlin, Potsdam, Oldenburg, Holzminden, Grimma and other German cities. Klopstock's poem even enjoyed an independent literary life in various poetic anthologies and miscellanies, thereby expanding the channels through which the *Stabat* circulated.⁶² While it was the best-known alternative text, Klopstock's was far from the only one. Other noted German-language poets published parodies to be used with Pergolesi's music, including Christoph Martin Wieland (in *Der Teutsche Merkur*, February 1781) and Johann Kaspar Lavater (*Vermischte gereimte Gedichte*, 1785).⁶³ Save a score and set of parts extant in Rheda that reproduce Wieland's version and a 1768 program for concerts in Zürich with Lavater's poem, there is no evidence of performances linked to any of these German parodies.⁶⁴ By contrast, parodies by Johannes Ewald – a Danish exponent of Klopstock's brand of literary sentimentalism – and Benjamin Georg Sporon enjoyed contiguous periods of popularity with audiences in Denmark. Ewald's, the earlier, was performed in Copenhagen several times during the 1770s, while Sporon's was performed in Copenhagen, and other Danish cities, from 1777 through the turn of century.⁶⁵ Many more anonymous parodies of the Latin text are preserved in manuscripts and concert librettos, mostly from across

worked out by 1770, but it seems likely that the extra forces his arrangement calls for were not employed then. A letter from J.C. Tiedemann to Klopstock, confirms that only two female soloists (Gertrude Schmeling and Corona Schröter) were used in 1770 making it unlikely that Hiller had by that point done anything more than fit Klopstock's words to Pergolesi's music. The letter is reprinted in Klopstock, 439.

⁶² *Anthologie der Deutschen*, ed. H. C. Schmid (Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1771), *Oden und Elegien* (Darmstadt, 1771) and *Kleine poetische und prosaische Werke* (Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1771). List from Klopstock, 435-6.

⁶³ Poems thematically associated with the *Stabat* by Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder and Ludwig Tieck are occasionally referenced as parodies in scholarly literature as well. However, they are not designed to be used in performance.

⁶⁴ See D-RH, Ms 591 (RISM No. 450017143). Wieland's parody was independently set by Josef Antonín Štěpán as a strophic song: *Stabat mater, nach Wielands Uebersetzung* (Prague; Vienna: Johann Ferdinand Edlen von Schönfeld, 1782).

⁶⁵ Sporon's was also published with a keyboard reduction by Niels Schiørring (Copenhagen: Gyldendals Forlag, 1778), which took Hiller's 1774 reduction as its inspiration. It is unclear if Schiørring played anything like an analogous role in concert performances of Sporon's verses in Copenhagen as Hiller played in Leipzig.

protestant Europe.⁶⁶ Mooser even notes a Russian translation, now lost, published to coincide with a 1778 performance in St. Petersburg.⁶⁷

Arrangements of the *Stabat* reflected shifting notions of what constituted “spiritual” music. At a minimum, the use of parody and the addition of chorales, common in Scandinavian countries and to a lesser extent in German lands, brought the Catholic *Stabat* closer to the traditions of Lutheran worship.⁶⁸ But as the spiritual concert medium grew and spread, it coalesced around works with more substantial orchestral and choral forces than the *Stabat*, whether newer oratorios by Handel, Graun, Jommelli and their successors or “ancient” repertoires of anthems and *grand motets*. Larger spaces and larger audiences demanded larger forces as well.⁶⁹ In response to these maximalizing pressures, the addition of low male soloists became common (e.g. Roman and Hiller) as did the use of choirs. By the end of the century, it would also have been common to hear the *Stabat* with flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons and even horns (brass and percussion instruments only entered into the mix in the early nineteenth century). Most of the additions were solely coloristic, though some arrangers (e.g. Hiller, J.S. Bach, Josef Antonín Sehling to name a few) crafted more independent parts.⁷⁰ New movements allowed for an even larger sonic canvas. A performance of the *Stabat* in Copenhagen (1755), which used a Danish parody by the sculptor Simon Carl Stanley, was inflated with choruses and entire movements from

⁶⁶ These are noted in Appendices I, II and III.

⁶⁷ R.-Aloys Mooser, *Annales de la musique et des musiciens en Russie au XVIII^e siècle*, Vol. 2 (Geneva: Mont-Blanc, 1951), 220. The translation was published in Moscow, however.

⁶⁸ Use of chorales with the *Stabat* seems to have gone out of fashion in Copenhagen starting with Ewald’s parody, but they were added to a 1780 performance in Aarhus, which used Sporon’s verse. See DK-A, MS R155 (RISM No. 150203390). Use of chorales continued to occur elsewhere, particularly in Sweden (see performances of Roman’s arrangement in Stockholm and Åbo into the nineteenth century). The piece was performed in Klopstock parody with seven added chorales in Danzig in 1792. Some scores survive with German parodies and chorales inserted, including D-OHL, Mus.arch.P.1:3 (RISM No. 230003610) and D-SWI, Mus.4178/6 (RISM No. 240003521).

⁶⁹ For a history of the expansion and reorganization of the orchestra in this period, see John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁷⁰ All these arrangers expanded Pergolesi’s essential texture from 2-3 voices to 3-4 voices, usually by giving the second violin and viola more independent parts to play (Bach and Sehling in particular expanded the role of the viola). Bach, in adapting the music to a new text, also took many liberties with the vocal parts that were not then consequently doubled by the violins, complicating the texture. Hiller added both lower male voices and winds to the *Stabat*. Generally, these expanded the color palette of the *Stabat*, though occasionally they altered the character of a given movement. In this regard, Hiller’s creation of a four-voice texture through some sonic legerdemain in the two fugues and the prominent clarinet solo in Paisiello’s “Quae moerebat” are notable. For more, see Hiller’s publication (Leipzig, 1776) in Appendix II and the manuscripts of Bach (D-B, Mus.ms. 17155/16, RISM No. 455028444) and Sehling (CZ-Pak, 976, RISM No. 550268175) in Appendix I.

Pergolesi's *Salve regina*.⁷¹ Similarly, the Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket in Stockholm contains performance materials for the *Stabat* with an anonymous German parody text that has movements from Graun's Passion oratorio *Kommt her und schaut* and a chorale from *Der Tod Jesu* interspliced.⁷² The push for a "bigger" *Stabat* most frequently manifested itself in a desire for a larger ending than Pergolesi's terse, energetic, minor-mode "Amen" fugue. The sense that Pergolesi's ending was inadequate had already been registered by the written-out ritardando that, early in its reception history, eclipsed Pergolesi's original ending. Later the interventions became more drastic: Hiller enlarged the ensemble and thickened the musical textures; Uttini fashioned a new fugue from the line of the final chorale; and, for a more affirmative ending, J.S. Bach switched the "Inflamatus" and the "Quando" and repeated the "Amen" in the parallel major.⁷³ Indeed, when chorales were added, they nearly always occurred directly before, directly after or instead of Pergolesi's "Amen," providing the same sense of congregational solidarity as in many church cantatas.

Stabat arrangements evince the same dialectical tension between old and new, local and cosmopolitan that were the products of the spiritual concert medium. Audiences were as likely to grow attached to certain versions as they were to search for novelty. Roman's arrangement enjoyed the adulation of Swedish concert-goers well into the nineteenth century and Francesco Uttini's attempted alterations set off a small *Querelle des Stabats* in the Stockholm newspapers, pitting a pro-Roman, pro-tradition camp against a pro-Uttini, pro-modernization camp.⁷⁴ For both Roman's and Hiller's arrangements, local successes granted them mobility. Roman's arrangement was mounted all over Sweden, but publication gave Hiller's reformatted *Stabat* an even more extensive domain. After 1776, it was performed across German-speaking Europe and in the Americas and praised by Ernst Ludwig Gerber as an improvement on the original.⁷⁵ No other single version of the *Stabat* would enjoy this wide diffusion. These dispersed remediations of the *Stabat* produced a newly thinkable relation between reproduction and original, the musical present and the

⁷¹ S[imon] C[arl] Stanley, *En Bøn til GUD, saa og en kort Betragkning over Frelserens Lidelseog Død, indrettet efter den berømte Pergolese-Musik kaldet Salve Regina og Stabat Mater...og opført i Fasten af Det Musikalska Selskab i Kiøbenhavn* (Copenhagen: Andreas Hartvig Godiche, 1755).

⁷² S-Skma, KO-R (RISM No. 190023567).

⁷³ For Uttini's fugue, see S-Skma, KO/Sv.-Rr saml. Ro:86b (RISM No. 190023604). *An Ode of Mr. Pope's* (London: Walsh, 1761) created a more affirmative ending by likewise extensively reshuffling the movements (and omitting many).

⁷⁴ Uttini added an instrumental introduction, an introductory aria ("Christus lydig intil döden") and a four-part fugue based on the last lines of the concluding chorale. See MSS in S-Sfo and S-Skma, KO/Sv.-Rr saml. Ro:86b (RISM No. 190023604). For the skirmish over these changes in the Stockholm newspapers, see Patrik Vretblad, "Pergoleses 'Stabat Mater' infor Musikkritiken i Stockholm på 1700-talet," *Svensk tidskrift för Musikforskning* 2 (1920): 9-21.

⁷⁵ Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig: J. G. I. Breitkopf, 1792), 107.

musical past.⁷⁶ Just as the new cosmopolitan network through which the *Stabat* shuttled produced new ideas of creative originality in composition, so did it produce new ideas of original and arrangement tinged with teleological biases. Hiller portrayed his contributions as “improvements” that respect the original “merits” of Pergolesi’s composition.⁷⁷ Similarly, Vogler’s explicitly announced *Verbesserung* (improvement or perhaps reform) of the *Stabat*,⁷⁸ serialized in his *Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule* between 1778 and 1781, sought to demonstrate his own updated and “rational” musical aesthetics – more clearly salient when they were visited upon an older masterpiece. Phrases are evened out, syncopations removed, dissonance treatments are modernized and harmonic progressions are clarified.⁷⁹ Though Vogler’s focus was not on updating the instrumental resources, he did complicate the accompaniments and thicken the texture, so that four voices tend to sound continuously.⁸⁰

Indeed, while a “modernizing” impulse seems to have motivated many *Stabat* arrangements, Cooke’s version for the Academy of Ancient Music and Royer’s for the Concert Spirituel employed choruses to bring the piece closer to the sonic realm of the typical “ancient” repertoire associated with each organization. A new sense of faithfulness to an “original” version, and the attendant authority of earlier texts, was, in cases such as these, the function of the dramatic proliferation of new formats in which the *Stabat* appeared. By the end of the century, Grétry could associate Pergolesi’s “original” timbres – unencumbered by the sonic accoutrements of the grand spiritual concert – with “ancient” simplicity: “Pergolesi designed rightly...but he was not a great colorist...two violins, a viola, a violoncello, formed then the whole apparatus of his orchestra.”⁸¹ In these ways, *Stabat* arrangements recorded and sounded the distances it traveled.

⁷⁶ Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 215-86.

⁷⁷ Johann Adam Hiller, “Vorbericht,” in *Johann Baptist Pergolese vollständige Passionsmusik* (Leipzig: Dykische Buchhandlung, 1776).

⁷⁸ The title page of Hiller’s 1776 arrangement promises that the work was “in der Harmonie verbessert.”

⁷⁹ Vogler prevented phrases from restarting mid-bar and removed the syncopations in “Cujus anima” and the “Lombard” snaps in “Vidit suum.” He also took issue with Pergolesi’s use of pedal points (for example in “O quam tristis”). Finally, Vogler rewrote the bass line to clarify the prevailing harmony in several places. For an in depth analysis of Vogler’s changes, see Floyd K. Grave, “Abbé Vogler’s Revision of Pergolesi’s ‘Stabat Mater,’” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30:1 (Spring, 1977): 43-71.

⁸⁰ Ibid. Though he praised Vogler’s assessment of the *Stabat*’s flaws, Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart noted that “the Publicum took not to his [Vogler’s] improvements.” See Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, edited by Ludwig Schubart (Vienna: J. V. Degen, 1806), 50.

⁸¹ “Pergolèze dessinoit juste...mais il n’étoit pas grand coloriste...[d]eux violons, une violette, un violoncelle, formoient alors tout l’appareil de son orchestre.” See André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, *Mémoires ou Essais sur la musique*, Vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie de la République, an V [1796-7]), 429-30. Here Grétry repurposed the language of the early

SPIRIT AND SENTIMENT

His *Stabat mater* is counted among the first masterpieces of art. For more than thirty years it passed through all of Europe during Holy Week with universal applause. How many thousands of tears have been elicited from feeling hearts by this piece!

Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna, 1806)⁸²

Just as they mediated musical compositions, spiritual concerts mediated feeling. They (re)produced sympathetic communities that spanned the globe, their movements tracked in the reverberations of printed media that constituted the new concert cultures of the eighteenth century. But, as the adjective “spiritual” indicates, spiritual concerts, even as they borrowed from the commercial world of theater and print, promoted a mode of experience shaped by Christian thought and ritual. Indeed, the term “spiritual” can be seen as connoting a species of religious sensibility: signifying to varying degrees the emotional, sensory and creative functions of the mind (*l’esprit* or *der Geist*); the invisible links joining diffused believers together in “spiritual” communion as well as traditional notions of the “incorporeal” and “the conduct of the soul, the interior of the conscience [la conduite de l’âme, l’intérieur de la conscience].”⁸³ Traditional histories of religious reform in this period might place spiritual concerts amid a “sentimental turn” in Christianity starting with Pietists, Methodists, Moravians, Jansenists, Latitudinarians, and “other religions of the heart.” These movements, reform programs and sects articulated a shared vision of overcoming “the separation between the divine and the human” through the “affective experience” of faith, to use Ted Campbell’s words.⁸⁴ Helena Rosenblatt notes that

eighteenth-century *Querelle de Coloris*, which largely pitted Poussin/Raphael, the paragons of “design” in painting, against Rubens, the paragon of “color.” Raphael, above all, during the century was associated in France with a notion of classical/ancient beauty in painting. The relationship between Pergolesi’s music and the French ideal of “design” has already been examined in the previous chapter; the relationship between biographical portraits of Raphael and Pergolesi will be explored in the next. At least some choral arrangements of the *Stabat* were motivated by an intention to sonically age the piece by bringing it closer to a chorus-based idea of ancient music. Giuseppe Jannacconi’s recomposition of the piece for a cappella chorus (D-Bsa, SA 142a, RISM No. 469014210) represents this tendency taken to an extreme.

⁸² “Sein Stabat-Mater wird unter die ersten Meisterstücke der Kunst gezählt. Seit mehr als dreyssig Jahren führt man es durch ganz Europa in der Charwoche mit allgemeinem Beyfall auf. Wie viel tausend Thränen hat dieses Stück nicht schon fühlenden Herzen entlockt!” 50.

⁸³ “Spirituel,” in *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française*, Fifth Edition, Vol. 2 (Paris: J.J. Smits et Ce., 1798), 599.

⁸⁴ Ted Campbell, *The Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 3.

mainstream Christian apologists after mid-century, drawing on these earlier groups, “increasingly turned to the discourse of sentiment and sensibility” to shore up the Christian faith from philosophical attack, arguing in the process for a natural religious feeling which all humans shared and for the inherent beauty and affective quality of ritual.⁸⁵

One can see how this rather abstract conception of theologically driven change became possible only under particular material conditions – not least in the newly deterritorialized space of the spiritual concert. The boundaries between spirit and sentiment, the sacred and the secular, were blurred in this new media environment, which emerged as a de facto fourth space in tripartite division of space-style (church, theater, chamber) that reigned over eighteenth century genre theory. Stylistically, the concert space was defined by Italianate music that, as we have seen, retreated from certain conventional proscriptions of aesthetic propriety. Johann Mattheson affirmed this cross-pollination of operatic and religious aesthetics, “in church I have ... precisely the same intention with the music as in opera, namely: I want to stir the listener’s mind and get it moving in a certain way, whether toward a feeling of love, compassion, joy or sadness etc. ... Especially here, during worship, intense, serious, long-lasting and extremely profound emotions are needed.”⁸⁶ Such an operatic-liturgical mix would, after all, have been witnessed in the very personnel of most spiritual concerts, where singers and instrumentalists inevitably shuttled between secular and sacred domains. A satirical engraving in Josef Richter’s *Bildergalerie katholischer Misbräuche* (Frankfurt and Leipzig [Vienna], 1784) depicted the undisguised operatic aesthetic of contemporary church performances with gleeful disapproval: a glamorous soprano sings to a rapt audience while, beside her, a male singer sneaks a drink. Richter explained:

The primo buffo who played the Marchese Villano in the carnival opera took over the role of Saint Peter in Lent, and the prima donna who sang to us instilling love and voluptuousness in the theater wished now to make up for our sins, and hers, with a touching *Stabat mater*.⁸⁷

Pergolesi was almost certainly the composer of the *Stabat* skewered here – the very paradigm of a confusingly sacred-sentimental Italianate style propagated through the spiritual concert medium.

⁸⁵ Helena Rosenblatt, “The Christian Enlightenment,” in *Cambridge History of Christianity: Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815*, edited by Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 292. Recent histories of sensibility in Britain have acknowledged the formative role played by the theologies of the Latitudinarians and the Pietists. Chandler placed the Latitudinarians at the beginning of his history of sympathy in Britain. According to Chandler, the Latitudinarian answer to Cartesian mechanism and mind-body dualism was that “[b]ody and soul, matter and spirit, would be reconciled in their being sentimentalized together,” salvaging “the ancient notion of soul” through appeals to the “heart” (xvi).

⁸⁶ Translated by Stephen Rose, “Lutheran Church Music,” in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, edited by Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 128.

⁸⁷ Quoted in Hertz, 15-6.

As it spread across this ambiguously “spiritual” domain, the copiously mediated motion of the *Stabat* engendered and embodied a mode of shared feeling. This was in part a matter of ritualized performances of sensibility that became fashionable among audience members, a sensibility embedded in the media experience itself as much as the work. Weeping was common. Ludwig Tieck confessed to always having to hide his tears during the “Vidit suum;”⁸⁸ while Marmontel averred that that movement was guaranteed to provoke tears;⁸⁹ and Giacomo Ferrari recalled a performance in Rome in the 1780s in which he wept “from the first note to the last.”⁹⁰ At some level, this emotional experience was divorced from any Christian context. Chabanon even speculated that the opening of the piece would work well sung in front of Castor’s tomb.⁹¹ But not all contemporaries considered this emotive exuberance praiseworthy given the supposedly sacred setting. Charles Avison, in the 1753 edition of his *Essay on Musical Expression*, argued that

...there was wanting, in several Movements of [Pergolesi’s] *Stabat Mater*, the just Distinction, which ought always to be observed, between the Tenderness or Passion of a Theatrical Scene, and the Solemnity of Devotion.⁹²

Padre Martini likewise objected to the musical similarities between the *Stabat* and *La serva padrona*, while William Jones, who otherwise praised Pergolesi’s depiction of the Virgin’s grief, professed that “some movements...disgusted me from the very first, and do so still, with a mixture of modern Italian levity, and an affectation of secular Air.”⁹³

Despite perceived stylistic lapses, the virtue of the *Stabat* was maintained – and distinguished from the profane luxury and levity of opera – partly by actual liturgical use, partly through arrangement and partly by association with charity and public service. The abundance of manuscript copies of the *Stabat* resting in church and monastery archives provides the best evidence for the work’s continuing liturgical use. But Hiller is known to have performed his arrangement both at the Grosse Concert and at several Leipzig

⁸⁸ Ludwig Tieck, *Phantasus: Eine Sammlung von Märchen, Erzählungen, Schauspielen und Novellen*, Vol. 2 (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1812), 439.

⁸⁹ Jean-François Marmontel, “Lettre de M. Marmontel à M. de la Harpe,” *Mercure de France* (Sept. 15, 1778): 163.

⁹⁰ Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, *Aneddoti piacevoli e interessanti occorsi nella vita di Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari*, Vol. 1 (London: “presso l’autore;” A. Seguin, 1830), 173.

⁹¹ An illusion to the opening tableau of Rameau’s *Castor et Pollux*. This quote appears in two treatises by Chabanon: *Observations sur la musique* (Paris: Pissot, 1779), 82 and *De la musique considérée en elle-même* (Paris: Pissot, 1785), 116.

⁹² Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression*, Second edition (London: C. Davis, 1753), 94.

⁹³ Giovanni Battista Martini, *Esemplare, ossia Saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto*, Vol. 1 (Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe, 1774), viii. Many other authors mentioned Martini’s criticism. In the dictionary of Choron and Fayolle, the authors asserted that Martini compared the “Inflamatus” with “Stizzoso, mio stizzoso” specifically. See Alexandre-Étienne Choron and François-Joseph-Marie Fayolle, *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens, artistes et amateurs, morts ou vivans*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Valade, 1811), 134. See also William Jones, *A Treatise on the Art of Music* (Colchester: W. Keymer, 1784), 52-3.

churches in the 1780s.⁹⁴ Several compendiums destined for parish churches, like Arnold's *The Psalms of David* (1791), Busby's *The Divine Harmonist* (1792) and Holyoke's *The Columbian Repository of Sacred Harmony* (1803), also firmly position the *Stabat* within a quotidian liturgical milieu. Again, arrangement facilitated these migrations, especially into protestant areas. Richard Will diagnoses many of the "protestantizations" previously discussed of the *Stabat* as "masculinizations," attempts within the gendered dynamics of sensibility to contain or minimize the circulation of feeling deemed excessively embodied or feminized.⁹⁵ Anxiety around the "sacred feminine," claims Will, motivated Klopstock's parody (which refocuses the narrative more on to Jesus' suffering than Mary's), Hiller's more publically demonstrative and texturally robust 1776 arrangement and especially such damning critique as Forkel's stinging dismissal of the piece as "eine frömmelnde Heuchlerin" ("a pious hypocrite," gendered female).⁹⁶ Placing the *Stabat*'s reception in a wider European context (beyond the German-French binary Will constructs) bears out this gendered dynamic, but only to a degree. Roman's and Sporon's parodies of the Latin likewise shift thematically from Mary to Jesus (as do many anonymous retextings) and any addition to Pergolesi's original score can plausibly be interpreted as an attempted "masculinization." In the end, however, these interventions were more responses to the piece's novel sensibility than attempts to actively contain it. Any would-be arranger could have, with less work, as Hiller notes, programmed something else. And crucially, these interventions drove rather than curtailed the spread of the *Stabat*, bringing still more listeners into its sentimental communion.

Charitable concerts marshaled the sensibility of the *Stabat* for utilitarian social ends, a useful strategy to redeem the *Stabat*'s religious sensibility and make the audience's enjoyment permissible. This was especially true in protestant areas. Such concerts likely took their cue from earlier musician benefit concerts, like the 1756 Amsterdam performance, that similarly deployed the *Stabat*. An advertisement for the 1796 concert in Uppsala encouraged the public exercise of sympathy prompted by hearing the *Stabat* to be directed for the benefit of orphans:

Present Music Lovers who, kindled by civility, insomuch as they are able, work always for the good, have vouchsafed on the morrow, Good Friday, for the benefit and support of the Grammar and Labor School Institution here in the City, to perform the beautiful and stirring Passion Music of Pergolesi...

⁹⁴ Kerstin Sieblist, "Ein hochgelehrter, in seiner Kunst einzigartig erfahrener Mann," in *Johann Adam Hiller: Kapellmeister und Kantor, Komponist und Kritiker*, edited by Claudius Böhm (Altenburg: Kamprad, 2005), 81.

⁹⁵ Richard Will, "Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* and the Politics of Feminine Virtue," *The Musical Quarterly* 87:3 (Oct., 2004): 570-614. For a more nuanced picture of the gender dynamics at play in the culture of sensibility, see G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁹⁶ Will perhaps invests too much in the gendering of sentiment as foundational to Pergolesi's German reception. For a German protestant critic like Forkel, a charge of "effeminacy" would have easily elided into charges of "Italian" or "Catholic."

We beseech the venerated Public for clemency and gentleness towards this trial performance, and dare to hope that this Music, so closely joined to Religion, shall communicate the feelings of Virtue and Worship, while every and each benignant heart tastes the most spirited joy, having contributed to the tutelage and welfare of poor and abject children.

The tears and benedictions of these wretches are the only such Signs of their feeling, and the bliss of Heaven becomes the wise reward of the Merciful.⁹⁷

Like many aspects of the *Stabat*'s Swedish reception, the tradition of charitable performances began in Stockholm, where, from 1773 to the end of the century, local Freemasons organized annual Lenten charitable concerts for their orphanage.⁹⁸ In turn, charity concerts were also undertaken sporadically by local Freemasons in Göteborg (for the Freemason orphanage there, starting in the 1780s) and in Åbo (for the city's poor, during the 1790s). Outside Sweden, charity concerts using the *Stabat* occurred in Oldenburg (1784), in Hamburg under the direction of C.P.E. Bach (1786) and in London (starting in 1756). Harry White has observed that Handel's *Messiah* achieved no success in London until the Foundling Hospital performance in 1750 – a charitable purpose that counteracted the potential “*Impiety and Prophaness*” of sacred compositions being “us'd as publick diversions,” as a 1743 reviewer had phrased it.⁹⁹ The reception of the *Stabat* followed a similar trajectory; its earliest performances in London were for the benefit of singer Elisabetta de Gambarini in 1752 and then on a charitable “Concerto Spirituale” in 1756.

Sympathy, however it may have been defined, circumscribed or repackaged, was essential to the naturalization of the spiritual concert medium. But more than other media discussed here, the spiritual concert foregrounds the novelty and importance of sentiment's iterability, not just its mobility. In its more developed form, the spiritual concert offered a new kind of sentimental engagement channeled through the ceremonial observance of certain works that were (re)produced (semi-)annually. Print played a vital role in the ritualized expressions of sentiment associated with concert culture, singling out

⁹⁷ “Härwarande Musique-Älskare, eldade af det sanna medborgerliga nitet att, så mycket de kunna, alltid werka till det goda, hafwa ädelmodigt låfwat, att, i morgon, Lång-Fredag, till förmån och understöd för Läse- och Arbets-Scholä Inrättningen här i Staden, upföra den ärkändt wackra och rörande Passions Musiquen af Pergolese... Man anhåller om den wördade Allmänhetens ynnest och skonsamhet wid pröfningen af Executionen, samt wågar hoppas, att denne Musique, så nära förenad med Religionen, lika wäl skall tolka Dygdens och Andaktens Känslor, under det hwart och ett wälgörande hjerta smakar den lifligaste glädje, att hafwa bidragit till fattiga och arma barns upfostran och deraf flytande timmeliga wäl. Desse uslingars tårar och wälsignelser är den enda Borgen för deras ärkänsla, och Himmelens lycksalighet blifwer den Barmhärtigas wisa belöning.” Leif Jonsson, *Offentlig musik i Uppsala 1747-1854: Från representativ till borgerlig konsert* (Stockholm: Statens musikbibliotek, 1998), 107. My thanks to Lindsay Preseau Banerji for her help translating this passage.

⁹⁸ Note the proximity to Ferling's 1770 benefit concert.

⁹⁹ Harry White, “Handel in Dublin: A Note,” *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 2 (1987): 183-4.

Stabat performances amid the otherwise varied musical offerings and spreading the domain of the spiritual concert into domestic spaces. Concert programs in Stockholm reproduced Roman's text annually, linking each yearly iteration to a decades long tradition, while Hiller and Schiørring's publications allowed for the recreation of the spiritual concert at home.¹⁰⁰ Rehearing, and rereading, sustained and grew the communities that the spiritual concert precipitated.

TRANSCENDENCE

[O]r when at musical societies that I attended diligently, in Handel's *Messiah*, in Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*, in [J.C.] Bach's *Salve regina* and such, I heard harmonious allusions from an eternal world, then lonely strolling in the cloister garden in the evening, on the starry sky feeling profound but inexplicable melancholy and longing, I had looked with reverence on millions of immortal worlds. Not aware of any malignancy of mind, I did not realize for a long time that only an unregulated activity of my mind was the element of my irreligious aberrations.

Letter from Ignaz Aurelius Feßler (Vienna) to Kammer-Ingenieur Andreas Kneidinger (Pressburg [Bratislava]), October 16, 1782¹⁰¹

If the initial history of the spiritual concert was marked by the sentimentalization of the sacred, than the latter part was marked by the sacralization of the sentimental. Traces of early Romantic discourse began to coalesce around the *Stabat* in which the feelings it evoked and invoked seemed to transcend quotidian sensibility and offer a glimpse of the divine. The spiritual concert incubated such ideology, but only once it had achieved a high degree of saturation could audiences readily imagine the concert experience as, ideally, a form of spiritual transcendence exceeding the materiality of music's mediation. By the end of the century, the media that facilitated the diffusion of the *Stabat* across Europe had indeed become naturalized, their protocols stabilized, their novelty gone, their mediations less visible. The *Stabat* itself attained a degree of saturation as well, even as newer works began displacing the *Stabat* from its central position in the cosmopolitan repertoire of the spiritual concert. But by then the *Stabat* had already achieved "immortality," a heavenly

¹⁰⁰ Travelogues and periodicals, not to mention letters, also facilitated this sentimental economy.

¹⁰¹ "oder wenn ich in musikalischen Gesellschaften, die ich fleissig besuchte, in Händel's *Messias*, in Pergolese's *Stabat mater*, in Bach's *Salve Regina* u. dgl. Harmonische Andeutungen aus einer ewigen Welt vernommen, dann Abends im Klostergarten einsam lustwandelnd, an dem gestirnten Himmel tiefe, doch unerklärbare Wehmuth und Sehnsucht fühlend, Millionen unvergänglicher Welten mit Ehrfurcht beschaut hatte. Keiner Bösartigkeit der Gesinnung mir bewusst, erkannte ich noch lange nicht, dass nur eine unregelte Thätigkeit meines Verstandes das Element meiner irreligiösen Verirrungen war." Anthologized in Ignaz Aurelius Feßler, *Rückblick auf seine Siebzigjährige Pilgerschaft*, edited and with a forward by Friedrich Bülow (Leipzig: Carl Geibel, 1851), 110-1.

omnipresence, existing beyond time and beyond place because of its media saturation. Feßler's experience illustrates how spiritual concerts could condition certain extreme emotional responses that increasingly contradicted the materialism typically associated with eighteenth-century theories of sensation. Even as Feßler's remarks evince their roots in earlier sentimental discourse, aesthetic experience here becomes something that transcends the everyday, natural world of sensation and feeling. As aesthetic investments in the *Stabat* continued to accrue, Schubart's "thousands of tears...from feeling hearts" gave way to Feßler's "millions of immortal worlds." The experience of the *Stabat* could no longer be circumscribed by the discourse of sympathy, but instead suggests the Schleiermacherian style trope of "art-religion:" a new quasi-mystical cultural practice that channeled traditional Christian mystery and theology through new media forms.¹⁰²

Pergolesi's apotheosis began with Friedrich Melchior von Grimm's "little prophet of Boehmischbroda," who first labeled Pergolesi "divine" and metaphorically compared the composer's birth to that of Athena.¹⁰³ Though the subject at hand for Grimm was defending Italian opera buffa in the midst of the *Querelle*, the pagan-inspired idea of "the divine Pergolesi" eventually became detached from the pamphlet war and Christianized as it weaved through the writings of Marpurg, Algarotti and others. By the time of his *Mémoires*, Grétry could speak of "the divine Pergolesi" as if he were a vehicle of revelation ("Pergolesi was born, & the truth became known") while vaunting the *Stabat* as an ideal of sacred music.¹⁰⁴ Along the way, Charrière hailed Pergolesi as "more than a demigod;" Arteaga regarded the *Stabat* as "sublime;" Galanti spoke of the composer's "immortal works" and Schubart noted that his church compositions were "kept as relics."¹⁰⁵ The medium of the public concert precisely promoted this kind of spiritual elevation. Elizabeth Harris claimed

¹⁰² Jonathan Sheehan, having embraced a "media-driven concept of the Enlightenment" to unravel the "enigma of secularization," remarks: "Religion and the Enlightenment were wedded together, not because of any intrinsic intellectual affinity between rationalism and mystery but because the media of the Enlightenment were fundamental structures through which new religious cultures and practices were created." Jonathan Sheehan, "Enlightenment, Religion, and the Enigma of Secularization: A Review Essay," *The American Historical Review* 108:4 (Oct., 2003): 1061-80.

¹⁰³ Grimm's prophet plays the parental role of Zeus, with Pergolesi "spring[ing] forth fully grown from [his] forehead." Translated in Enrico Fubini, *Music & Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe: a Source Book*, Translations by Wolfgang Freis, Lisa Gasbarrone, Michael Louis Leone, Translations edited by Bonnie J. Blackburn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 117.

¹⁰⁴ "Pergolèze naquit, & la verité fut connue." André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, *Mémoires ou Essais sur la musique* (Paris: Prault, 1789), 507.

¹⁰⁵ Letter to Caroline de Chambrier (Autumn, 1790). Translated in Jacqueline Letzter and Robert Adelson, *Women Writing Opera: Creativity and Controversy in the Age of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 142. Stefano Arteaga, *Le rivoluzione del teatro musicale italiano*, Second edition, Vol. 1 (Venice: Carlo Palese, 1785), 22. Giuseppe Maria Galanti, *Breve descrizione della città di Napoli e del suo contorno* (Naples: Li socj del Gabinetto Letterario, 1792), 240. Schubart, 51.

that Linley and Tenducci sang “like two devine [sic] beings” during the 1770 Salisbury concert.¹⁰⁶ And after hearing a 1776 performance at the Danish Royal Court, Schiørring wrote in his diary that there was “something...truly celestial” about the piece.¹⁰⁷ Performances of the *Stabat* in Kassel and Milan hid the instrumentalists behind curtains, rendering the source of the accompanying sounds invisible to the audience.¹⁰⁸ Beyond the simple illustration or inspiration of religious sentiments, such stage tricks performed “otherworldliness” by turning the *Stabat* into an immaterial, acousmatic sonic object. Ultimately, sinking into the emotional world of the *Stabat*, allowing it to overwhelm, became an initiation rite into an ethereal plane. Helfrich Peter Sturz recounted hearing the painter Angelika Kauffman perform the work on her glass harmonica thus:

When she sings Pergolesi’s *Stabat*, at her Armonica, devoutly casts up her large soulful eyes, *pietosi & riguardar, a mover parchi* [that look gracefully about her, and move languidly], and then succumbs to the expression of the piece with streaming eyes, she becomes an inspiring image of St. Cecilia.¹⁰⁹

While Annette Richards labels the glass harmonica here as the “transformative vessel” that ushered performer and listener up to “higher realms,” the choice of repertoire equally contributed to Sturz and Kauffman’s Assumption. Not coincidentally, Kauffman apotheosized into St. Cecilia, a Christianized Euterpe and effectively the protectress and patron saint of spiritual music and the spiritual concert.¹¹⁰

Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder’s surrogate Joseph Berglinger experienced concerts as quasi-mystical rituals during his youthful excursion to the local episcopal residence:

Whenever Joseph was at a big concert, he seated himself in a corner, without looking at the brilliant gathering of auditors, and listened with the very same

¹⁰⁶ Burrows and Dunhill, 604.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in Radiciotti, 253.

¹⁰⁸ Richard Will links this specimen of musical-religious theatrics to the premiere of Haydn’s *Seven Last Words of Christ* in the Cádiz Cathedral, during which the Cathedral was plunged into total darkness. See Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 114-5.

¹⁰⁹ Sturz’ anecdote appears in a letter from 1768, written while he toured London in the retinue of the King of Denmark. This letter was in turn published in his *Schriften* (Leipzig, 1786). The translation comes from Annette Richards, “Ghost Music: or, The Otherworldly Voice of the Glass Harmonica,” *Keyboard Perspectives VIII* (2015): 24. The Italian aside is from Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*.

¹¹⁰ St. Cecilia’s name was frequently associated with the “spiritualized,” ambiguously sacred/secular eighteenth-century concert space, for example adorning the hall where the Edinburgh Music Society met and being the subject of spiritual works like those of Purcell and Handel. Her name day furnished the pretext for an annual concert in London as far back as 1683. See Burrows, “London: Commercial Wealth and Cultural Expansion,” 363. Her cult, though, became more militant in the following century, as the German Cecilian movement sought to undo over a century of secular influence on sacred music, repudiating in effect her eighteenth-century legacy.

reverence as if he were in the church.¹¹¹

Berglinger would emerge from the space “very weak and fatigued from the intense attentiveness.”¹¹² Wackenroder's fictional biography of Berglinger was embedded in a larger collection of ruminations on art and painting, *Herzensergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (Berlin, 1797), which included several biographies of Renaissance artists such as Raphael and Dürer. Berglinger's life story is thus set within a larger argument in favor of the spiritual characteristics of older art, with Berglinger's musical tastes skewed decidedly towards “ancient” music of a religious genus. Like earlier generations of advocates for “ancient” music, Wackenroder uses older examples to critique present-day, commercial music making. Berglinger rejects the all-too-material media that support concert experiences, preferring church spaces to concert spaces. At the episcopal residence, he “primarily visited the churches and heard the holy oratorios, cantilenas, and choirs resound under the lofty arches with full-voiced ringing and the peal of trumpets, whereby, out of inner piety, he often remained humbly on his knees.”¹¹³ While his tastes seem conservative, his reaction to this music embodies a hyper-modern form of sensibility. When music began “it seemed to him as if suddenly huge wings were stretched forth from his soul, as if he were being lifted up from a barren heath, the gloomy curtain of clouds disappearing before his mortal eyes, and he floating up to the luminous heaven.”¹¹⁴ During concerts “[t]housands of dormant sensations were abruptly awakened in his heart and became marvelously intermingled,” while afterwards “he appeared to himself purer and more ennobled...still glowing from the spiritual wine which had intoxicated him.”¹¹⁵

Wackenroder constantly reinforced a binary between the spiritual-old and material-modern. Before concerts began Berglinger's “brain became stupefied by empty, earthly trivialities” as he listened to the “murmuring crowd of people.” When the concert started, “his inner self was cleansed of all the earthly trivialities.”¹¹⁶ This dichotomy also manifests itself in the contrast between the musically vibrant episcopal residence and Berglinger's family home, a location marked by material need, mundane distractions and quotidian tedium. After returning, Berglinger often “recited to himself the very lovely and touching

¹¹¹ Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, “The Strange Musical Life of the Musical Artist Joseph Berglinger,” in *Confessions and Fantasies*, translated and annotated with a critical introduction by Mary Hurst Schubert (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, [1971]), 149.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 148.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 149. The original German stanzas read: “Siehe wie ich trostlos weine/In dem Kämmerlein alleine,/Heilige *Cäcilia*!/Sieh mich aller Welt entfliehen,/Um hier still vor dir zu knien:/Ach ich bete, sei mir nah!/Deine wunderbaren Töne,/Denen ich verzaubert fröne,/Haben mein Gemüt verrückt./Löse doch die Angst der Sinnen –/Laß mich in Gesang zerrinnen,/Der mein Herz so sehr entzückt.” See Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder and Ludwig Tieck, *Herzensergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, edited by Martin Bollacher (Stuttgart: P. Reclam, 2005), 105.

¹¹⁶ Wackenroder, “Strange,” 148.

words, retained by heart, of the spiritual oratorio, which had been the first thing that he had heard and which had made a particularly deep impression upon him.”¹¹⁷ Wackenroder gave the first stanzas of this “spiritual oratorio” as the first two strophes of the *Stabat* hymn.¹¹⁸ To cope with his estrangement from the artistically intoxicating episcopal residence, Berglinger composed simple songs based on his own texts. One of these, also given by Wackenroder, is itself a partial parody of the *Stabat* hymn:

Behold how I weep despairingly
In my chamber solitarily
 Holiest Cecilia!—
See how I flee from all the world,
To kneel before you here unheard:
 Ah! Pray, from me be not far!”
“Would you like to guide on harp strings
My weak fingers, so that there springs
 Feeling forth from out of it;
That my playing both inspires
In thousand hearts sweet pains and fires
 And stills again all that was lit.”¹¹⁹

Wackenroder, perhaps strategically, does not mention the composer of the *Stabat* setting, even as Pergolesi is strongly implied. By the 1790s, the *Stabat* was showing its age and would thus fit in well with the rebranding of “ancient” art at the heart of the *Herzensergießungen*’s aesthetic project. Specifically, Wackenroder’s description of his fictional composer’s death echoes popular stories of Pergolesi’s own demise. Divine inspiration led to Berglinger’s final masterpiece (a Passion oratorio), but the labor he exerted in finishing it proved fatal.¹²⁰ Wackenroder also used a technique commonly deployed in the mediation of Pergolesi’s *Stabat* – parody – to consecrate composition itself as a quasi-religious practice, substituting Mary and Jesus with Saint Cecilia.

Berglinger was among the first in a long line of literary Romantic musicians, and his spiritual ecstasies demonstrate how early German Romantics redeemed sentimental excess by representing it as a sign of spiritual transcendence instead of a symptom of psychosomatic imbalance. Tieck, Wackenroder’s friend and contributor for parts of *Herzensergießungen*, returned to the *Stabat* in his *Phantasmus* (Berlin, 1812-1817), a collection of stories linked by disquisitions on literature and art. The piece inspired Tieck to compose two sonnets to Pergolesi, a long-form free verse poem to the piece and a final sonnet entitled “Die Musik Spricht.”¹²¹ Within the narrative of *Phantasmus*, these poems are recited by the character Anton in response to Clara and Rosalie, who had been practicing the *Stabat* the previous day. Tieck regarded Pergolesi’s “extreme simplicity” as some species of holy innocence; joy and pain, buffa and seria, naïvely mixed together: “[t]he

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 151.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 152.

¹²⁰ See Chapter 3.

¹²¹ Tieck, 441-6.

loveliness of melancholy in the depths of pain, this smile in tears, this childlikeness which touches the highest Heaven, have never so lightly penetrated my soul.”¹²² Anton’s initial sonnets commingle nature and Christian imagery, bridging the notion of Pergolesi’s “natural” expressivity, inherited from the previous century, with the new zeal of Romantic art-religion:

A young man [presumably, Pergolesi] walks through the green forest,
Lonely, deserted, sighing, and in tears;
What does his hand-wringing desire?
What does his turbid, love-sick, doeful expression say?
Soon it is as if an angel appears to him,
So he looks into the greenery with elevated longing,
He talks to birds, with the air on his mind,
Branches bend their arms in atonement.¹²³

The final sonnet places Pergolesi’s inspiration entirely within the celestial sphere. Beforehand Tieck indulges not in a parody of the text, but in a literary representation of Mary’s suffering as expressed through Pergolesi’s *Stabat*. In the saturated music media landscape circa the publication of *Phantasia*, the remediation of the *Stabat* in actual poetry became a kind of transcendence.

Tieck’s infantilization of Pergolesi was symptomatic of aesthetic shifts in the appreciation of spiritual music after 1800, shifts that undercut the *Stabat*’s fame. These changing fortunes are epitomized by an anonymous piece in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* from 1810, which imagines a mystical pantheon of composers. The author’s “trinity of beauty, truth and goodness,” Mozart, Haydn and J.S. Bach, were prefigured by Handel and, more remotely, by Palestrina. Pergolesi, alongside C.H. Graun, whose large-scale religious pieces were likewise staples of the spiritual concert, shine faintly amongst these composer-gods as “stars.”¹²⁴ Just as the Titans were overthrown by the Olympians, Pergolesi and Graun were conquered by Mozart, Haydn and Bach. Critics began worshiping at new altars.

¹²² “Die Lieblichkeit der Wehmuth in des Schmerzes Tiefe, dies Lächeln in Thränen, diese Kindlichkeit, die den höchsten Himmel anrührt, ist mir noch niemals so licht in der Seele aufgegangen.” Ibid., 439.

¹²³ “Ein Jüngling wandelt durch die Waldesgrüne,/Einsam, verlassen, seufzend und in Thränen;/Was will sein Händeringen doch ersehnen?/Was sagt die trübe, liebe Leidensmine?/Bald ists, als ob ein Engel ihm erschiene,/So schaut er in das Grün mit hohem Sehnen,/Er spricht mit Vögeln, mit der Luft im Wähnen,/In Zweigen neigen Arme sich zur Sühne.” Ibid., 441.

¹²⁴ Translated in Elizabeth Kramer, “The Idea of Transfiguration in the Early German Reception of Mozart’s Requiem,” *Current Musicology* 81 (Spring, 2006): 75.

INTERMEZZO: OTHER STABAT MATERS

In the following stanza: *Ad te clamamus*, etc., at the words: *gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle*, in imitation of the first strophe of the *Stabat* by Pergolesi, Mosen Juan made a series of dissonant ligatures, some, prepared, others, resulting in the plainsong, with which the soprano part always surpassed the other voices, as a guide to prayer.

Eximeno, *Don Lazarillo Vizcardi: Sus investigaciones músicas*¹

For every commentator who labeled Pergolesi's *Stabat* "inimitable" there were several composers imitating it. In this episode from his novel-cum-ethnomusicological survey of his native Spain, Eximeno offered a glimpse of Spanish music education around 1800 as Mosen Juan essayed his first attempt at original composition (a *Salve regina*). Not only does the passage demonstrate how the popularity of the *Stabat* "taught" the Neapolitan style, it also shows how processes of imitation and allusion were another means by which *Stabat* attained "workhood." Mosen Juan does not deploy here a musical schema well suited to his lachrymose text, but a distinct allusion to Pergolesi's *Stabat* and its media histories. Without records like Eximeno's fictional account of a novice's compositional process, such instances of imitation are best deduced in other composers' approaches to the same text, of which there were many in the second half of the eighteenth century.²

As displayed in Richter's *Bildgalerie*, *Stabat* settings became a site to explore the generic mixing of church and theatre styles, the sentimentalization of Christian doctrine and the demarcation of concert spaces that permitted both. Later settings internalized and thereby spread the protocols of the spiritual concert. Many were composed for small groups of soloists with small supporting ensembles and featured self-contained movements built around Metastasian-sized sections of text. Against this background it is still possible to read Pergolesi's direct influence on newer settings, even if they do not

¹ "En el siguiente período: *Ad te clamamus*, etc., á las palabras: *dementes et fuentes in hace lacrimarum valle*, á imitacion de la primera estrofa del *Stabat* de Pergolese, hizo Mosen Juan una serie de ligaduras disonantes, unas, preparadas, otras resueltas en el canto-llano, con el cual sobrepujaba siempre á las demás voces el tiple, como guía de la plegaria." Antonio Eximeno, *Don Lazarillo Vizcardi: Sus investigaciones músicas con ocasion del concurso á un magisterio de capilla vacante*, edited by F.A. Barbieri, Vol. 1 (Madrid: [M. Rivadeneyra], 1872), 216.

² I believe that I have identified two examples that are not from *Stabat* settings, both mimicking the final bars of the "Stabat mater." Abbess Anna Amalia's *Der Tod Jesu* (1760) ends similarly and the parallel media fortunes of Ramler's text and Pergolesi's *Stabat* suggest an illusion. For a modern edition, see Anna Amalia von Prussia, *Der Tod Jesu: Motet for SATB and Orchestra* (Louisville, KY: Ars Femina, 1993). More clear is the ending of Thomas Haweis' setting of "Jesus, my Savior" from *A New and Improved Edition of The Collection of Psalm & Hymn Tunes Sung at the Chapel of the Lock Hospital*, edited by Martin Madan, Vol. 2 (London: Broderip & Wilkinson, [1792]), 106-7.

announce themselves, as Theodor von Schacht's does, as "fatto al l'imitazione di Pergolesi."³ A surprising number of *Stabat* settings are in f minor (including those of Luigi Boccherini and Johann Baptist Vanhal), an uncommon key in the days before more equal temperament became normalized, but one associated with deep pain. At least one eighteenth-century source, William Jones of Nayland's "On the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative" (Oxford, 1772), singled out Pergolesi's apt use of the key, describing it as "pathetick and mournful to the highest degree."⁴ Composers also seem to have copied salient features of Pergolesi's setting, such as the "breathlessness" of Pergolesi's "dum emisit spiritum," turning them into tropes (see Music Example 1.13). Since the "Vidit suum" was one of most praised of Pergolesi's movements, it is not surprising that this more or less original idea became a genre cliché, repeated by Franz Beck, Elector Maximilian III Joseph of Bavaria, Antonio Ferradini and others in their settings. Tommaso Traetta's *Stabat* (circa 1750) demonstrates how these elements, perhaps not individually distinctive, when presented together, gesture towards the influence of Pergolesi's.⁵ Though Traetta's *Stabat* is in the key of e minor and scored for four soloists (SATB), the "Vidit suum" is scored for strings and alto in the remote (from e) key of f minor. Traetta's setting of "dum emisit spiritum" mimics Pergolesian "breathlessness" as well (Music Example 2.5.1). Likely Traetta had a formative experience of Pergolesi's posthumous fame; his last teacher at the Loretto was Durante.⁶

Pasquale Cafaro's *Stabat mater* (1785) corrects the idea that Pergolesi's fame evaporated quickly within Naples. In his preface to the published score, Cafaro, then King Ferdinando IV's *maestro di capella*, declared:

After the immortal music of Pergolesi to the STABAT, I would not have attempted to make another, if obliged to do so by the command of Your Majesties, [for a piece] to sing every year in the Chiesa della Solitaria on the day for the celebration of the Sorrows of Mary, and the desire to satisfy one of my particular devotions had not led me to enchain myself to the necessity of serving myself from others' pieces.⁷

³ The autograph's title page from circa 1780 reads "Stabat Mater per Soprano | e | Tenore | 2 Violini | 2 Oboi | 2 Corni | Alto | ed | Organo | fatto | al L'imitazione | Di | Pergolesi | Da | Theodore De | Schacht." D-Rtt, Schacht 112 (RISM No. 450011036).

⁴ William Jones, "On the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative," in *Poems Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages: To which are added two essays* (Oxford: Clarendon-Press, 1772), 210.

⁵ For a modern edition, see Tommaso Traetta, *Stabat mater in E minor: For SATB soli, strings & basso continuo*, edited by Alejandro Garri, assisted by Kent Carlson (Frankfurt: Garri Editions, 2008).

⁶ Traetta's "Quis est homo" alludes to Pergolesi's movement as well. Both are in c minor and Traetta's contains melodic and other similarities including the "questioning" half-cadence before the "Pro peccatis."

⁷ "Dopo l'immortal musica del Pergolesi allo STABAT, non avrei osato farne altra, se l'obbligo di doverla per comando delle MM.VV. far ogn'anno cantare nella Chiesa della Solitaria nel dì, che si celebrano i Dolori di Maria, e il desiderio di appagare una mia particolar divozione non mi avesse indotto a schiavare la necessità di servirmi delle altrui

The image shows a musical score for five instruments: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Alto, and B.C. (Bassoon/Clarinet). The music is in 2/4 time, f minor, and consists of four measures. The vocal line (Alto) has lyrics 'dum e - - mi - sit,' with a trill (tr) in the final measure. The instrumental parts are arranged in a standard orchestral format.

Music Example 2.5.1: Traetta, *Stabat mater*, No. 4 – “Vidit suum,” bars 33-5.

Cafaro helped himself to several servings of Pergolesi. The opening is an *f* minor duet for high female voices and strings, and when all four voices enter for the “O quam” the texture and declamation explicitly echo Pergolesi. “O quam” is followed by a highly syncopated “Quae moerebat,” a “Vidit suum” (*f* minor) in which the words “dum emisit spiritum” are “breathlessly” expressed and a “Quando corpus” (*f* minor) with the same manner of accompaniment as Pergolesi’s corresponding movement (Music Example 2.5.2, for comparison see Music Example 1.15). Cafaro’s publication is distinctive not only because little music was printed in Naples during the eighteenth century, but because it provides one of the few published statements by an active, conservatory-trained Neapolitan composer reflecting on the legacy of an older compatriot.⁸ Indeed, Cafaro’s *Stabat* is musical testimony to an emerging cult around Pergolesi, specifically, in Naples and the first stirrings of wider attempt by Neapolitan intelligentsia to write the history of Naples’ musical “golden age,” seen slipping into the past.

carte.” Pasquale Cafaro, *Stabat mater: Musica a quattro voci, e a due in canone, con violini, viola, e basso* (Naples: S.n., 1785).

⁸ Cafaro only saw a handful of his compositions published during his lifetime as well, which suggests that some significance was attached to this composition.

The image shows a musical score for three instruments: Violin I, Violin II, and B.C. (Viola 8va). The music is in 2/4 time and the key signature has two flats (B-flat major). The Violin I part consists of a simple melody with a deceptive cadence at the end of the fourth bar. The Violin II part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with sixteenth-note patterns. The B.C. part has a similar rhythmic pattern in the bass register.

Music Example 2.5.2: Cafaro, *Stabat mater*, No. 11 – “Quando corpus,” bars 1-4

Carl Joseph Rodewald felt similarly beholden to Pergolesi’s *Stabat*. When Rodewald announced the sale by subscription of his *Stabat mater*, he claimed that the legacies of Pergolesi, Haydn and others in this genre made him hesitant to publish the work, but that friends had convinced him otherwise.⁹ Despite his nod to Haydn, Rodewald clearly wrote his setting in imitation of Pergolesi, possibly an attempt at one-upmanship. Scored for two high female voices, winds and strings, Rodewald followed Pergolesi’s movement plan exactly. Each movement sets the same section of text, is in a similar key (plus or minus a flat) and is scored for the same vocal forces (soprano, alto or duet) as the corresponding movement in Pergolesi’s *Stabat*. Local melodic, harmonic and textual allusions abound. The duet “Quando corpus,” for example, cleaves closely to the texture of Pergolesi’s setting, two voices intertwining over eighth notes in the bass and off-beat sixteenth-note arpeggiations in the upper strings; as in Pergolesi’s setting, there is a prominent deceptive cadence before the movement dies away (Music Example 2.5.3). The only notable difference between the two settings is the absence of an “Amen” – perhaps Rodewald’s response to the widespread perception of anti-climax in Pergolesi’s culminating fugue. Rodewald’s *Stabat* was premiered on April 29, 1783 in Kassel, where he acted as concertmaster for the Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel.¹⁰ While Gerber reported that it earned the “applause of connoisseurs [Beyfall der Kenner]” over several years of performances in Kassel, it seems that the piece did not catch on with a wider public.¹¹ Pergolesi’s *Stabat* would not be vanquished by a piece that adhered so closely to its example.

⁹ Carl Joseph Rodewald, “Ankündigung,” *Musikalische Real-Zeitung für das Jahr 1788* 1 (Mar. 5, 1788): 4. The piece was published by Schott in Mainz that year.

¹⁰ Carl Friedrich Cramer, “Cassel, vom 30 April 1783,” *Magazin der Musik*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (Hamburg: Musicalischen Niederlage, 1783), 597. Cramer deemed it worthy to stand beside Haydn’s.

¹¹ Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig: J. G. I. Breitkopf, 1792), 303.

[Largo]

Horn I & II (concert pitch)

Flute I & II

Violin I

Violin II

Soprano

Soprano

B.C. (Viola 8va)

Pa - ra - di - si glo - ri - a

a Pa - ra - di - si glo - ri - a

Music Example 2.5.3: Rodewald, *Stabat mater*, No. 12 – “Quando corpus,” bars 32-

Whether such allusions to Pergolesi’s *Stabat* were deliberate, accidental or even coincidental, and whether audiences were intended to perceive them or not, is beside the point.¹² These composers worked in a media landscape whose increasing interconnectivity meant that Pergolesi’s example was unavoidable. Comparative judgments were inevitable, for both composers and audiences. Undoubtedly with an eye to the *Querelle des Bouffons* (and the publicity that could be reaped from the Parisian presses’ love of aesthetic

¹² Aside from those already mentioned, the settings of Quirino Gasparini, Giovanni Clari and Francesco Giai all allude to Pergolesi’s. Other scholars have detected Pergolesi’s influence on *Stabat* settings composed in Spain’s colonies, including those of Juan Manuel Olivares (before 1791, MS in Caracas Cathedral) and Esteban Salas y Castro (1790, MS in Santiago de Cuba Cathedral). See, respectively, Juan Bautista Plaza, *Temas de música colonial venezolano: Biografías, análisis y documentación* (Caracas: Fundación Vicente Emilio Sojo, 1990), 123-4 and Daniel Mendoza de Arce, *Music in Ibero-America to 1850: A Historical Survey* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2001), 300-1.

Hns. *p*
 Fls. *pp*
 Vln. I *pp* *più f* *p*
 Vln. II *pp* *più f* *p*
 S. *tr*
 S. *tr*
 B.C. (Vla 8va) *pp* *più f* *p*

Para-di - si glo - ri - a.
 Para di - si glo - ri - a.

Music Example 2.5.3 (cont.): Rodewald, *Stabat mater*

partisanship), the then Concert Spirituel director Joseph Legros organized a contest of sorts in 1781.¹³ Three different settings of the *Stabat* were performed on successive nights, with the public and the papers invited to weigh in on their relative merits. Aside from Pergolesi's setting, Haydn's 1767 *Stabat* and a newly composed one by a Padre Vito, a Portuguese cleric residing in Paris, received their Parisian premiers. While neither displaced Pergolesi's from the Concert Spirituel repertoire, the *Mémoires secrets*, a Parisian journal, reported Haydn's "a great success" and Vito's a "weak and servile" facsimile of Pergolesi's.¹⁴ Vito vented his ire at these dismissals in the papers, but Vito had clearly set

¹³ Beverly Wilcox, "The Music Libraries of the Concert Spirituel: Canons, Repertoires, and Bricolage in Eighteenth-Century Paris" (PhD diss., University of California, Davis, 2013), 95.

¹⁴ Translated in Cynthia M. Gessele, "Fundamental Bass Theory Meets Practice: Evidence from a Composition Contest," *The Journal of Musicology* 12:1 (Winter, 1994): 21.

himself up for comparison with Pergolesi.¹⁵ Perusing the published score of Vito's *Stabat* (London, ca. 1782), one notices immediately the key of f minor, an opening duet for soprano/alto, and structural similarities in the movements that begin with "Quis est homo," "Vidit suum" and "Fac ut ardeat." Vito, seemingly a combative and self-important figure, wished to beat Pergolesi at his own game, but misjudged the Parisian public's deep admiration for Pergolesi and, it has to be said, his own skill.

Of all the rival *Stabats*, Haydn's came closest in prestige to Pergolesi's. It followed Pergolesi's *Stabat* into the international spiritual concert repertoire and appeared in print shortly after several successful performances in Paris (Sieber, ca. 1781), London (Bland, ca. 1789) and Leipzig (Schwickert, ca. 1781, in a keyboard reduction with a German parody by Hiller).¹⁶ The London publication prompted an anonymous writer for the *Analytical Review* to take stock of the genre. Of *Stabat* settings by "celebrated Italian" composers, the best were those by Pergolesi and Emmanuele d'Astorga, whose setting had become a favorite at the Academy of Ancient Music. "Opposite in style," both "had their admirers." Astorga's demonstrated "artificial writing [i.e. learned counterpoint]" and Pergolesi "succeeded to a very eminent degree" in cultivating "the beauty of simplicity." Haydn's combined the best of both "and is a commixture of such knowledge and taste, as are rarely met with in the compositions of any one composer."¹⁷ Despite stark conceptual differences, Haydn made a clear allusion to Pergolesi's setting. Again in the "Vidit suum," Haydn mimicked aspects of Pergolesi's approach, including the key (f minor), the amount of text used (one stanza) and the scoring (tenor, strings and oboes, similar to the more intimate instrumentation of Pergolesi's original and a small subset of the forces Haydn called for elsewhere). The harmonic and melodic similarities of the opening ritornello, the "breathlessness" on "dum emisit spiritum" and the dramatic deceptive cadence also cemented the impression of conscious homage on the part of Haydn (Music Example 2.5.4). While Pergolesi's *Stabat* had entered a media network and a commercial marketplace that Pergolesi could barely have imagined, Haydn's *Stabat* reveals a composer who had developed a keen awareness of how his music would circulate. Later, Haydn would exploit self-reference to burnish his fame, as part of an array of self-conscious marketing strategies (ex. the quotation of his popular "Farewell" Symphony in "La Reine"). But at this stage of his career, Haydn's many allusions to Pergolesi seem to constitute an acknowledgement of his competition, and an invitation for audiences to compare a more ambitious and modern setting of the *Stabat* with Pergolesi's.

Finally, it must be said that Pergolesi's *Stabat* did not always serve as a positive example for later composers. Eugène, Marquis de Ligniville seemed to have composed a

¹⁵ Ibid., 19-50.

¹⁶ Hiller often paired the two *Stabats* together in performance. See Appendix III, Leipzig performances in 1770, 1773 and 1775.

¹⁷ "The Celebrated *Stabat Mater*, as performed at the Nobility's Concert," *The Analytical Review* IV (May, 1789): 104.

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Oboe I & II

Tenor

B.C.

dum e - mi - sit, dum e - mi - sit, dum e - mi - sit

f *p*

Music Example 2.5.4: Haydn, *Stabat mater*, No. 6 – “Vidit suum,” bars 46-50

purposefully anti-Pergolesi *Stabat*. His effort appeared in 1768, in the second year of his appointment as music director for the court of Florentine Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo.¹⁸ Ligniville's pointed *avvertimento* offered a faux apology to "followers of modern taste," who would find "neither trumpet nor timpani nor thirty-second notes" in his score.¹⁹ With an equal amount of sarcasm, he admitted that his knowledge of "modulation" did not extend much past that of the "ancients."²⁰ Reactionary to an extreme, Ligniville's *Stabat* consisted entirely of thirty canons for three voices, employing a litany of contrapuntal devices, with at least one canon per verse of poetry. At the extremes of complexity lie his "Juxta crucem" ("Canon inversum per motum contrarium ad nonam inferiorem et unisonum") and the "Fac me plagis" ("Canon Polymorphus," whose canonic rules change continually over the course of the movement). Ligniville's exploration of contrapuntal bravura left no room for

¹⁸ Like Cafaro's *Stabat* in Naples, it was one of the few musical works published in Florence during the second half of the century.

¹⁹ "L'Autore domanda perdono ai seguaci del gusto moderno, se nel corso di quest'opera non ci troveranno, ne trombe, ne timpani, ne biscrome." Eugène de Ligniville, *Stabat mater a tre voci in Canone* (Florence: Giuseppe Poggiali, 1768).

²⁰ "se egli ha forse troppo ricercato di condurre la modulazione così alla buona come praticavano gli antichi le di lui cognizioni non si estendono più oltre."

Music Example 2.5.4 (cont.): Haydn, *Stabat mater*

attempts to convey the feeling of words or stanzas and therefore no room for the expression of sentiment. It is hard to imagine its performance, on a spiritual concert program or otherwise, though Ligniville proposed that another canon could be substituted for the final one if it proved too difficult to execute. While Ligniville did not specify the composers of "modern taste" whom he disparaged, Pergolesi would have been one likely target for his conservative musical polemic: Pergolesi's *Stabat* had been revived in Florence only two years prior to the publication of Ligniville's *Stabat*. His choice of text was surely meant as a critique of the burgeoning fame of Pergolesi's setting around him.²¹

After mid-century, no matter where one composed – Naples, Kassel, Paris, Esterháza or Florence – Pergolesi and his most famous work constituted a background against which any new *Stabat mater* would be composed, executed and judged. Before then, the legacy of a single work never had to be managed on such a scale. In responding to the *Stabat*, each composer renegotiated and reapportioned the delicate balance between the sentimental and the sacred that Pergolesi's masterpiece had come to represent. Cafaro was noticeably

²¹ Ligniville's conservative ("ancient") aesthetic stance is confirmed by his membership in the Bolognese *Accademia filarmonica* and his extensive correspondence with Padre Martini. See Ferruccio Tammaro, "Ligniville, (Pierre) Eugène (François), Marquis of, Prince of Conca," *Grove Music Online*, accessed Mar. 9, 2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

ambivalent, openly imitating Pergolesi while simultaneously recasting several movements as strict canons in the conservative manner of Ligniville. The new media landscape in which such settings took their places re-configured the ostensibly linear temporality of old and new, ancient and modern, according to a more obviously centrifugal logic: as on spiritual concerts or in publication catalogues, old and new were adjacent or even co-present – each *Stabat* responded not to the geographically or temporally most proximate previous setting, but to a single model that had congealed into a “classic” precisely because of its unprecedented spatio-temporal mobility. The media conditions that Pergolesi’s *Stabat* came to represent thus recast the age-old Aristotelian relationship between original and imitation. In a way, every new setting of the *Stabat* was destined to be an obvious avoidance of Pergolesi or an obvious falling-short, in something like the ways famously enumerated by Harold Bloom (though in fairly crude author-to-author terms, and with studied inattention to material processes of mediation).²² Media proliferation did not create the “anxiety of influence” per se, but it did turn imitation into a fraught aesthetic question, something that had to be managed. For nearly every new *Stabat* was, in an important sense, only a deeper manifestation of Pergolesi’s ubiquitous media presence.

²² Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

CHAPTER 3: BIOGRAPHY, BETWEEN MYTH AND MEDIA¹

I will make here two observations that seem to me necessary for the perfection of *dictionnaires historiques*. The first is that in the history of artists one has, it seems, been more occupied with painters than with sculptors or architects, & these and those, than with musicians; I do not know for what reason. It would be wished that this part of the history of the arts was not so neglected. Is it not, for example, a shameful thing for our century, that we do not have any information on the circumstances of the lives of celebrated musicians that give honor to Italy, Corelli, Vinci, Leo, Pergolesi, Terradellas and many others? One does not find their names in our *dictionnaires historiques*. It is a recommendation that we give to men of letters, & we wish that it produces its effect.

Jean le Rond d'Alembert, "*Dictionnaires historiques*" in the *Encyclopédie* (Paris, 1754)²

D'Alembert's recommendation did not fall on deaf ears. Five years later, the final edition of Louis Moréri's *Le grand dictionnaire historique*, revised by Claude-Pierre Goujet and Étienne François Drouet, included an entry for Pergolesi.³ First published in 1671 and regularly expanded, updated and translated thereafter, Moréri's *dictionnaire historique* established the genre, which attempted to document history through an alphabetical sampling of the lives of famous people. Significantly, while Pergolesi appeared in the 1759 edition, none of the other Italian composers mentioned by D'Alembert merited inclusion. And while there are also entries on Jean-Baptiste Lully and Delalande, many other apparently noteworthy early eighteenth-century musicians, French and otherwise, are

¹ For sources of Pergolesi biography, discussed here and otherwise, see Appendix IV.

² "Je ferai ici deux observations qui me paroissent nécessaires à la perfection des dictionnaires historiques. La première est que dans l'histoire des artistes on a, ce me semble, été plus occupé des Peintres que des Sculpteurs & des Architectes, & des uns & des autres, que des Musiciens; j'ignore par quelle raison. Il seroit à souhaiter que cette partie de l'histoire des Arts ne fût pas aussi négligée. N'est-ce pas, par exemple, une chose honteuse à notre siècle, de n'avoir recueilli presque'aucune circonstance de la vie des célèbres musiciens qui ont tant honoré l'Italie, Corelli, Vinci, Léo, Pergolese, Terradellas & beaucoup d'autres? on ne trouve pas même leurs noms dans nos dictionnaires historiques. C'est un avis que nous donnons aux gens de lettres, & nous souhaitons qu'il produise son effet." Jean le Rond d'Alembert, "Dictionnaires historiques," in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, edited by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Autumn 2017 Edition), edited by Robert Morrissey and Glenn Roe, <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>. Originally Vol. 4, 967.

³ Louis Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique*, New edition, edited by Claude-Pierre Goujet and Étienne François Drouet, Vol. 8 (Paris: Les libraires associés, 1759), 195.

absent.⁴ Without discounting the notoriety he gained from the *Querelle des Bouffons*, I argue that Pergolesi's addition to *Le grand dictionnaire* indicates the unusual centrality of Pergolesi's biography to the reception of his music (in France and elsewhere) and, in turn, the centrality of his biography to emergent practices of musician biography and autobiography during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Musician biography constituted a newly important genre during this period. While some reports of composer lives circulated before 1700, only in the eighteenth century – and especially its second half – did musician biography become a familiar genre.⁵ The first extended musician biography to be published was John Mainwaring's *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (London, 1760). Even before this landmark publication, musicians' biographies were gathered together in various published memorials, anthologies, and *dictionnaires historiques*, such as Johann Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehren-pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), the first *dictionnaire historique* for musicians alone. Mattheson's *Grundlage* contained several autobiographies, an important subgenre of which C.P.E. Bach (1773) and Haydn (1776) were also notable exponents.⁶ After 1750, musician biography permeated the media landscape, moving through a variety of print formats. For example, Johann Friedrich Agricola's "Lebenslauf des Herre Karl Heinrich Graun" prefaced the second volume of *Duetti, terzetti, quintetti, sestetti ed alcuni chori delle opera del Signore Carlo Enrico Graun* published by Decker and Hartung (Berlin and Königsberg, 1773). A French translation of this preface was published by the Parisian *Journal de Musique* in 1773 (which also sold the *Duetti*) and the German translated was later expanded by Hiller for his anthology *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit* (1784).⁷ Agricola's "Lebenslauf" draws attention to a salient fact about musician biography; it was a genre without a proscribed format, repackaged to suit diverse, occasionally even commercial, interests.

⁴ There are no entries for Rameau, Couperin, Campra, any of the Philidors, Mondonville, Handel, Stradella, either Scarlatti, Bononcini, Caldara, Corelli or Vivaldi. Also absent are composers who already had a toehold in "music history:" Josquin and Palestrina.

⁵ For Johannes von Soest's manuscript autobiography (1504), see Klaus Pietschmann and Steven Rozenski Jr., "Singing the Self: The Autobiography of the Fifteenth-Century German Singer and Composer Johannes von Soest," in *Early Music History* 29 (2010): 119-159. For a modern edition of Thomas Whythorne's manuscript autobiography (ca. 1576), see Thomas Whythorne, *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, edited by James M. Osborn (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1962).

⁶ Bach's appears in Charles Burney, *Tagebuch seiner Musikalischen Reisen*, translated by Johann Joachim Christoph Bode, Vol. 3 (Hamburg: Bode, 1773), 199-209. Haydn wrote his autobiography at the behest of Ignaz de Luca for a proposed collection of biographies of Austrian luminaries, but, when it appeared, it was presented as a biography. See Luca, *Das gelehrte Oesterreich*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (Vienna: Trattner, 1778), 309-11.

⁷ Johann Friedrich Agricola, "Vie de Charles-Henri Graun," *Journal de Musique* (1773, No. 4), 5-20. Johann Adam Hiller, "Graun, (Carl Heinrich) Königlich Preußischer Kapellmeister," in *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Dykischen Buchhandlung, 1784), 76-98.

Pergolesi's premature demise, young and obscure, allowed his written representation to flourish unimpeded by the man himself. Unlike many biographies of eighteenth-century musicians, which often take the form of eulogy, Pergolesi's biography was not produced by a family member, a colleague or even an acquaintance, and it did not quickly follow his death.⁸ The first thorough treatments of Pergolesi's life appeared nearly forty years post-mortem and then relied heavily on the testimony of acquaintances. This accounts for the persistent contradictions in the reported facts of his life, with no definitive report existing until the publication of Sigismondo/Villarosa's *Lettera*. Indeed, it is difficult to speak of "Pergolesi biography" in the singular, considering the differences between the multitude of surviving portraits. However, surveying this corpus shows that his early death and the composition of the *Stabat* – events that biographers frequently connected – became the fulcrum upon which biographical interest pivoted, particularly in regard to the sentimental valences of the work. For most of the eighteenth century, Pergolesi was dead and yet always dying – a feat aided by repeated performance of the *Stabat* itself, which, in association with proliferating biographical paratexts, gradually turned autobiographical in the ears of audiences. Following Jason Stanyek and Benjamin Piekut, we might call Pergolesi biography and even the *Stabat* itself, in its various guises, "technologies of the intermundane" – complex assemblages of media that served to confound, convey and meld the agencies of the dead and the living.⁹

Biography translated Pergolesi into a literary character – an assemblage of tropes as legible and portable as the music with which it was coupled. As Deidre Lynch has argued, the new prominence of "character" in the eighteenth century – in both the literary and typographical senses – thematized a new regime of circulation itself.¹⁰ Literary characters, themselves increasingly mobile, trained readers to interact, engage, understand and often empathize with those removed from one's immediate vicinity and experience, an essential aspect of an increasingly interconnected world. Musician biography helped listeners make sense of the new mobility and iterability of musical works. Distance here signifies an imaginative space, conducive to discourse. Biography allowed audiences to form relationships with increasingly distant composers and became an avenue to probe the underlying causes of musicians' new fame. Of course, as increasing interest centered

⁸ For example, Mainwaring's Handel biography (1760), Giovanni de' Silva's *Elogio di Pasquale Cafaro maestro di cappella napoletano* (Naples, 1788) and Pierre-Louis Ginguené's *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Piccini* (Paris, An IX [1801]) all appeared the year following the deaths of their subjects. Musicians that merited inclusion in *Le nécrologe des hommes célèbres de France*, including Egidio Duni and François Rebel, also had eulogies appear in the *année* following their deaths. Chabanon's *Éloge de M. Rameau* (Paris, 1764) appeared the same year as his friend's death, while J.S. Bach's "Nekrolog" (1754) appeared four years afterwards, penned by his son Carl Philipp Emanuel and his student Agricola.

⁹ Jason Stanyek and Benjamin Piekut, "Deadness: Technologies of the Intermundane," *TDR: The Drama Review* 3:1 (Spring, 2010), 14-28.

¹⁰ Deidre Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 4-5.

around Pergolesi, facts ceded ground to the all-encompassing “truthiness” that gives all myths their narrative power. Several Pergolesi scholars – Sylvie Mamie, Alessandro Di Profio, Lorenzo Mattei – have discussed the composer’s reception as a form of myth, and have traced its origins to the French printing presses of the later eighteenth century.¹¹ Di Profio specifically points to Paris as the epicenter of this myth-making, placing it as the hub of an international “network” of music discourse dissemination with the nearly annual performances of the *Stabat mater* at the Concert Spirituel feeding the continued fascination.¹² While French authors were as important for the dissemination of Pergolesi mythology as the Concert Spirituel was for the dissemination of the *Stabat mater*, looking beyond the sources consulted by Mamie, di Profio and Mattei shows the cosmopolitan scope of the mythology’s creation; how the international churn of ideas, people and texts contributed to Pergolesi’s posthumous hagiography.

SYMPATHETIC BIOGRAPHY

On the days dedicated to the performance of his masterpiece, still one only speaks of the jealousy of his rivals, of his premature death that followed; of a pretend murdered committed in Rome, that he would not have needed [to commit in order] to raise himself to that degree of expression that characterizes his *Stabat Mater*, like Michelangelo had only to crucify a man to render with the greatest truth a Christ expiring in his torments.

Pascal Boyer, “Notices sur la vie & les ouvrages de Pergolèse,”
Mercure de France (Paris, 1772)¹³

Before so much as a word about Pergolesi’s life had appeared in print, it seems that audiences had already speculated about the life of the composer and the genesis of his masterpiece. The “Notices” alluded to the most common (and most scandalous) rumors about Pergolesi’s life: that either he was murdered by a rival composer or that he himself had resorted to murder to achieve the heightened emotional world of his *Stabat*.

¹¹ Sylvie Mamie, “Le ‘Stabat Mater’ au Concert spirituel,” in *Studi pergolesiani* 3, edited by Francesco Degrada (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1999), 233-250. Alessandro Di Profio, “La réception de Pergolèse en France. La construction d’un mythe européen,” in *Studi pergolesiani* 6, edited by Claudio Toscani (Milan: Centro Studi Pergolesi, 2011), 157-206. Lorenzo Mattei, “Il ‘mito Pergolesi’ nella trattatistica musicale del Settecento,” in *Studi pergolesiani* 9, edited by Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 539-565.

¹² Di Profio, 182-3.

¹³ “Dans les jours consacrés à l’exécution de son chef-d’oeuvre on ne parle encore que de la jalousie de ses rivaux, de sa mort prématurée qui en fut la suite; d’un prétendu meurtre commis à Rome, dont il n’avoit pas besoin pour s’élever à ce degré d’expression qui caractérise son *Stabat Mater*, comme Michel Ange n’avoit que faire de crucifier un homme pour rendre avec la plus grande vérité un Christ expirant dans les tourmens.” Pascal Boyer, “Notices sur le vie et les ouvrages de Pergolèse,” *Mercure de France* 2 (Jul., 1772): 186.

Pergolesi's murder is commonly encountered in eighteenth-century letters (poison was the method in most accounts, with stabbing a distant second).¹⁴ Other eighteenth-century publications attest to the tenacity of these rumors, precisely because they dismiss them: Johann Nikolaus Forkel in the *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1783) held them up as examples of the "fables and fairytales [Fabeln und Märchen]" that circulated about Pergolesi in the absence of authoritative biography.¹⁵ The earliest mention in print of any information regarding the composer's life, Lacombe's *Dictionnaire portatif* (Paris, 1752), included one of these tales:

PERGOLESI, Neapolitan, is placed among the most learned musicians of Italy. His superior & premature merit was a crime in the eyes of Envy. He died from poison at the age of twenty-four. One distinguishes among his works the music for *La Serva Padrona*, an Italian intermezzo; & that of the *Stabat Mater*, which is universally regarded as a masterpiece.¹⁶

Written before the *Querelle* or the *Stabat's* Concert Spirituel premiere, Lacombe's *esquisse* captured the state of Pergolesi biographical knowledge on the eve of its absorption into new media regimes. Interestingly, Lacombe only included Pergolesi (along with several other composers) as an afterthought. Pergolesi, Campra, Clerambault, Corelli and Handel all appear only in the *avertissement* on account of the author's self-avowed memory lapse.

Only one subsequent non-fiction publication would assert so unequivocally that Pergolesi succumbed to an attack of poison.¹⁷ Most merely dangled the possibility. Jean-Baptiste Ladvocat, in his 1755 *Dictionnaire historique-portatif*, stated that, "some people believe that [Pergolesi] was poisoned by his envious rivals. Others say that he died from an

¹⁴ The idea that Pergolesi committed some manner of crime was in circulation until the dawn of the nineteenth century. See "Pergolèse (Jean-Baptiste)," in *Encyclopédie méthodique. Histoire Supplement*, Vol. 6 (Paris, H. Agasse, 1804), 262.

¹⁵ Johann Nikolaus Forkel, "Johann Baptist Pergolese," in *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1783* (Leipzig: Schwickertschen Verlag, 1783), 110. Earlier, Nicolaas ten Hove refers to the crucifixion story in an aside from his *Mémoires généalogiques de la maison de Médicis*, Vol. 2 (The Hague: S.n., 1773), 295. The aside was kept for the English translation, see Nicolaas ten Hove, *Memoirs of the House of Medici, from its origin to the death of Garzia*, translated by Sir Richard Clayton, Vol. 2 (Bath: S. Hazard for G. G. and J. Robinson, 1797), 214.

¹⁶ "PERGOLESE, Napolitain, est mis au rang des plus sçavans Musiciens de l'Italie. Son mérite supérieur & prématuré, fut un crime aux yeux de l'Envie. Il mourut empoisonné à l'âge de vingt-quatre ans. On distingue parmi ses Ouvrages la Musique de la *Serva Padrona*, intermede Italien; & celle du *Stabat Mater*, qui est regardée universellement comme un chef-d'oeuvre." Jacques Lacombe, "Avertissement," *Dictionnaire portatif des beaux-arts* (Paris: La Veuve Estienne & Fils; Jean-Th. Herissant, 1752), vii-viii.

¹⁷ Johann Christoph Stockhausen believed that jealousy over the *Stabat* led to Pergolesi's murder. See Stockhausen, *Critischer Entwurf einer auserlesenen Bibliothek* (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1771), 426.

attack of pleurisy.¹⁸ By the end of the decade, Lacombe's revised *Dictionnaire* (1759) cast further doubt on the story:

It is said that he [Pergolesi] was poisoned at the age of 22, & that he died finishing the music of the last verse of his *Stabat mater*. Some distinguished Neapolitans, claim, on the contrary, that it was an attack of pleurisy, to which he succumbed.¹⁹

However skeptical these biographies became of the story of Pergolesi's poisoning, they nonetheless retained a morbid interest in Pergolesi's untimely death and its connection to his composition of the *Stabat*. The *Stabat* was always Pergolesi's swan song – the composition he completed during his final illness. Even as these authors walked back from murder, they subtly increased the pathos by making Pergolesi even younger at the time of his death (twenty-two instead of twenty-four). Until Boyer's "Notices," Lacombe and Ladvocat's sketches were more or less the only published sources of information on Pergolesi's life in French: Goujet and Drouet copied Ladvocat's 1755 *Dictionnaire* entry verbatim (with citation) for their update of Moréri's *dictionnaire historique*. And Jaucourt's entry on "Naples" in the *Encyclopédie* (1765) cannibalized most of Lacombe's 1759 *Dictionnaire* piece in a section on famous Neapolitan artists.²⁰ Two further dictionaries, the *Nouveau dictionnaire historique* and *Le grand vocabulaire françoise*, both appearing the same year as Boyer's "Notices," mostly just rehashed these earlier sources.²¹ Equivocations and dismissals around murder aside, these authors reproduced a sympathetic connection between listener and composer via the *Stabat* and the tragic, even if ambiguously so, circumstances around its composition.

At the start of his "Notices," Boyer singled out the authors of the *Nouveau dictionnaire historique* for censure, along with "the public papers" that "repeat after them [the authors] without question."²² An article in the *Mercure de France*, Boyer's "Notices" set a standard for detail that was not superseded until Sigismondo/Villarosa. Boyer distinguished his account from those of his predecessors by claiming to have conducted

¹⁸ "Quelques-uns croient qu'il fut empoisonné par ses Envieux. D'autres dissent qu'il m. d'une attaque de pleurésie." Jean-Baptiste Ladvocat, *Dictionnaire historique-portatif*, Second edition, Vol. 2 (Paris: Didot, 1755), 324.

¹⁹ "On dit qu'il fut empoisonné à l'âge de vingt-deux ans, & qu'il mourut en finissant la Musique du dernier verset de son *Stabat Mater*. Quelques Napolitains distingués, prétendent, au contraire, qu'il fut attaqué d'une Pleurésie, à laquelle il succomba." Lacombe, *Dictionnaire portatif des beaux-arts*, Second edition (Paris: Jean-Th. Herissant; Les Freres Estienne, 1759), 465.

²⁰ Louis Jaucourt, "Naples," in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, edited by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Autumn 2017 Edition), edited by Robert Morrissey and Glenn Roe, <http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/>. Originally Vol. 11, 18.

²¹ Louis Mayeul Chaudon, *Nouveau dictionnaire historique*, Vol. 4, Part 2 (Paris: Le Jay; Caen: G. Le Roy; Lyon: L. Rosset, 1772), 935. *Le grand vocabulaire françois*, Vol. 21 (Paris: Panckoucke, 1772), 425-6.

²² "Les auteurs du nouveau *Dictionnaire historique* ont écrit, & les papiers publics ont répété sans doute d'après eux." Boyer, 186.

research in Italy and by citing living people who remembered Pergolesi among his sources: the composer Egidio Duni (trained in Naples, but then residing in Paris) and the painter Claude Joseph Vernet (who spent formative decades studying and painting in Rome).²³ According to Boyer, Pergolesi was born during 1704 in the small town of Casoria, not far from Naples. While a student at the Conservatorio “Dei poveri di Giesu Christo” studying with its maestro, Gaetano Greco, Pergolesi already distinguished himself as a composer of preternatural talent.²⁴ Nevertheless, in his compositions “taste and melody were sacrificed to all the recondite procedures of counterpoint.”²⁵ Pergolesi’s style changed completely after leaving the conservatory and encountering the music of Vinci and Hasse, an encounter that changed the course of his short career. Boyer described that career as a mix of successes and failures, but mostly not living up to his early promise. His operas (both serious and comic) received lukewarm praise. Nevertheless, he found an important patron in the Prince of Stigliano (Ferdinando Colonna, equerry to the Austrian Viceroy). Pergolesi’s biggest professional setback came with the unsuccessful premier of his opera *Olympiade*, written on commission for the Roman Teatro Tordinona in 1735. A measure of success with the Roman public only came with the premier of a Mass, *Dixit dominus* and *Laudate pueri*, written for the “Duc de Mataloni” (Marzio Domenico IV Carafa, Duke of Maddaloni) after the composer’s return to Naples.²⁶

In keeping with all earlier biographies, Boyer’s devoted disproportionate space to the circumstances of Pergolesi’s death. After his return from Rome, Pergolesi’s health, which had been bad for years, took a turn for the worse. His illness is described as “coughing-up blood,” a symptom of advanced tuberculosis. Attempting to cure the ailing composer, the Prince of Stigliano purchased a small house for his convalescence in the town of Torre del Greco, at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, close to the sea. This location had a fatalistic local reputation of either curing such ailments or mercifully hastening the end of their sufferers. For Pergolesi, it was the latter. Before succumbing to his illness in early 1737, aged 33, Pergolesi completed several pieces, including the cantata *Orfeo*, the *Stabat Mater* and a *Salve Regina*, which Boyer asserts was actually his final work. Boyer acknowledged that Pergolesi’s reputation as composer was largely posthumous, and dismissed any possibility that the composer had been poisoned, reasoning that his stature had not been great enough during his lifetime to spark anyone’s jealousy.²⁷ Even as Boyer debunked the idea that Pergolesi was murdered, his portrait of the composer was nonetheless designed to inspire sympathy. It is characterized above all by professional setbacks and persistent ill-health, and culminates in a premature demise all the more tragic

²³ Ibid., 187.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ “le goût & le mélodie étant sacrifiés à toutes les recherches savantes du contrepoint.” Ibid.

²⁶ The Princes of Stigliano and the Dukes of Maddaloni both belonged to the old Neapolitan House of Carafa. Their connections to the Habsburg Viceroyalty forced both Prince and Duke into temporary Roman exile after Neapolitan independence. Eighteenth-century sources tend to confuse and conflate them.

²⁷ Ibid., 190-1.

because of the many challenges that had proceeded it. If it was no longer his swan song, the *Stabat* nonetheless remained a document of the composer's final illness – and Boyer went so far as to medicalize the extreme expressivity of the *Stabat*, hearing it as a trace of the composer's chronic condition. His style, concluded Boyer, appeared “generally melancholic,” owing to “his constitution.”²⁸

Generally speaking, Boyer's “Pergolesi” was the portrait that was routinely reproduced. Though not every biographer acknowledged the source of his information, Boyer's influence can be traced through similar details, turns of phrase and narrative structures. Jean-Benjamin de La Borde's entry for the composer in his *Essai sur la musique, ancien et moderne* (Paris, 1780) referred the reader to Boyer for further information,²⁹ but the 1786 edition of the *Nouveau dictionnaire historique* and Alexandre-Étienne Choron and François-Joseph-Marie Fayolle's *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens* (1811) do not mention sources.³⁰ Nevertheless, the former cleaved closely to the Boyer narrative, perhaps heeding the criticism in the “Notices,” while the latter borrowed the factual core ultimately from Boyer and merely expanded the coverage of Pergolesi *oeuvre* and its reception by latter writers such as Chateaubriand. Burney also footnoted the “Notices” in the section of his *General History of Music* (London, 1789) devoted to Pergolesi.³¹ It is unclear what parts of Burney's biography derive from Boyer and what come from his own research (his travels in Italy are well documented and he claims to have consulted several people in Naples and Rome who knew Pergolesi personally). While their accounts overlap extensively and Burney does echo Boyer's phrasing on occasion, his account still contains information absent from Boyer's (including the fact that Pergolesi's instrument was the violin).³²

²⁸ “Enfin sa manière leur paroît en général *maninconica* (mélancholique) ce qui venoit peut-être de sa complexion.” Ibid., 192.

²⁹ La Borde does include a direct quote from Duni on the premier of *Olimpiade* not found in Boyer. Jean-Benjamin de La Borde, *Essai sur la musique*, Vol. 3 (Paris: Ph.-D. Pierres; Eugene Onfroy, 1780), 212-4. La Borde's gloss would be produced again, nearly verbatim, as the “Notice sur Pergolèse” in an 1804 issue of the *Nouvel esprit des journaux*.

³⁰ Louis Mayeul Chaudon, *Nouveau dictionnaire historique*, Sixth edition, Vol. 6 (Caen: G. Le Roy, 1786), 593-4. Alexandre-Étienne Choron and François-Joseph-Marie Fayolle's *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Valade, 1811), 132-4.

³¹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, with critical and historical notes by Frank Mercer, Vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, [1957]), 919-24.

³² The contours of Pergolesi's life are virtually the same. And Burney's narration of Pergolesi's death reads as a translation of Boyer's:

Boyer (1772):
Cependant sa santé déperissoit de jour en jour. Il y avoit quatre o cinq ans qu' on s'étoit apperçu par un crachement de sang presque continuel qu'il ne founriroit pas toute sa course, & qu'il seroit enlevé à la fleur de son âge. On ne s'étoit pas

Burney (1789):
His health, however, daily and visibly declined. His friends had perceived, by his frequent spitting of blood, for four or five years before this period, that he was likely to be cut off in his prime; and his malady was still increased by this last

Burney's Pergolesi biography superseded John Hawkins' brief biographical sketch in his *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776) to become the standard narration of the composer's life in English.³³ Meanwhile, Forkel's biography in the *Musikalischer Almanach* drew heavily on La Borde's *Essai*, but with critical commentary reflecting the German critical ambivalence towards Pergolesi's music that we have already noted.³⁴ Ernst Ludwig Gerber expanded Forkel's sketch in his entry for Pergolesi in the *Historische-biographische Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1792), which was for a time the authoritative sources on Pergolesi's life in German.³⁵

Each reprinting of Boyer's "Notices" (re)produced the *Stabat's* sentimental valences by encouraging listeners to hear on the other side of the piece a "composer of feeling" whose personal sentiments were recorded and transmitted through music. So closely was Pergolesi's *Stabat* identified with the sentimental tableau of his demise, that *Stabat* scribes occasionally set the scene on their manuscripts. Scribbled on a copy formerly in the Gutenzell Abbey is an impressionistic vision of the composer at work:

N.B. This music is held by all connoisseurs to be a masterpiece and the same author has kneeled in devote worship for the Mother of God. Composed in Rome, died 1739.³⁶

Another *Stabat* copyist declared that, "[n]o one has so deeply felt, and no one so beautifully sung the pain of Jesus' Mother, as you – Heavenly Pergolesi!"³⁷ This tableau effectively became part of the musical text itself and its emotional appeal radiated outward from the biographical genre. The poet Christoph Martin Wieland even indulged in something like *Stabat* "fan-fiction." Introducing his parody in *Der Teutscher Merkur* (February, 1781), he

trompé. Sa maladie ne fit qu'empirer journey to Rome (921).
depuis son dernier voyage à Rome (190).

³³ Hawkins' sketch suggests pre-Boyer French sources. He claimed that Pergolesi died at 22, though he dismisses the idea of poisoning. See John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, Vol. 5 (London: T. Payne and Son, 1776), 375. Burney's account of Pergolesi's life was taken by the editors of *A New and General Biographical Dictionary* (Vol. XII, London, 1798) and Abraham Rees for his *Cyclopædia* (Vol. XXVI, London, 1819). Johann Joachim Eschenburg also translated it into German for the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* (Issues XV and XVI, 1792).

³⁴ Forkel also made footnoted references to Hawkins' *General History*. The presence of the long quote from Duni reveals Forkel's source to have been La Borde and not Boyer.

³⁵ Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig: J. G. I. Breitkopf, 1792), 104-8. For the second edition, Gerber updated his Pergolesi entry in light of Mattei's *Elogio di Jommelli*. See Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, Vol. 3 (Leipzig, A. Kühnel, 1813), 677-9. Mattei's text will be touched on later in this chapter.

³⁶ "N. B. Diese Musick wird | von allen Kennern vor | ein Meister Stuck gehalten; | und der author derselben | hat es kniend zur eifrigen | Andacht gegen der Mutter gottes | Componirt in Rom, [second hand] starb 1739." See D-TI, MS G 123 (RISM No. 455011804).

³⁷ "Niemand hat so tief empfunden, und niemand so schön gesungen der Mutter Jesu Schmerzen, wie du - himmlischer | Pergolese!" See D-OB, MO 691 (RISM No. 450008196).

imagined Pergolesi's soul "in the most sublime excitement" while reading the text and "the pious monk" involuntarily exclaiming the verses "on a Good Friday, in his little gloomy cell, kneeling before a great crucifix," lash in hand.³⁸ Wieland conjured a sympathetic connection between this "simple-minded penitent monk, who, in pious delight, believes he is literally embracing the cross of the Redeemer, seeing and sharing the pains of the Divine Mother," and the poet himself. Wieland claimed that the death of his eight-year-old daughter in 1779 drew him to Pergolesi's piece: "in those painful hours, the attachment of his soul to such an object was as beneficial as it was natural."³⁹ Nor was this Wieland's only poetic response to the *Stabat*. Like Tieck's *Phantasmus*, he transformed the experience of listening into poetry, specifically the third stanza of the poem *Der Neue Amadis* (1771). Borrowing one of the more violently embodied metaphors from the original *Stabat* hymn ("Cujus animam gementem...pertransivit gladius"), Wieland confounded the emotionalism of Mary's anguish, Pergolesi's creative fever and the experience of listening to the *Stabat*:

You [Pergolesi] hear, when you [with] the sword deep in your rent breast
The divine mother wept, with crying seraphim too;
And oh! who does not boil, enveloped by new feelings
The heart from inner desire
To die the sweet death, in your heavenly song⁴⁰

Across these tableaux and their media environments, paternal regard intersects with religious devotion, which in turn intersects with an imagined network of distributed feeling connecting Wieland, Jacopone da Todi, Pergolesi, the Virgin and young Dorothea Wieland. As in Charrière's *Caliste*, the *Stabat* here articulates the otherwise inarticulate expressions of sorrow.

Such was the emotional power of rumors concerning Pergolesi's demise that they lingered despite the ostensibly more sober biographical investigations of Boyer, Burney and others. The eponymous heroine of Germaine de Staël's *Corinne* (1807) notes while traveling through Italy that artistic talent can still inspire terrible jealousy there and recalls the unfortunate example of Pergolesi, murdered for his *Stabat*.⁴¹ Louis Mayeul Chaudon and Antoine François Delandine's *Nouveau dictionnaire historique* (Lyon, 1804) quoted an unnamed "écrivain plein de gout" on the subject:

There is neither cry, nor declamation, nor din of harmony...all is simple and true in this production, all is finished; the last excess of sorrow, the same convulsions of

³⁸ Christoph Martin Wieland, "Der alte Kirchengesang, *Stabat Mater*, zur bekannten Komposition des Pergolesi, in gleichartige Reimen übertragen," *Der Teutsche Merkur* (Feb., 1781): 99.

³⁹ "in diesen schmerzlichen Stunden, die Anheftung seiner Seele auf einen solchen Gegenstand eben so wohlthätig als natürlich war." *Ibid.*, 100.

⁴⁰ "Dir hören, wenn du das Schwert im tief zerrissenen Busen/Der göttlichen Mutter beweinst, mitweinende Serafim zu;/Und o! wem waltet nicht, von neuen Gefühlen umfängen,/Das Herz vor innigem Verlangen/Zu sterben den süßen Tod, in den dein himmlisches Lied." Christoph Martin Wieland, "Der Neue Amadis: Zweyter Theil," in *Sämmtliche Werke*, Vol. 5 (Leipzig: Georg Joachim Göschen, 1794), 57.

⁴¹ Germaine de Staël, *Corinne, ou l'Italie* (New York: Appleton, 1881), 111-2.

death are expressed there in the natural language of music, expression is brought to its highest degree of force and energy; and everything is song [chant].⁴²

The story of Pergolesi's deathbed completion of the *Stabat* may not have been true according to the gradually coalescing standards of turn-of-the-century musician biography, but one might say that it nonetheless expressed a "deeper" truth about the contemporary sentimental practice of engaging with the *Stabat*. Even Sigismondo's "Elogio," with its trappings of scholarly legitimacy, only reignited sentimental enthusiasm. Pergolesi speaks here for the first time in any biography, laying on his deathbed, *Stabat* in hand once again. Replying to Feo's admonishment that he should not be working in his poor state, Pergolesi lamented:

Ah, dear maestro, I am writing a *Stabat* for 2 voices for the Congregation of Cavalieri in San Luigi di Palazzo, for which they have already gave me ten ducats last year. What else am I to do? Now I must write it and write it I will, though it's not worth ten *baiocchi*, weak and weary as I am; it is God's will that I finish it.⁴³

This might seem to be a newly realist vision of a compositional process shaped by economic pressures. But Sigismondo reminded the pre-Boyer tableau of Pergolesi's death, which would remain the fundamental organizational schema of the *Stabat* – enriched now by the *prosopopeia* of Pergolesi's fragile voice, portending a Romantic conception of the composer.

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A certain writer calls Pergolesi "the divine," and says, poetically, that he emerged from the brain of true musical taste already fully trained. Another writer says of him, that although he had an excellent spirit [Geist] for feeling, and gave great hope; he had had a much flattering, tender and pleasant nature, and demonstrated a good will to industrious composition; he had died early and did not completely realize his journey. These two judgments seem to contradict each other; but the last is the more well-founded...

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*
(Berlin, 1756)⁴⁴

⁴² "Il n'y a ni cris, ni declamation, ni fracas d'harmonie...tout est simple et vrai dans cette production, tout est fini; le dernier excès de la douleur, les convulsions mêmes de la mort y sont exprimés dans la langue naturelle de la musique, l'expression est portée à son plus haut degré de force et d'énergie; et c'est toujours du chant." Louis Mayeul Chaudon and Antoine François Delandine, *Nouveau dictionnaire historique*, Vol. 9 (Lyon: Bruyset Ainé et Comp., 1804), 410. I have been unable to identify the writer.

⁴³ Translated in Claudio Toscani, "Historical Introduction," *Stabat mater*, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Serie VII, Sequenza (Milan: Ricordi; Jesi: Fondazione Pergolesi Spontini, 2012), XLIV.

⁴⁴ "Ein gewisser Schriftsteller nennet den Pergolese göttlich, und sagt poetisch, daß er schon völlig ausgebildet aus dem Gehirn des wahren musikalischen Geschmacks hervorgekommen sey. Ein anderer Schriftsteller sagt von ihm, er habe zwar einen hervorragenden Geist spüren lassen, und grosse Hofnung gegeben; er habe zum

Interest in Pergolesi's life was not exclusively sentimental. Rather the sentimental meanings that amassed around his biography gave cover for writers to explore other aspects of man and music. All musician biography was preoccupied to an extent with what it meant to be a musician in the new social, commercial and media environment of the eighteenth century. Musicians were at once portrayed as professional artisans, creative artists and increasingly *hommes illustres* of historical importance. A compendium of biographical tropes grew to describe musicians in these roles, but in practice they often collide with one another and with the lived and recounted experiences of individual musicians. Above all, eighteenth-century musician biography trafficked in beliefs in natural genius sanctioned by the aesthetics of sensibility. Fault lines alongside this ideal often became exposed when musicians' educations were addressed, pitting natural aptitude against the guild-like systems that still governed the dissemination of musical knowledge and distributed professional opportunities. The question of what constituted musical talent was also fraught, with the aesthetics of sentiment invoked to dismiss demonstrative displays of virtuosity, compositional skill and technical labor in favor of readily consumable forms of musical expression. Finally, the tensions between professional obligations, the demands of the marketplace and the creative desires of the individual musician are frequently on display. Pergolesi's early death allowed him to be cast as the quintessential natural genius of the period, but this did not prevent authors from exploring the tensions between such genius and the social-economic situation of the eighteenth-century musician.

The two writers to whom Marpurg referred were Grimm (*Le petit prophète de Boehmischbroda*, 1753) and Quantz (*Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, Berlin, 1752).⁴⁵ Grimm, an *encyclopédiste* writing in the midst of the *Querelle des Bouffons*, distilled a resilient image of the composer as a natural genius from the rumors that reverberated through Parisian society. Again, this was in effect a personification of the reception of Neapolitan music up to that point. To be sure, the earliest bits of biography still represented Pergolesi as a respected professional musician, but these descriptions were soon colored with the rhetoric of natural genius. The title page of the earliest French publication of the *Stabat* (Paris, 1753) claimed Pergolesi as the *maestro* of the Conservatorio di Loreto – a fictitious appointment that nonetheless established Pergolesi's

schmeichelnden, zärtlichen und angenehmen viel Naturell gehabt, und einen guten Willen zur arbeitsamen Composition gezeigt; er sey aber frühzeitig abgestorben und nicht völlig zur Reise gekommen. Diese beyden Urtheile scheinen sich zu widersprechen; das letzte aber ist das gegründeste." Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, Vol. 2, Part I (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1756), 203-4.

⁴⁵ Friedrich Melchior von Grimm, "The Little Prophet of Boehmischbroda," in Enrico Fubini, *Music & Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe: a Source Book*, translations by Wolfgang Freis, Lisa Gasbarrone, Michael Louis Leone, translations edited by Bonnie J. Blackburn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 117. Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, translated with introduction and notes by Edward R. Reilly (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 327.

professional credentials for a generation of French audiences.⁴⁶ Lacombe at first described him as among the “most learned [sçavans] musicians of Italy” – though in 1759, he changed “learned” to “illustrious [illustres].”⁴⁷ This tiny adjustment indicates a larger pattern of equivocation over the relationship between learnedness and innate talent. Lacombe (1759) declared the Neapolitan School “the most fecund in musical geniuses,” casting the renown of Neapolitan composers as rooted in the soil of the nation itself. He continued to suggest that they could produce music with a almost unnatural fluency: “it was not rare there to see a Master produce in six weeks the music for a grand and magnificent Opera.”⁴⁸ Pergolesi, in this scheme, showed precocious talent and produced music of exceptional brilliance, even by Neapolitan standards, “at the age when one was [usually] still under the discipline of teachers.”⁴⁹ Over the years, the role of training would diminish still further: Jaucourt made a key editorial addition to Lacombe: the word “born [nés]” now characterized Naples’ musical geniuses.⁵⁰ By the end of the 1760s, Pergolesi’s skill had become inborn, as apparently natural as his music’s expression.⁵¹

In his *Versuch*, Quantz lamented that, “the company of good native-born Italian composers suffered a great loss about twenty years ago with the premature deaths in quick succession of three young composers who left traces of superior genius and promised much more.” These were Leonardo Vinci, Giovanni Maria Capelli and Pergolesi.⁵² Quantz provided scant information on them, giving only pithy stylistic judgments. But he expressed an idea that became familiar in German-language music criticism – that Pergolesi had innate genius that nevertheless remained unrefined by greater development because of his early death. German writers seized on this interpretation to justify a post-factum ambivalence towards Pergolesi’s popular works, or as Hiller (1774) judged, his music’s “strong and weak sides [seiner starken und schwachen Seite].” Christoph Daniel Ebeling followed Quantz and Marpurg in his “Versuch einer auserlesenen musikalischen Bibliothek” (Hamburg, 1770):

[Pergolesi] was inclined towards diligent [fleißigen] composition, but he died too soon to learn how to do it properly. Sometimes he does not pay attention to his text. He was, however, one of the first to embrace a light, simple, engaging melody, and

⁴⁶ At least part of the confusion here might stem from the consolidation of the Loretto and the Poveri in 1743. Similarly, the cover page of A-SEI, MS R 15b (RISM No. 600026688) reads “Stabat Mater...Del Sigre. Pergolesi Cap: [Capo] Maj: [Maior] in Vaticano Romae,” suggesting a Vatican appointment.

⁴⁷ Lacombe, 1752, vii and Lacombe, 1759, 465.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ “dans l’âge où l’on est encore sous la discipline des Maîtres.” Ibid.

⁵⁰ Jaucourt, 18.

⁵¹ It is not coincidental that the two fugal movements of the *Stabat*, those most representative of a “learned” style, gradually disappeared from the Concert Spirituel’s stage.

⁵² Quantz seems to have been mistaken in regarding Capelli’s death as premature. He was nearly eighty.

not merely dazzle through it. In this regard he deserves much respect, but one does not have to consider him, as often happens, to be the greatest composer. Foreigners, who do not know any others, should be forgiven; but for us Hasse, Graun, etc who surpass Pergolesi in all pieces, should not be unknown.⁵³

Johann Joachim Eschenburg, additionally, tried vainly to reconcile Burney's effulgence with Forkel's invective when he translated Burney's biography for the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* (1792).⁵⁴ The national distinctions that colored Quantz, Marpurg, Ebeling and Eschenburg's judgments were hardly uncommon. These authors show that Pergolesi had become a prisoner of eighteenth-century German culture wars, as German musicians attempted to articulate a distinctive stylistic space amid imported Italian, French and British music and aesthetics.⁵⁵ Stephen Rose has argued that characterizations of musicians in German literature around 1700 responded to the professional precarity of German musicians vis-à-vis the prestige of Italian music and musicians.⁵⁶ Moreover these first attempts at biography, which culminated in Mattheson's *Grundlage*, tried to represent German musicians as industrious workers, and music itself as more than mere sensual enjoyment, in order for musicians to claim a place within polite society. Even if Pergolesi's music ultimately lacked the polish of a more mature voice, he must have possessed a modicum of industry to accomplish what he had, a platitude implicitly assuring the public of the respectability of the musical profession beyond this or that practitioner.

Biography flourished as genre in part because it was a tool for musicians to represent their profession and their art in an increasingly crowded marketplace. Boyer's "Notices" constituted a thinly veiled critique of much published discourse on music by dilettantes and non-professionals. Whether it was dubious biographical sketches in *dictionnaires historiques*, periodicals that reprinted information without assessing accuracy or credulous audience members who enriched their experience with gossip and rumor, Boyer saw numerous misrepresentations of his profession in the hands of non-experts in

⁵³ "Er hatte Lust zur fleißigen Composition, starb aber zu früh, als daß er recht gründlich hätte setzen lernen. Zuweilen achtet er auch gar nicht auf seinen Text. Er war aber einer der ersten, der eine leichte simple einnehmende Melodie sich zu eigen machte, und doch nicht bloß dadurch glänzen wollte. In diesen Betracht verdient er viel Achtung; nur muß man ihn nicht, wie oft geschieht, für den grösten Komponisten halten. Den Ausländern, die sonst keine kennen, ist dies zu vergeben; aber uns sollte ein Hasse, Graun, u. a. die Pergolese in allen Stücken übertreffen, nicht unbekannt seyn." Christoph Daniel Ebeling, "Versuch einer auserlesenen musikalischen Bibliothek," *Unterhaltungen* 10:4 (Oct., 1770): 314.

⁵⁴ As previously noted, Forkel had recorded some of the harshest opinions on the *Stabat* during the century.

⁵⁵ David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 20-1.

⁵⁶ Stephen Rose, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

France.⁵⁷ He used the genre of biography to demonstrate that musicians themselves were best positioned to comment on all aspects of their field. Burney's assessment of Pergolesi the composer mirrored his own philosophical dilemma as a critic – caught between an enlightened, egalitarian and universal view of taste and the more authoritarian dues of the well-informed critic. The "Essay on Musical Criticism" that opens *A General History* began by allowing that "every hearer has a right to give way to his feelings, and be pleased or dissatisfied without knowledge, experience, or the fiat of critics."⁵⁸ By the end, however, Burney claimed the special prerogative of the critic:

men of wit of all countries being accustomed to admiration and reverence in speaking upon subjects within their competence, forget, or hope the world forgets, that a good poet, painter, physician, or philosopher, is no more likely to be a good musician without study, practice, and good ears, than another man.⁵⁹

In moments like these, Damien Mahiet sees Burney struggling with "a quintessentially liberal predicament:" how to appeal to the largest section of the music consuming public while asserting his expert prerogative.⁶⁰ Burney's assessment of Pergolesi's style partook of precisely this conundrum, on the one hand validating the popular experience of Pergolesi's music even as it claimed that its accessibility and apparent simplicity were the products of industry and craft. He praised Pergolesi's "easy, pleasing and pleasant melody" and assured his readers that Pergolesi was a diligent worker. The "ease and simplicity" of his style was the product of true craftsmanship, he maintained, in contrast to the "laboured strains" of his more otiose imitators.⁶¹

He had perhaps more energy of genius, and a finer *tact*, than any of his predecessors: for though no labour appears in his productions, even for the church, where the parts are thin, and frequently in unison, yet greater and more beautiful effects are often produced in performance than are promised in the score.⁶²

Burney inevitably walked a more cautious line than his contemporaries, but he took up the pen for reasons not dissimilar to Boyer.

⁵⁷ The "Notices" fits well within the rest of Boyer highly polemical output, which includes the *Lettre à Diderot* (Amsterdam; Paris, 1767), a pointed critique of Abbé La Cassagne's *Traité général des élémens du chant* (Paris, 1766), and *L'expression musicale mise au rang des chimères* (Amsterdam; Paris, 1779), which cut to the quick of eighteenth-century notions of musical expression in a manner not dissimilar to Chabanon's *De la musique*.

⁵⁸ Charles Burney, "Essay on Musical Criticism," in *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, with critical and historical notes by Frank Mercer, Vol. 1 (New York: Dover Publications, [1957]), 7.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶⁰ Damien Mahiet, "Charles Burney; or, the Philosophical Misfortune of a Liberal Musician," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 10:1 (Mar., 2013): 43.

⁶¹ Burney, 924.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 923.

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The works of this master [Pergolesi] form an aera in modern Music.

Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*

(London, 1789)⁶³

Media forms are historical “because they are functionally integral to a sense of pastness,” observes Gitelman.⁶⁴ Musician biography – perhaps more so even than the concert of “ancient” music – became one of the main media forms through which music’s past could be (re)constructed and (re)imagined. This was the foundational conceit of *dictionnaires historiques*, especially musical ones, and, in fact, many narrative histories of music during the later eighteenth century consisted predominantly of musician biographies strung together in more or less chronological order. Biography served as a human-scale synecdoche for history, humanizing large-scale change and contributing to the idea that “great men” were the central agents of progress. As Pierre-Louis Ginguené explained in the introduction to his *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Piccinni* (Paris, 1801), his narrative was not only the life of Piccinni, but a “tableau of the progress of this art in Italy and in France during a half-century.”⁶⁵ By the end of the century, Pergolesi had become synonymous with a particular kind of musical modernity, and his multiplying biographies hosted on-going debates about what it was to be a musical “modern.” Pergolesi’s past-ness was crucial to his modernity – he became modern only posthumously.

Like Pergolesi’s natural genius, his distinctive modernity was a product of the earliest strains of French reception, as we have seen.⁶⁶ In biography, the Pergolesian modern era was usually framed as the era during which musicians joined the ranks of “great men” in other artistic disciplines. Pithy comparisons between Pergolesi and this or that historic painter or writer are a recurring trope of the genre, with Raphael and Virgil being the most likely candidates as Arteaga’s *Le rivoluzioni* demonstrates. Such comparisons reinforced the idea that individual talents motivated historical changes. As Mainwaring wrote:

It happened, as it naturally must when the study of Music engages men of great abilities, both as to genius and knowledge, that improvements were constantly arising from one quarter or another [since the time of Palestrina]. By this means the art of modulating a single voice, so as to express the various passions and

⁶³ Burney, 924.

⁶⁴ Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 5.

⁶⁵ “le tableau des progress de cet art en Italie et en France pendant un demi-siècle...faire mieux connaître le caractère de l’artiste et l’histoire de l’art.” Pierre-Louis Ginguené, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Piccinni* (Paris: La Veuve Panckoucke, An IX [1801]), [i].

⁶⁶ Lorenzo Mattei notes the importance of this theme to most eighteenth-century writing on Pergolesi. See Lorenzo Mattei, “Il ‘mito Pergolesi’ nella trattistica musicale del Settecento,” in *Studi pergolesiani* 9, edited by Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 541.

affections, was every day gaining ground, till Vinci and Pergolesi carried it in some of their Songs to the highest pitch we can as yet have any idea of.⁶⁷

Of course, many Pergolesi biographers acknowledged the glory of the Neapolitan School and its conservatories, but rarely vaunted these institutions above Pergolesi's individual genius. "One cannot doubt that the progress of this art [music] in Naples is due to establishments, already old, in this city," explained the Abbé de Saint-Non before zeroing on the lives of various Neapolitan composers, such as Pergolesi.⁶⁸ The "somber, sweet and melancholy" *Stabat*, he concluded, was successful because it was permeated with Pergolesi's individual character.⁶⁹ Boyer was the first to dramatize Pergolesi's break with an ancient musical past. Crucial to this narrative was Pergolesi's encounter with Vinci and Hasse – a new Neapolitan generation that superseded an ancient style symbolized by Greco. Like all moderns, Pergolesi was initially misunderstood. When *Lo frate 'nnamorato* premiered at the Fiorentini Theater it was met with tepid applause. And then there was the debacle of *L'Olimpiade* in Rome, where only a few "people of taste and masters of the art" perceived the brilliance of Pergolesi's opera.⁷⁰ One of these was Duni who, according to La Borde, "had the courage and the good-faith to decry the injustice" meted out to Pergolesi.⁷¹ Pergolesi's posthumous vindication became a powerful metaphor for the inevitability of musical progress, no matter the opinions of a philistine public.

Of course, German writers were as tepid in their attitudes towards Pergolesi's historical significance as they were to his genius. For Quantz, Italian music seems to have been generally afflicted with an early mortality problem that hampered its development. Gerber's entry also provides ample illustration of how biographical arguments easily slip into historical ones:

Because of the sickly condition that he had carried from his childhood, he was probably held back from applying spit and polish to his works, which the art critics find lacking. Hence that emptiness and that lack of harmony: hence those repetitions of himself in his various works; hence, therefore, those inaccuracies in harmony as well as in declamation. However, he still deserves credit for his easy, pleasing and pleasant melody [Gesanges]. But his admirers want to make him the creator of his own taste; this may be the case with the French. In Germany, long before his time, [Reinhard] Keiser and then Hasse in all his perfections had far surpassed him.⁷²

⁶⁷ John Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1760), 169.

⁶⁸ "On ne peut douter que les progrès de cet art à Naples ne soient dûs à des établissemens déjà anciens dans cette ville." Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage pittoresque ou Description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicilie*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (Paris: Clousier, 1781), 161.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 161, 163.

⁷⁰ Boyer, 189.

⁷¹ "eut le courage & la bonne-foi de crier à l'injustice." La Borde, 213.

⁷² "Auf der andern Seite hielten ihn vermuthlich seine, von Jugend auf kränklichen Umstände ab, den Fleiß und die Feile an seine Werke zu wenden, welche die Kunstrichter daran vermissen. Daher jene Leere und jener Mangel an Harmonie: daher jene

Again, we see Gerber articulating a German cultural space independent of French criticism and Italian music, albeit with some dissimulation, since Hasse was a product of Neapolitan pedagogy. Such nationalistic impulses behind musician biography became increasingly apparent towards the end of the century, no more so than in Naples. “Naples rarely represented itself,” writes Vladimiro Valerio, describing literary and pictorial images of the city in the early modern period.⁷³ Likewise, the heyday of the Neapolitan conservatory system did not inspire a local proliferation of printed music and print about music comparable to the burgeoning print cultures in other European cities. Most musical representations of Naples were thus penned by foreigners, only some of whom had ever visited. Only in light of the hyperbolic and occasionally negative representations of the city by writers such as Burney, Saint-Non and others did Neapolitans begin taking the musical depiction of their city into their own hands. Pergolesi’s Neapolitan biographers primarily sought to reclaim Pergolesi from ultramontane writers, and used his life to assert sovereignty over a Neapolitan musical golden age – a past increasingly remote.

Unsurprisingly, the earliest biography of Pergolesi to be published in Italian was a translation of a foreign source: a “Tuscan” version (Venice, 1768) of Lacombe’s 1759 *Dictionnaire portatif*.⁷⁴ Not until the mid 1780s did Neapolitan writers publish extensively on the musicians of their city. Mattei’s *Elogio di Jommelli* appeared in 1785, the same year as Cafaro’s *Stabat* (which lauded Pergolesi’s exemplar) and Arteaga’s *Le rivoluzioni* (which also heavily praised the composer). Mattei discussed Pergolesi frequently in his biography of Jommelli, drawing several parallels between his subject and his eminent predecessor:

One, and the other author were two reformers of taste in music: the one, and the other had counted their days, and terminated their labors [fatiche] with these sacred works [lavori], since Pergolesi died after the *Stabat* and Jommelli after the *Miserere*.⁷⁵

Wiederholungen seiner selbst in seinen verschiedenen Werken: daher auch jene Unrichtigkeiten in der Harmonie sowohl, als in der Deklamation. Indessen bleibt ihm immer noch Verdienst genug, wegen seines leichten, gefälligen und angenehmen Gesanges. Wenn ihn aber seine Verehrer zum Schöpfer eines eigenen Geschmacks erheben wollen; so mag dies bey den Franzosen gelten. In Deutschland hatte ihn bereits lange vor seiner Zeit Keiser und dann Hasse in allen seinen Vollkommenheiten weit übertroffen.” Gerber, 106-7.

⁷³ Vladimiro Valerio, “Representation and Self-Perception: Plans and Views of Naples in the Early Modern Period,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, edited by Tommaso Astarita. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 63.

⁷⁴ Jacques Lacombe, *Dizionario portatile delle belle arti* (Venice: Stamperia di Bassano; Remondini, 1768), 284-5. Though a stray remark on Pergolesi and Vinci’s early deaths does appear in the second edition of Francesco Algarotti’s *Saggio sopra l’opera in musica*, [Second edition] (Livorno, 1763), 39.

⁷⁵ “L’uno, e l’altro autore sono stati due riformatori del gusto della musica: l’uno, e l’altro han compiti i lor giorni, e terminante le lor gloriose fatiche con questi sacri lavori, giacchè Pergolesi morì dopo lo *Stabat*, e Jommelli dopo il *Miserere*.” Saverio Mattei, *Memorie per servire alla vita del Metastasio; ed Elogio di N. Jommelli* (Bologna, A. Forni, 1987), 100.

Mattei allowed the *Stabat* to be Pergolesi's swansong again, preempting Sigismondo/Villarosa, and encouraging his readers to find similar sentimental-spiritual significance in Jommelli's *Miserere*. Mattei provided a short biographical sketch of Pergolesi early in the *Elogio*, excoriating in the process La Borde's *Essai sur la musique* as an "indigestible book" full of "dreams."⁷⁶ Mattei's was a proudly Neapolitan Pergolesi: "our late Pergolesi," he wrote, "was ours by education" – a claim he also made for "our late Hasse," who was likewise Neapolitan "by education if not by birth."⁷⁷ This rhetorical flourish was necessitated by one of Mattei's correctives against La Borde, that Pergolesi was in fact born in the Papal States (Pergola) rather than in the Kingdom of Naples (Casoria) as La Borde and others believed. Rather than digressions, Mattei's deviations away from Jommelli towards Pergolesi are attempts at constructing a cogent Neapolitan musical history, channeling the messy complexities of stylistic and institutional evolutions through two major figures whose lives furnished readers with sentimentally engaging points of entry.

In the years following Mattei's writings, Neapolitan authors strove to reabsorb a widely traveled Pergolesi back into their city – as part of a self-conscious project to (re)animate the city's glorious history. Pergolesi haunted different Neapolitan landmarks. Sigismondo (*Descrizione della città di Napoli*, 1788) described how Pergolesi's music was still performed annually in the Chiesa di Santa Maria ad Ogni Bene dei Sette Dolori under the continued patronage of the Maddaloni family.⁷⁸ Both Giuseppe Maria Galanti (*Breve descrizione di Napoli*, 1792) and the Abate D. Francesco Sacco (*Dizionario geografico-istorico-fisico de Napoli*, 1796) situated Pergolesi among the conservatory buildings, even if the Poveri no longer operated.⁷⁹ Both writers described the glories of the conservatory system and the successes of their students, whose "divine melodies have astonished other nations."⁸⁰ Most of the biographical details they provide accord with Mattei, but Galanti was under the impression that Pergolesi died at the age of 25 in 1733 from "venereal

⁷⁶ La Borde, following Boyer, had stated that Pergolesi had been born in Casoria, in 1704, attended the Poveri and died at Torre del Greco. Mattei (72-3) asserts instead that he was born in Pergola, in 1707, attended the Onofrio and died in Pozzuoli. It should be noted that neither of them is completely correct: Iesi (near Pergola), 1710, the Poveri and Pozzuoli.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 72, 121. Rival German and Italian counterclaims to Hasse make an interesting counterpoint to contemporaneous English and German counterclaims to Handel. They both illustrate the new mobility of musicians and how those mobilities could provoke nationalist sentiments.

⁷⁸ Giuseppe Sigismondo, *Descrizione della città di Napoli e suoi borghi*, Vol. 2 (Naples, I Fratelli Terres), 254.

⁷⁹ Giuseppe Maria Galanti, *Breve descrizione della città di Napoli e del suo contorno* (Naples: Il Socj del Gabinetto Letterario, 1792), 240-1. Francesco Sacco, *Dizionario geografico-istorico-fisico del Regno di Napoli*, Vol. 2 (Naples: Vincenzo Flauto, 1796), 327.

⁸⁰ "che colla loro melodia divina hanno fatto stupore alle altre nazioni." Galanti, 239. Sacco says the exact same thing about the alumni of the Turchini (326), probably copying Galanti.

disease.”⁸¹ This process of reclaiming history through biography, culminated in Giuseppe Bertini’s *Dizionario storico-critico degli scrittori di musica* (Palermo, 1814-5) and Andrea Mazzarella’s *Biografia degli uomini illustri del Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1816). Bertini’s was the first musician historical dictionary published in Italian and in the Kingdom of Naples. While Bertini borrowed heavily Choron and Fayolle’s *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens* (Paris, 1810-1), when it came to writing about Italy composers he preferred to cite Italian authors, for example, referencing Mattei’s *Elogio* and Arteaga’s *Le rivoluzioni* extensively for Pergolesi’s entry.⁸² Mazzarella’s volume is significant because it placed Neapolitan musicians (Pergolesi, Durante, Paisiello and Antonio Bruni) on equal footing with non-musicians: rulers (Carlo III, Giovanna I), jurists (Gaetano Argento), ancient philosophers (Parmenides of Elea), saints (Francis of Paola), painters (Luca Giordano) and poets (Marta Marchina).⁸³ It shows that Neapolitan music had become part of a wider nationalist program of self-fashioning.

Neapolitan Pergolesi biographies, no less than their German, British and French counterparts, ended up rhetorically halting music’s progress even as they extolled it. Burney’s discussion of Pergolesi in the *General History* is followed only by chapters on the “progress” or “general state” of music in Rome, Germany, France and England “during the present century” making Pergolesi the modern bookend of a new musical history. Others, such as Mainwaring and Mattei, claimed that music declined after Pergolesi. Aside from this or that aesthetic posture towards Pergolesi’s historical importance, the practice of biography itself was decidedly modern as d’Alembert’s quote at the beginning of this section indicates. And, in the end, the ideals of modernity and progress that Pergolesi symbolized ended up consuming Pergolesi himself in their teleological thrust, a fact we will return to later.

ANECDOTAL BIOGRAPHY

Be warned, that we here do not weave a history exact and minute, but we select oratorically more than historically certain points of view more worthy to be observed.

Mattei, *Elogio di Jommelli*
(Colle, 1785)⁸⁴

⁸¹ Saint-Non cryptically said that Pergolesi’s taste for pleasure exacerbating his already frail health. Saint-Non, 163.

⁸² Giuseppe Bertini, *Dizionario storico-critico degli scrittori di musica*, Vol. 3 (Palermo: Tipografia Reale di Guerra, 1815), 160-2.

⁸³ This volume also likely contains the first published portrait of Pergolesi, which bears little resemblance to the Ghezzi caricature and, thus, probably little resemblance to the composer himself. Andrea Mazzarella, *Biografia degli uomini illustri del regno di Napoli*, Vol. 3 (Naples: Nicola Gervasi, 1816), [323-329].

⁸⁴ “S’avverta, che noi quì non tessiamo una storia esatta e minuta, ma scegliamo oratoricamente più che storicamente certi punti di veduta più degni di essere osservati.” Mattei, 74, footnote.

With this frank acknowledgement of the cherry-picking of facts for his *Elogio* (and even cherry-picking Pergolesi and Jommelli as representative composers of their eras), Mattei showed the hand of most eighteenth-century biographers. Pergolesi's biography possessed a schematic modularity not dissimilar to his musical style. In formal terms, Pergolesi's biography consisted of only a handful of discrete events and narrative turns:

- (1) His birth, either in the Kingdom of Naples or elsewhere;
- (2) His dramatic exit from the conservatory and stylistic volte-face;
- (3) The disastrous premier of *L'Olimpiade* in Rome;
- (4) His final illness, the composition of the *Stabat* and his death.

And like the *Stabat*, his biography had no stable form, even if distinctive traditions developed in certain areas. Biographies were assembled around this loose narrative structure, fleshed out with sundry details, aesthetic commentaries and often rounded off with a list of works (the sum total of composerly labor). The inherently anecdotal nature of Pergolesi biography stretched back to the repeatedly discredited rumors about the *Stabat*'s composition and merely continued through later biographies that were less continuous narratives than collections of sentimental, instructive or otherwise engaging tidbits. Joel Fineman observes that the anecdote "is the literary form or genre that uniquely refers to the real," its concision, open-endedness and synecdochal rhetoric opens for readers dispersed and scattered windows to an "outside" beyond generic types and media forms.⁸⁵ Indeed, the anecdote is the rhetorical form of mediacy itself, shareable and real – or, at least, truthy. And just as Neapolitan musical schemata trace the materiality of sentiments' mobility, so one might regard Pergolesi anecdotes as traces of affective attachment to biography, and the musical engagements that it supported and sustained.⁸⁶

The large corpus of Pergolesi biography offers many opportunities to follow the convoluted mobility of Pergolesi anecdotes – propelled by quotation, paraphrase, reference, copying, translation, plagiarism and reprinting. Appendix IV offers a more synoptic overview of these processes than what has been alluded to so far. It shows how the new protocols of print, its mediations and remediations, its mobilities and iterabilities, materially expressed and ex-pressed the Pergolesi myth itself. Even if Lacombe's original declaration of the *Stabat*'s "universal regard" was dubious even as hyperbole, by the eighth iteration of the *Nouveau dictionnaire historique* (1804), fifty years of the mechanical reproduction of Lacombe's statement, not to mention similar claims on behalf of the "famous," "famoso," "berühmtes," "berömde" *Stabat*, produced a kind of universality on paper, out of sync with the actual fortunes of the *Stabat* in the concert hall. Reprints and repackagings also show that the tenacity of certain rumors about Pergolesi owed as much to the processes of print as to the gossip that print obliquely and sometimes openly critiqued. At least some dismissals of Pergolesi's poisoning were reprinted not to combat popular fallacies, but merely because texts were copied without correction from earlier

⁸⁵ Joel Fineman, "The History of the Anecdote: Fiction and Fiction," in *The New Historicism*, edited by H. Aram Veesser (New York; London: Routledge, 1989), 56.

⁸⁶ Rose notes that Mattheson sought out anecdotes precisely to generate investments in his *Grundlage*. Rose, 179-83.

sources. Of course, it did not hurt that such stories sparked sympathy and stimulated interest. In his *Phantusus* (1813), Tieck recounted the “legend that the great impression made by the *Stabat mater* of the young artist at the first performance kindled another musician with such enraged envy that he had stabbed the young man while stepping out of the church.” While acknowledging the story as false, Tieck gave license to “the poet...to let him [Pergolesi] fall as the victim of his art and enthusiasm.”⁸⁷ Facts, Tieck seems to say, should not necessarily get in the way of a good story, and equivocation such as this allowed readers to enjoy both.

Eighteenth-century print recorded only a partial picture of how Pergolesi anecdotes circulated. Other mobilities are documented along the margins and below the surface. Of course, print sources document the mobility of the *Stabat* and how its circulation focused attention on its composer. The first printed anecdotes of Pergolesi’s life belong to the same moment as the *Querelle des Bouffons* and the Concert Spirituel premiere of the *Stabat* and, as Boyer quipped, these concerts provided continuous opportunities for lay speculation on Pergolesi’s life. It is tempting to imagine over the years audience members bringing their copies of either Lacombe or Ladvocat’s *dictionnaires portatifs* – small enough to be carried in one’s pocket – to the Tuileries and perusing the lives of composers as their music was performed.⁸⁸ Five years after the Musikaliska Sällskapet inaugurated their tradition of annual *Stabat* concerts, the *Åbo Tidningar* responded to public curiosity and printed the first biography of Pergolesi in Swedish, translated and assembled from Gerber’s *Lexicon* and Eschenbach’s article.⁸⁹ Perhaps unsurprisingly, large biographic notes were also copied into several manuscripts of the *Stabat*.⁹⁰ Furthermore, biographies document the mobility of people. The many contradictory accounts of Pergolesi’s life – like the open-endedness of the anecdote – reflect decades of interpersonal information sharing and human movement. Boyer and Burney distinguished their biographies with assurances to the reader that they traveled to Italy personally in attempt to gain primary information on their subject matter. Both gave the names of their living sources to vouch for the veracity

⁸⁷ “Es ist eine Sage, daß der große Eindruck, den das *Stabat mater* des jungen Künstlers beim ersten Aufführen machte, einen andern Musiker mit so grimmigem Neid entzündet, daß er den Jüngling, indem dieser aus der Kirche getreten, niedergestochen habe. Man hat diese Sage längst widerlegt, da aber Pergolese früh starb, so wird es dem Dichter erlaubt seyn, auf diese Erzählung hinzudeuten, und ihn als Opfer seiner Kunst und Begeisterung fallen zu lassen.” Ludwig Tieck, *Phantusus: Eine Sammlung von Märchen, Erzählungen, Schauspielen und Novellen*, Vol. 2 (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1812), 440-1.

⁸⁸ Though not as portable, it is also easy to imagine Löbel and Franke’s *Conversation-Lexikon* (1800) stimulating such behavior.

⁸⁹ “Pergolesi,” *Åbo Tidningar* 40 (Oct. 2, 1796): [1-2]. The article promised a series of composer biographies to follow, but none appeared after Haydn’s later that month.

⁹⁰ In addition to the manuscripts already mentioned, three others contain biographical musings on Pergolesi: D-B, SA 147 (RISM No. 469014700), Carl Friedrich Zelter’s copy containing quotations from Gerber’s *Lexicon*; D-LEm, Becker III.2.143 (RISM No. 225004822), containing excerpts from the *Conversations-Lexikon*; and I-CBp, Pepe Ms.419.

of their portraits. Boyer probably encountered former peninsula residents Duni and Vernet in Paris, but Burney's informants (violinist Emanuele Barbella and musician Charles Wiseman) resided in Naples and Rome at the time of his Grand Tour.⁹¹

In fact, the mobility of people is a recurrent theme of Pergolesi biography, surprisingly so given the relative immobility of Pergolesi himself. The very inertia of Pergolesi in Naples/Rome required the mobility of his biographers, spurning their quests for truth. Statements of distance-traveled become part of the rhetoric of verisimilitude in Pergolesi biography. Boyer and Burney emerged as central authorities on Pergolesi precisely because they displayed their reliance on primary over secondary sources. The mobility of these authors compensated for Pergolesi's own inertia, allowing readers the frisson of travel otherwise absent from his biography but demanded by the genre. Distance discourse also animated the description of Pergolesi's genius. One of the most quoted appraisals of Pergolesi's genius is that of Rousseau in his *Dictionnaire de la musique* (Geneva, 1767; Paris, 1768).⁹² In the entry for "Génie," Rousseau urged would-be composers curious to know if they possessed the "devouring fire" of genius to:

Run, fly to Naples and listen to the masterpieces of Leo, Durante, Jommelli, Pergolesi. If your eyes fill with tears, if your heart throbs, if tremors agitate you, if oppression suffocates you in your transports, take Metastasio and work; his genius will warm yours; you will create according to his example; that is what genius does, and other eyes will return to you the tears that your masters made you shed.⁹³

True musical genius can only be discovered in oneself after a pilgrimage to the eighteenth-century's musical Jerusalem, in the milieu of Pergolesi and his contemporaries. Rousseau's theory of genius is also at root a theory of sympathy, a form of communication passing spontaneously from predisposed composer to composer and composer to listener. The journey to Naples, regardless of the object, furnished ample opportunities to indulge in such sympathetic communication with Pergolesi through the consumption of anecdotes. While trekking to the summit of Vesuvius, presumably near Torre del Greco, Jean-Baptiste Mercier Dupaty's guide pointed out the house where Pergolesi "went to try to soothe that melancholy at once so happy and so fatal, to which he owed, at the age of twenty-seven, his

⁹¹ Boyer also claimed to have conducted research in Italy.

⁹² The following passage is quoted by Saint-Non, 161; Pietro Napoli-Signorelli, *Storia critica de' teatri antichi e moderni*, Vol. 10, Part 2 (Naples: Vincenzo Orsino, 1813), 228-9; Mazzarella, [329]; Giovanni Battista Gennaro Grossi, *Le belle arti*, Vol. 1 (Naples: Tipografia del Giornale enciclopedico, 1820), 13.

⁹³ "Veux-tu donc savoir si quelque étincelle de ce feu dévorant t'anime? Cours, vole à Naples écouter les chef-d'oeuvres de *Leo*, de *Durante*, de *Jommelli*, de *Pergolèse*. Si tes yeux s'emplissent de larmes, si tu sens ton coeur palpiter, si des tressaillemens t'agitent, si l'oppression te suffoque dans tes transports, prend le *Métastase* & travaille; son *Génie* échauffera le tien; tu créeras à son exemple: c'est-là te que fait ce Génie, & d'autres yeux te rendront bien-tôt les pleurs que tes Maitres t'ont fait verser." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: La Veuve Duchesne, 1768), 230-1.

immortal *Stabat*, and his death.”⁹⁴ As with Rousseau’s theoretical composer, Dupaty’s own voyage to Italy was not complete until he found his own audience with whom to share his stories. His *Lettres sur l’Italie* proved popular, and were reprinted in 1797 and translated into English (London, 1788) and German (Mainz, 1790). Michael Kelly even inserted a similar incident in his *Reminiscences* (London, 1826).⁹⁵ The English translator of the *Lettres* believed that it was Dupaty’s “sensibility” that made his travelogue so popular, his letters “are far from being written in the dull stile [sic] of methodical compilation, and bear every mark of being immediately dictated by the objects they describe.” Only through its (re)publication did this anecdote complete its sentimental journey.

Like the musical schemata in the *Stabat*, the anecdotes that gave meaning to Pergolesi’s life and art had an extensive preexistence. Anecdotal musician biography proceeded sustained attempts at narrative biography by centuries. Earlier events in the history of music’s mediation momentarily tended to focus attention on the creators of musical works when they began circulating in novel and more extensive ways. Anecdotes concerning Josquin pepper mid-sixteenth-century music treatises, touching on the same themes as those concerning Pergolesi: the nature of his particular genius and the tensions between his creative impulses and the demands of his profession. The circulation of these stories would have been impossible without the earlier popularity of Josquin’s works in the new medium of music print.⁹⁶ Similarly, biographical interest in Palestrina followed from a theoretical and practical paradigm shift in how music mediated text and emotion. Agostino Agazzari’s *Del sonare sopra’l basso* (Siena, 1607) first floated the idea that Palestrina’s *Missa Papae Marcelli* “saved” music at the Council of Trent as part of a larger argument in favor of *seconda pratica* against *prima pratica*. As with Pergolesi, this story cast Palestrina as an epoch-making agent of historical change, demonstrating the superiority of monody. During the eighteenth century, new music media promoted the proliferation of anecdotes concerning musicians. The earliest rumors of Pergolesi’s demise owed something to the lives of Alessandro Stradella and Vinci, both of whom were supposedly murdered for incautious love affairs with their social betters. The story of Stradella’s death was first recorded in Pierre Bourdelot and Pierre Bonnet-Bourdelot’s *Histoire de la musique* (Paris, 1715) and the “Stradella legend,” as Carolyn Gianturco calls it, undoubtedly shaped the rumor of Pergolesi’s stabbing.⁹⁷ It seems likely that Vinci, who was Pergolesi’s compatriot

⁹⁴ “vint essayer d’adoucir cette mélancholie si heureuse et si fatale, à laquelle il dut, à vingt-sept ans, son *stabat* immortel, et sa mort.” Jean-Baptiste Mercier Dupaty, *Lettres sur l’Italie en 1785*, Vol. 2 (Rome; Paris: De Senne, 1788), 207.

⁹⁵ The wording suggests as much, but if this is not the case than Kelly and Dupaty’s anecdotes suggest something of “popular” rumor around Pergolesi in Naples that may also have been passed to Boyer and Burney. See Michael Kelly [and Theodore Hook], *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, Second edition, Vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), 32-3.

⁹⁶ Rob C. Wegman, “‘And Josquin Laughed...’ Josquin and the Composer’s Anecdote in the Sixteenth Century,” *The Journal of Musicology* 17:3 (Summer, 1999): 319-57.

⁹⁷ Carolyn Gianturco, “The Role of Legend in Stradella *Rezeption*,” in *Musikalische Quellen – Quellen zur Musikgeschichte: Festschrift für Martin Staehelin zum 65. Geburtstag*, in association with Jürgen Heidrich and Hans Joachim Marx, edited by Ulrich Konrad

and possible mentor, also inspired some of the earliest rumors about Pergolesi's demise. According to de Brosses, Vinci "was insolent, and after having been more than once chastised for a gallantry with a woman that he made too public, he died from being poisoned."⁹⁸ Burney, moreover, claimed that Vinci had an ongoing and public rivalry with Nicola Porpora.⁹⁹

Grisly anecdotes likewise litter Giorgio Vasari's *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (1550, rev. 1568). A jealous Andrea del Castagno bludgeons to death his former friend and fellow artist Domenico Veneziano.¹⁰⁰ The prior of Santa Spirito Church in Florence allows a young Michelangelo to conduct corpse dissections in his quarters to maximize the verisimilitude of the crucified Christ that now hangs in the church.¹⁰¹ Vasari's biographies are also filled with stories of triumph over adversity: low social status, parental opposition, inauspicious professional education. Pergolesi's early struggles to overcome the conservatism of Greco, the lukewarm reception of his music and his own weak health are variations of these basic ideas. And the connection between Pergolesi and Raphael that eighteenth-century authors loved to make was based on more than an intuition about their aesthetic affinity. Alessandro d'Azzia, in his *Sur le rétablissement d'un Théâtre Italien Bouffon à Paris* (Paris, 1801), notes that Pergolesi was compared to Raphael "as much for his genius as for his premature death" and compared Pergolesi's *Stabat* and *La serva padrona* with Raphael's *School of Athens* and *Transfiguration*.¹⁰² The *Transfiguration* was Raphael's swan song, the painting that he finished just prior to his untimely death and the painting that Vasari incorporated into his detailed tableau of Raphael's final moments:

Then having confessed and repented, Raphael came to the end of his life's journey on the same day that he was born, which was Good Friday of his thirty-seventh year, and we can believe that just as his talents embellished this world, so he himself will adorn heaven. ... As Raphael lay dead in the hall where he had been working, the painting of the *Transfiguration* he had done for the Cardinal de' Medici was placed at his head, and the sight of his dead body and this living painting filled the soul of

(Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 235-246. For the legend's reception in the early nineteenth century, see Sarah Hibberd, "Murder in the Cathedral? Stradella, Musical Power, and Performing the Past in 1830s Paris," *Music & Letters* 87:4 (Nov., 2006): 551-579.

⁹⁸ "il était insolent, et qu'après avoir été plus d'une fois châtié pour une galanterie qu'il menait trop publiquement avec une dame, il finit par être empoisonné." Charles de Brosses, *Lettres historiques et critiques sur l'Italie*, Vol. 3 (Paris: Ponthieu, An VII [1798-1799]), 277. Saint-Non reported that Vinci died from drinking hot chocolate, poisoned by the family of a wealthy lady (168).

⁹⁹ Burney, 916.

¹⁰⁰ This story is false; Castagno died before Veneziano.

¹⁰¹ Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, translated by Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 422.

¹⁰² Alessandro d'Azzia, *Sur le rétablissement d'un Théâtre Italien Bouffon à Paris* (Paris: Huet et Charon, 1801), 23.

everyone looking on with grief.¹⁰³

An artwork gaining “life” from its proximity to the death of its creator was one of the central conceits of the *Stabat*'s reception. It is clear that Pergolesi's life was read as an echo of Raphael's. This is the only explanation for his sudden diagnosis with venereal disease by Saint-Non, Galanti and Mazzarella; the affliction that Vasari believed ended the life of Raphael.¹⁰⁴ Authors turned to Vasari for inspiration in constructing the new genre of musician biography, recycling old tropes in ways that made composers newly legible to a larger public of consumers unaccustomed to imaging composers as artists in the same way as painters. But there was no musical eighteenth-century Vasari. The haphazard assemblage of Pergolesi biography from stray anecdotes reflects a decentralized response to media proliferation unlike the determined ideological positioning of Vasari.

Once assembled, “Pergolesi” could affect the lives of other musicians. The rest of Duni's life was eclipsed by his presence at the disastrous premier of *l'Olimpiade*, which assumed an outsized role in biographical portraits of Duni.¹⁰⁵ More often, though, the vector was the *Stabat*, which had absorbed the emotional weight of Pergolesi's fraught life. Choron and Fayolle's *dictionnaire historique* first contained the story of Pierre Gaveaux' early encounter with Pergolesi's music.¹⁰⁶ After having lost his music teacher at age twelve, Gaveaux began studying music with a local *abbé*. This *abbé* procured for his student the scores from Italy of *La serva* and the *Stabat*, “deux chef d'oeuvres de l'esprit humain.” “Professor and student,” they wrote, “were so transported by the beauty of this music, that they exclaimed together at the end of [playing] each piece: *Whoever does not love music will be damned!*”¹⁰⁷ After learning all he could from these scores, Gaveaux desired to journey to Italy to study with Nicola Sala, a journey ultimately forbidden by his parents. A similarly formative event involving the *Stabat* appeared in biographies of the pianist Maria Theresia von Paradis. Burney assembled the first biographical sketch of Paradis (1785), who became blind at the age of two.¹⁰⁸ At the age of seven, she made her professional debut singing the soprano of Pergolesi's *Stabat* while accompanying herself on the organ. This performance, in the Viennese Augustinian Church before the Empress, touched Maria Theresa so deeply that she bestowed a pension on the young girl for life. Here, the *Stabat* acts as a bridge between the tragic youthful afflictions of Paradis and Pergolesi. This

¹⁰³ Vasari, 336.

¹⁰⁴ “son goût pour les plaisirs abrégés, dit-on, se jours,” Saint-Non, 163; “morbo venero,” Galanti, 240; “consunzione contratta per *venere*,” Mazzarella, [327].

¹⁰⁵ See for example the “Éloge de Monsieur Duni,” in Charles Palissot et al., *Le nécrologe des hommes célèbres de France...année 1776* (Paris: Imprimerie de Knapen, 1775), 134.

¹⁰⁶ Choron and Fayolle, Vol. 1, 260-1.

¹⁰⁷ “Le professeur et l'élève étaient si transportés de la beauté de cette musique, qu'ils s'écriaient à la fin de chaque morceau: *Quiconque n'aime pas la musique sera damné!*”

¹⁰⁸ Charles Burney, “An Account of Mademoiselle Theresa Paradis, of Vienna, the celebrated Blind Performer on the Piano Forte,” *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Mar., 1785), 175-6. For other publications that ran this story, see Hidemi Matsushita, “The Musical Career and Compositions of Maria Theresia von Paradis (1759-1824).” (Phd diss., Brigham Young University, 1989), 2.

incident crucially shaped Paradis' public persona – oddly so for a woman who was both a pianist and the subject of some of Mesmer's most notorious experiments in animal magnetism. The concert was even memorialized in a strophe of Leopold Kozeluth and Konrad Pfelle's *lied* to Paradis, "Ich war ein armes Würmchen" (*Wienerischen Musenalmanach auf das Jahr 1785*):

When first my hand and voice essay'd,
Sweet Pergolesi's pious strains,
Her pitying goodness she display'd,
To cherish and reward my pains.¹⁰⁹

In the cases of Gaveaux and Paradis, the *Stabat* is at the center of musical tableaux in which sentiment reverberates between biographical subjects, performers and listeners, past and present.

A late eighteenth-century manuscript copy of the *Stabat*, preserved in the archive of the Roman Basilica di San Giovanni in Laterano is attributed on its cover to "Sig.r N. N. detto il Pergolese:" "Signor Nomen Nescio," "Mister I do not know his name," but he is called Pergolesi.¹¹⁰ This scribe, unwittingly, captured the enigmatic quality of "il Pergolese," perched precariously between the known and the unknown, biographical fact and sentimental fiction, history and present, narrative and anecdote, truth and myth, man and idea. In many respects, one might consider the lineaments of Pergolesi's changing biography as an Orphic myth for an age of media proliferation: a meta-story that explained the power of an increasingly mobile musical work, in which engagement and feeling were newly distributed and disbursed across temporal and geographic space.

¹⁰⁹ This is Burney's translation of the Pfelle's lyrics (215). The German original reads: "Einst spielt' ich in dem Tempel/Das heil'ge Meisterstück/Den großen Pergolese,/Da hörte mich Therese/Und sorgte für mein Glück." See Marion Fürst, *Maria Theresia Paradis: Mozarts berühmte Zeitgenossin* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), 226.

¹¹⁰ I-Rsg, MS. mus. B.1960 (RISM No. 850504361).

CHAPTER 4: PROLIFERATION AND SATURATION

Siskin and Warner's understanding of "saturation" creates difficulties for the historian. They posit that the Enlightenment ended in the 1780s with a shift from media proliferation to media saturation, when "the sense of difference generated by initial proliferation becomes more of the same" and media began to effect those "lacking or refusing" direct contact with it.¹ But how exactly can "more of the same" be quantified and what accurate record could survive of individuals "lacking or refusing" exposure to media? Further, at least as far as music media are concerned, the idea that media achieved a saturation "moment" everywhere in the 1780s is problematic, not least because of the disruptions wrought by the following decades of war.² Like media proliferation, saturation should be understood as a process, the process by which "new" media naturalized into "old" media, their protocols stabilizing.³ It was not an orderly process; it occurred in different places at different times, shaped by local political, economic, social and religious factors and dovetailed with continued media proliferation of various kinds. Here, we will follow the *Stabat* into the crosswinds of media proliferation and saturation – first into Europe's colonies, where the *Stabat* came into dialogue with non-European musics, and then into the new century, when the "media aesthetics" responsible for the fame of the *Stabat* gradually metamorphosed.

THE *STABAT* AND THE *YARAVÍ*

- 5 Books of Handles Overtures
- 1 ditto Orpheons Bretanecons
- 2 long books and 1 Pasqualey Instrmt
- 1 Stibet Master and Accompt

Partial list of the musical effects of Bernard Messink, who died on a ship bound for China from Batavia (modern-day Jayakarta), 1785⁴

¹ Clifford Siskin and William Warner, "This is Enlightenment: An Invitation in the Form of an Argument," in *This is Enlightenment* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 19-21.

² London and Paris may have achieved saturation during the 1780s, and likely even earlier, but the concentration of media production and consumption in these locations necessarily would put them on the vanguard. Contraindications to Siskin and Warner's dating abound: the decline in Lyonnais concert culture during the 1770s, its solidification in Åbo not until the 1790s and the comparative paucity of music publishing outside London and Paris (especially on the Italian peninsula) before 1800.

³ This intervention derives from Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006). See especially her "Introduction: Media As Historical Subjects," 1-22.

⁴ Ian Woodfield, *Music of the Raj: A Social and Economic History of Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Indian Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 133-4. There is no

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the networks that mediated the *Stabat* extended into Europe's colonies. British ships brought the latest music publications from London to the country's American and Indian possessions.⁵ Messink easily could have procured publications of Handel, Purcell (*Orpheus Britannicus*), Pasquali's instrumental music and a *Stabat mater* through this means and Thomas Jefferson could have obtained his two different *Stabat* editions similarly.⁶ While opera was the usual musical entertainment for residents of the French colony of Saint-Domingue, occasionally spiritual concerts were mounted there. Though not advertised as such, a 1780 performance of the *Stabat* on a program of mixed vocal and instrumental music more or less replicated the format of the Parisian Concert Spirituel.⁷ This performance occurred in Port-au-Prince's repurposed Salle Mesplès, a concert venue for the newly designated colonial capital, and featured Minette, a mixed-race singer beginning to gain celebrity as a local opera star.⁸ As in Europe, colonial religious institutions disseminated the *Stabat* beyond large cities. The only extant eighteenth-century copy of the piece in Latin America resides in the archive of the Durango Cathedral, its full compliment of parts attesting to its liturgical use.⁹ Moravians brought music popular in their European enclaves to their New World settlements. Copies of the Hiller-Klopstock arrangement of the *Stabat* found their way into the library of the collegium musicum of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; the collegium musicum of Salem, North Carolina; and into the personal collection of Johannes Herbst, bishop for the settlement in Salem.¹⁰ The

mention of the composer of this misspelled *Stabat mater*. Of the *Stabat* settings published before 1785, Pergolesi's is the most likely based on Messink's predilections as displayed in the inventory. Messink also owned Hawkins' music history, which, as we have seen, spoke highly of Pergolesi's *Stabat*.

⁵ For information on the music book trade in India, see Woodfield, 32-48.

⁶ He possessed the 1749 Walsh edition and the Pope parody. Jefferson's own inventory of his music library (from 1783) is reproduced in Helen Cripe, *Thomas Jefferson and Music* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, [1974]), 97-104.

⁷ John G. Cale, "French Secular Music in Saint-Domingue (1750-1795) Viewed As A Factor in America's Musical Growth" (PhD diss., Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1971), 137.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 54-5.

⁹ Drew Edward Davies, "The Italianized Frontier: Music at Durango Cathedral, *Español* Culture, and The Aesthetics of Devotion in Eighteenth-Century New Spain" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2006), 503.

¹⁰ US-BETm, 79B and US-WS, XLIV (latter two). See Richard D. Claypool, "Archival Collections of the Moravian Music Foundation and Some Notes on the Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 23:4 (Oct.-Dec., 1976): 183, 186. Donald M. McCorkle, "Moravian Music in Salem: A German-American Heritage" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1958), 264. Joan Ormsby Falconer, "Bishop Johannes Herbst (1735-1812), An American-Moravian Musician, Collector, and Composer" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1969), 122. For a survey of Moravian musical activity in America, see Nola Reed Knouse (ed.), *The*

Stabat was first published outside of Europe in Samuel Holyoke's *The Columbian Repository of Sacred Harmony* (Exeter, NH, 1803). Holyoke reprinted Arnold and Callcott's gloss of the "Sancta mater" with a hymn text by Isaac Watts for use by American Congregationalist parishes, making the *Stabat* accessible to even the most modest of American churches.

Unavoidably, these busy musical-colonial sites were contact zones that refashioned and reshaped Europe's musical self-identity, especially as stories of colonial "encounter" were mediated for domestic European audiences.¹¹ Between 1791 and 1792, a small argument flared in the pages of the *Mercurio peruano* concerning the relative merits of the *yaraví*, a hybrid vocal genre that combined elements of Native American and Spanish music. Like the *Querelle des Bouffons* and all other comparable disputes that erupted in European periodicals, this debate offered different frames for what constituted musical Peruvian national identity based on competing ideas of music's past and progress. The opening volley of the debate was the "Rasgo...sobre la Música en general, y particularmente sobre los *Yaravíes*," published in the December 22, 1791 edition of the *Mercurio*.¹² This was followed by a series of articles refuting the "Rasgo's" claims about the *yaraví* genre and the author's overall aesthetics. First came a short "Carta dirigida á la *Sociedad*" (January 12) that questioned the "Rasgo's" stance.¹³ Then a "Carta sobre la Música," spanning the February 16 and 19 issues, which contained a lengthy and, for the time, rather musically detailed refutation of the "Rasgo."¹⁴ Though musical matters seldom otherwise appeared in the pages of the catholic *Mercurio*,¹⁵ this exchange is significant because it represents one of the earliest "discourses of *mestizaje* in music," even if "from a *criollo* standpoint."¹⁶ Consequentially, the initial "Rasgo" has received more attention from contemporary scholars than the responses. The argument concerns us here, though, because the author of the "Carta" used an analysis of Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* to clinch his pro-European position. Indeed, the exchange in the *Mercurio peruano* shows how global media proliferation

Music of the Moravian Church in America (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008).

¹¹ Vanessa Agnew, *Enlightened Orpheus: The Power of Music in Other Worlds* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6.

¹² III:101, 284-91.

¹³ IV:107, 33-4.

¹⁴ IV:117 & 118, 108-18.

¹⁵ A brief discussion of the music of enslaved Africans occurs in José Rossi y Rubí, "Conclusion del Rasgo sobre las congregaciones públicas de los *Negros Bozales*," *Mercurio peruano* II:49 (Jun., 19, 1791): 122-3. Some thoughts on musical theater and opera are conveyed in Toribio José del Campo y Pando, "Carta escrita a la *Sociedad* sobre no ser impropia la Música en las Representaciones Dramáticas," *Mercurio peruano* III:83 (Oct. 20, 1791): 131-6.

¹⁶ Bernardo Illari, "The Popular, the Sacred, the Colonial and the Local: The Performance of Identities in the Villancicos from Sucre (Bolivia)," in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450-1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, edited by Tess Knighton and Alvaro Torrente (Aldershot, Hampshire, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 434.

transformed the *Stabat's* aesthetic status, as writers (re)structured the idea of European music itself vis-à-vis non-European music.

Many periodicals rose and fell in Spain's New World Viceroyalties during the eighteenth century. The earliest of these was the *Gaceta de México* (issued on and off between 1722 and 1742), followed by periodicals in other colonial areas and urban centers such as Guatemala (1729-1731), Lima (1743-1767) and Havana (1782).¹⁷ The *Mercurio peruano* belonged to a small explosion of periodicals around 1800, as cities like Veracruz, Bogotá, Quito and Buenos Aires began experimenting with this print medium.¹⁸ In Lima alone, the *Mercurio* competed with the *Diario de Lima* (1790-1793), the *Semanario crítico* (1791) and the second incarnation of the *Gaceta de Lima* (1793-1801).¹⁹ Like most of these periodicals, the *Mercurio peruano* flowered only briefly. Appearing in 1791 and folding in 1795, it was the organ of the *Sociedad de Amantes del País*, a learned society in the viceregal capital.²⁰ Both the *Mercurio* and the *Sociedad* were self-conscious in their desire to spread "el Ilustración" in Peru. Jacinto Calero y Moreira's subscription notice for the *Mercurio* reads as if written by Siskin and Warner (or Immanuel Kant):

Among the various objects that have occupied the Press [las Prensas], none has been more useful than that of Newspapers [los Papeles Periodicos]. From their adoption, one can almost fix the epoch of the enlightenment of the nations.²¹

Calero y Moreira stressed the public utility of a local newspaper that would not only circulate important colonial news, but also the latest ideas and discoveries in the arts and sciences from around the world. Both periodical and associated organization espoused a distinctive *criollo* (white Peruvian born in the Americas) viewpoint against the social and political domination of the *peninsulares* (white Spaniards born on the Iberian peninsula who immigrated, usually temporarily).²² Peruvian patriotism reverberates through the subscription notice, and the first article of the first edition ("Idea General del Perú," January 2, 1791) announced "the principal object" of the *Mercurio* to be "making better known the country in which we live."²³

The argument over the *yaraví* epitomized the *Mercurio's* larger struggle to articulate and cultivate a distinctly *criollo* Peruvian identity: Spanish, but not Spanish (*peninsulare*);

¹⁷ Catherine Poupney Hart, "Prensa periódica y letras coloniales," *Tinkuy: Boletín de Investigación y Debate*, Serie *Discursos coloniales* 3:14, edited by Catherine Poupney Hart and Tatiana Navallo (Sept. 2010): 16.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Juan José Saldaña, "Science and Public Happiness during the Latin American Enlightenment," in *Science in Latin America: A History*, edited by Saldaña, translated by Bernabé Madrigal (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006), 65.

²¹ "Entre los diversos objetos, que ocuparon las Prensas, ninguno fue mas util, que el de los Papeles Periodicos. Desde la adopcion de ellos se puede casi fixar la época de la ilustracion de las Naciones." Jacinto Calero y Moreira, "Prospecto del papel periodico intitulado *Mercurio peruano*" ([Lima]: La Imprenta Real de los Niños Expositos, 1790), [1].

²² Saldaña, 65.

²³ José Rossi y Rubí, "Idea general del Perú," *Mercurio peruano* I:1 (Jan. 2, 1791): 1.

American, but not American (*mestizo* or *indio*). A combination of native and non-native elements, the *yaraví* was a descendent of the pre-conquest *harawi* or *haravi*. In earlier colonial sources, *harawis* were described as “songs of others’ deeds or the memory of absent beloveds and of love and affection and now are received as devotional or spiritual songs.”²⁴ Guamán Poma de Ayala’s manuscript *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (finished ca. 1613) asserted that they were among the most frequently encountered songs in the Inca empire. He continued:

As a general rule, end-notch flutes (whether of bone or cane) support the melody when an *haravi* is sung. The pangs of love form their most frequent theme. The singer in a typical *haravi* complains that unlucky chance separates him from his beloved, who is as beautiful as the yellow mountain flower of the Andes, the *chinchircoma*. But though apart, he always thinks of her and pursues her like a precious but elusive reflection in the waters. Her deceitful mother seeks to separate them. Her evil father also tries to keep them apart. Even now when he but thinks of her smiling eyes he loses his senses. He has been searching everywhere for her, traversing mountain, river, and villages. Now he can only sit and weep...Or still another way in which an *haravi* could be sung in pre-conquest times was by noble young maidens to the accompaniment of *pincollos* played by young men. Even then, however, the texts seem always to have voiced the young men’s sorrows, not the girls’.²⁵

A member of a Lucana noble family, Poma de Ayala likely depicted the state of the genre before the arrival of the Spanish with some accuracy.²⁶ Through the influence of European music, the *harawi* transformed into the *yaraví*. The principal continuity between the pre- and post-conquest genres consisted in the usual lyrical theme of lost, absent or unrequited love. Musically, the *yaraví* absorbed many European melodic, harmonic and formal conventions. “A slow, lyrical, mestizo genre in triple meter and binary form,” the typical *yaraví*’s “melody is built on a minor tonality, is usually sung in parallel thirds, and has a flexible tempo.”²⁷ Like the pre-conquest *harawi*, the *yaraví* became popular in Peru and surrounding areas. Antonio Pereyra y Ruiz’ 1816 manuscript “Noticia de la Muy Noble, y Muy Leal Ciudad de Arequipa” observed that the *yaraví* “so vitiated public taste that the public will not be satisfied at a concert nowadays without something of the *yaraví* type mixed in.”²⁸

²⁴ “Cantares de hechos de otros o memoria de los amados ausentes y de amor y afición y agora se ha recibido por cantares deuotos y espirituales.” Diego González Holguín, *Vocabulario dela lengva general de todo el Perv llamada lengva Qquichua, o del Inca*, Vol. 1 (Lima: Francisco del Canto, 1608), 145. Quoted in Robert Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1968]), 262, n.37.

²⁵ Translated in Stevenson, 294-5.

²⁶ Stevenson, 294.

²⁷ Raúl R. Romero, “Peru,” *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, Vol. 2 “South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean,” edited by Dale A. Olsen and Daniel E. Sheehy (New York: Garland, 1998), 477.

²⁸ Translated in Stevenson, 305.

Scholars disagree over the identity of the “Rasgo’s” anonymous author, but the conceit of the article – an *ex tempore* disquisition on music by “Sicramio” to his two friends “Leucipo” and “Eurifilo” during a retreat to the countryside – mirrors the convivial exchange of knowledge among men central to the sociability of the *Sociedad*. Further, the tone of the “Rasgo” suggests an enthusiastic amateur more than a trained musician.²⁹ Sicramio’s paean to the *yaraví* recalls all the major tropes of sentimental aesthetics, even though the object of his attention is novel. “Music is a divine language that directly insinuates itself into the spirit,” he begins declaring his allegiance to an aesthetic of spontaneous inspiration and shared feeling:

A pathetic and grave aria [*ayre*] increases the sensation of a wounded chest; and in the indifferent causes a serious and melancholic emotion: a brilliant and majestic tone imprints noble and sublime sentiments: a martial aria [*ayre*] excites bellicose inspirations, and arouses bravery: the cheerful [*aria*] promotes festivity and rejoicing; but where Music imprints its effects with more vivacity, is in those sad tones with which the human heart, without power to resist, is moved: such is the influence that it [Music] has in the *Yaravíes*. Who will not feel themselves moved at hearing this song intoned in its natural and pathetic air [*ayre*]?³⁰

In this South American Arcadia, music emanates directly from nature, one meaning of “ayre” eliding easily into the other. Sicramio channels the sympathy of his readers through numerous rhetorical questions concerning the universal emotional resonance of the *yaraví* and detailing his own personal reactions to hearing them:

As far as I am concerned, I confess with naïveté that when I hear these songs, my spirit collapses inward, my soul becomes distressed, my heart saddens, my senses

²⁹ Stevenson asserts without supporting evidence that “Sicramio” was a pseudonym of the composer José María Tirado. More recently, María del Rosario Solís suggests that *Sociedad* co-founder José Rossi y Rubí penned the “Rasgo,” though her evidence is only circumstantial. Members of the *Sociedad*, and its predecessor, the *Academia Filarmónica*, adopted pseudo-Greek pseudonyms, as had been common in many previous European academies. Rossi y Rubí, for example, typically signed his contributions to the *Mercurio* “Hesperiófilo.” The “Rasgo” is unsigned. See Stevenson, 301, n. 23. María del Rosario Solís, “La obra de José Rossi y Rubí en el *Mercurio* Peruano: búsqueda y creación del lector criollo ilustrado,” *Tinkuy: Boletín de Investigación y Debate, Serie Discursos Coloniales* 1:6 (2007), 84-6.

³⁰ “Es la Musica un idioma divino que se insinua directamente al espiritu...Un ayre patético y grave acrecenta la sensacion de un pecho herido; y en el indiferente causa una emocion seria y melancólica: un tono brillante y magestuoso imprime unos sentimientos nobles y sublimes: un ayre marcial excita alientos guerreros, é infunde valor: el alegre promueve la festividad y regosijo; pero donde la Música imprime sus efectos con mas viveza, es en aquellos tonos tristes con que sin poder resistirse el corazon humano, se conmueve: tal es el influxo que tiene en los Yaravíes. ¿Quien no se sentirá conmovido al oír esta cancion entonada en su ayre natural y patético?” “Rasgo,” 285.

become enchanted and tears moisten my eyes; it is either because of taste that I enjoy hearing them, or because my organic disposition inclines to the pathetic.³¹ Like “Pergolesi,” Sicramio was predisposed to melancholia. He believed that the full effect of the *yaraví* derived from its union of text and music, and provided a sample text to illustrate his point that exhibited the genre’s lovelorn themes.³² Musically, he provided greater detail than any previous author:

Its tones are usually minor, and the modulations call on the major, those [tones] that are included in its composition being the grave *flat*, the sweet *sharp* and the agreeable *Natural*, it [the *yaraví*] allows for admirable appoggiaturas, appropriate legatos and exquisite trills, along with the remaining accidentals [sic] of aspirations and pauses that are the soul of the compositions: its beat is sometimes measured in the time of three by eight, other times of three by four and sometimes of six by eight, the aria [*ayre*] occupying its place [with] *andante*, *andantino*, *largo* and *moderato*: so that all the seriousness becomes part of the inimitable *yaravíes*, which are intoned with *one voice*, with *two voices*, with *three* or accordingly they accommodate the voices that sing them.³³

Sicramio’s description, perhaps unintentionally, highlights the Western influence over the genre. Nevertheless, the *yaraví* was “inimitable” for Sicramio because it arose directly from the ecology of South America and the psychology of the indigenous subject. “Each kingdom, each nation and each providence,” he observed, “has its different character in regard to music.”³⁴ The musics of the Spanish, the French, the Germans, the Italians, the English and the Portuguese, he argued, all possessed unique expressivities (he pronounced Italian music “sweet and amorous,” for example), even though these nations frequently “imitate” one another’s music.³⁵ The *yaravi*, however, did not contain any “foreign” musical elements, he claimed:

[The Indian’s] nature, his condition, his genius and his humor, all are inclined to panic and sadness: his dwellings are dark, with low roofs and melancholy

³¹ “Por lo que á mi toca, confieso con ingenuidad que quando oigo estas canciones se abate mi espíritu, se acongoja el ánimo, el corazon se entristece, los sentidos se encalman, y el llanto humedece mis ojos; bien sea por el gusto que desfruto de oirlos, ó que mi disposicion orgánica se inclina á lo patético.” Ibid., 286.

³² Ibid., 286, 288.

³³ “Sus tonos son por lo regular menores, y las transiciones llaman a mayor, siendo el grave *bemol*, el dulce *sostenido*, y el agradable *Bequadro* los que entran en su composicion, que admite las admirables apoyaturas, los oportunos ligados y primorosos trinos, con los demas accidentes de aspiraciones y pausas que son el alma de las composiciones: su compas es unas veces medido en el tiempo de tres por ocho, otras de tres por quatro, y algunas de seis por ocho, ocupando su lugar el ayre *andante*, *andantino*, *largo* y *moderado*: de suerte que todo lo serio entra á la parte de los inimitables Yaravíes que se entonan á *una voz*, á *duo*, á *trío*, ó segun acomodan las voces que los cantan.” Ibid., 285-6

³⁴ “Cada reyno, cada nacion, y cada provincia tiene su carácter diferente en punto á Musica.” Ibid., 287.

³⁵ Ibid.

stonework: his food [is] meager and the most frugal: his bed humble and on the ground: even his clothing is of some strange and sad colors; whereby all that the Indian does, says and thinks is accompanied with a natural seriousness that his temperament influences. He likes only to hear the mournful song of the *cuculíes* [a native species of dove] and of other ominous and terrible birds, because only that which is gloomy suits him.³⁶

Sicramio's concern with such purity of origin was typical of many contemporary European inventions of "folk" music.³⁷ In fact, the *yaraví*, he contended against all evidence to the contrary, had no non-native elements. Neither did it have a conventional history: the pre-conquest past was made manifest in the present without reference to the centuries-long processes of European colonization. Nevertheless, an element of nostalgia is palatable.³⁸ The *yaraví*, in this vision, was as natural a product of the American environment as the air, birds, rocks and plants that made up the Indian's world. Sicramio's representation of a lone Indian – a bard-like figure, an American Ossian – individualized even as it generalized the musical creativity behind the *yaraví* and provided a sympathetic foil to Sicramio himself, another relay through which to engage the reader's sensibility. Unlike the cosmopolitan national styles of Europe, which borrowed from one another, the *yaraví* in Sicramio's telling emerged as a local, unadulterated, unmediated and therefore emotionally and racially authentic artefact.

Both "Cartas" are signed "T. J. C. y P.," identified by Stevenson as Toribio José del Campo y Pando (1743-1818), a musician who held multiple positions at the Lima Cathedral.³⁹ Like many writers we have encountered in the story of the *Stabat*, Campo y

³⁶ "su natural, su condicion, su genio y su humor, todo es propenso á lo pánico y triste: sus habitaciones son obscuras, de baxas techumbres y de fábrica melancólica: su comida parca y la mas frugal: su lecho humilde y en el suelo: hasta su vestuario es de unos colores extraños y tristes; por lo qual todo quanto el Indio hace, dice y piensa, es acompañado de una natural seriedad que les influye su temperamento. Gustan solo de oír el lúgubre canto de las Cuculíes y de otras aves agoreras y funestas, porque solo aquello tenebroso les acomoda." Ibid.

³⁷ Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music:" Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

³⁸ In the wake of Tupac Amaru II's uprising (1780-3), the Spanish government clamped down on many public displays of traditional Incan culture, including music performances, though its efforts were inadequate to assimilate the native populations into the dominant Spanish culture. See Charles F. Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014), 258-9. A decade later, the *yaraví* could have been seen as a nostalgic symbol and its celebration, perhaps, a subtle critique of the *peninsulare* government.

³⁹ Stevenson, 301, n. 24. According to Andrés Sas, Campo y Pando was an organist, flutist, organ-builder, composer and occasional leader of the orchestra for the Lima Cathedral. See Andrés Sas, *La música en la Catedral de Lima durante el virreinato*, Vol. 1 (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Casa de la Cultura del Perú, 1971), 68. He was also the author of the "Carta...sobre...las Representaciones Dramáticas."

Pando was a well-read musician who took up the pen to insist on music's place among the arts and sciences of the Enlightenment and to wrest public discussion of music away from amateurs and non-professionals. He began his "Carta dirigida" by addressing the *Sociedad* directly on this point ("My Great Lords: is music not of at least the same consideration as botany, history, poetry, medicine, economics and that multitude of things that the *Mercurio peruano* embraces"), before questioning the *Sociedad's* ability to judge musical matters based on their publication of the "Rasgo" ("a confused embryo for what it does to the song").⁴⁰ Campo y Pando's second "Carta" begins by laboriously reaffirming music's scientific and artistic pedigree. He summarizes the major achievements of the previous century in practical, theoretical and aesthetic matters, paying special attention to artistic endeavors in Spain's colonies. In Campo y Pando's eyes, "this new world" possessed "a superior glory" to that of the Ancients. He singles out several notable examples of art and architecture in New Spain and eulogizes several famous musicians. The skill of organist José de Orejón y Aparicio, one of the most famous musicians born in the Spanish colonies, is described enthusiastically and "the incomparable Campo," the author's father, passed on to "his posterity the safest path for the operation of the most excellent organs."⁴¹ Campo y Pando's musical horizon was not limited to the Spanish Americas. He judged the harmonic and temperament experiments of his father to be on a par with those of Jean-Philippe Rameau and the Parisian *Académie des sciences*. He also recognized the achievements of the Milanese and Neapolitan music schools, Corelli in the field of instrumental composition and d'Alembert "in the science of music."⁴² And his admiration for Orejón y Aparicio was unequalled, "until we saw and heard the works of Terradellas, and the immortal Pergolesi."⁴³

Campo y Pando was "formally disgusted" and "irritated at the same time" after reading the "Rasgo" and resolved thereafter to prepare his own "analysis." In place of the enthusiastic emotionalism of Sicramio, who "succumbed to sentiment," Campo y Pando offers "a rigorous dissection" of the historical, social and musical aspects of the *yaraví*.⁴⁴ Campo y Pando first removed the genre from Sicramio's timeless Arcadia and inserted it within the history of Peru. "*Yaravíes*," he explained, "are compositions made in times of calamity," including "the catastrophe succeeding the dethronement of the Peruvian

⁴⁰ "Muy Señores míos: no es la Música de ménos consideracion que la Botánica, la Historia, la Poética, Medicina, Economia, y esa multitude de cosas que abraza el Mercurio Peruano...un embrion confuso por lo que hace á la cancion." Campo y Pando, "Carta dirigida...", 33. The "Nota de la *Sociedad*" that follows Campo y Pando's first "Carta" suggests that the society's members were surprised by the challenge to their vetting process. It also does suggest that someone in the *Sociedad* had indeed written the "Rasgo" and the remainder of the *Sociedad* was coming to his defense.

⁴¹ "á sus pósteros la senda más seguro para la operación de los mas excelentes órganos." Campo y Pando, "Carta sobre la música," IV:117, 109.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 110.

⁴³ "hasta que vimos, y oimos las obras de Terradellas, y del inmortal Pergolesi." *Ibid.*, 111.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 112.

Prince.”⁴⁵ He continued by placing the *yaraví* within the larger corpus of indigenous genres (*cascabelillo, negrito, cachua*) to demonstrate the range of emotions musically expressed by native peoples.⁴⁶ Next, he took up his own manuscript collection of twelve *yaravíes*, which included the one quoted by Sicramio, to rebut much of what Sicramio said about the genre.⁴⁷ The first part of the “Carta” ended with Campo y Pando questioning the *yaraví*’s “inimitability:”

[W]hat basis [*fundamento*] is there to assert that this song is inimitable? It should be well known, that the street corner sonnets; these of the black Galindo, are all of the same class. This other little sonnet that they call the *zango*, is full of the same transitions [*transiciones*, as in harmonic progressions/modulations] as the *yaraví*: and its difference consists in that the song brings the precise character of the passion without varying the tonic [*fundamento*]. The *yaraví* with the same modulations and transitions [*trancisiones*] brings the *gloomy*; and the *zango* that of the zany and the amusing.⁴⁸

The second part of the “Carta” began with Campo y Pando concluding that his “analysis results in the knowledge of the little merit of this type of music.”⁴⁹ He believed that “anyone who possesses the rules and has a lively and fertile imagination” could imitate the *yaraví*’s style.⁵⁰ The similarities between the *yaraví* and the *zango* indicate that the musical language they employ was not expansive enough to differentiate between divergent emotions.⁵¹ And their failure to follow the rules of harmony and melody necessarily placed them in an inferior position next to the masterpieces of European music, namely Pergolesi’s *Stabat mater*.⁵² Though I have yet to find a record of a performance or a copy of musical materials from the eighteenth century in a Peruvian source or archive, Campo y Pando spoke as though he had both heard the piece and studied the score.⁵³ He aligned his assessment of the *Stabat* with received opinion, praising Pergolesi’s music as “clear, simple,

⁴⁵ “Los Yaravíes...son unas composiciones hechas en los tiempos de calamidad...la catástrofe sucedida en el destrono del Príncipe Peruano.” Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 113.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 113-4.

⁴⁸ “¿que fundamento hay para tener este *canto* por inimitable? Debe saberse pues, que los sonetes de las esquinas; esos del negro Galindo, todos son de la misma clase. Ese otro sonetillo que llaman el *zango*, está lleno de las mismas transiciones que el Yaraví: y su diferencia consiste, en que el *canto* lleva el carácter preciso de la pasión sin variar el fundamento. El Yaraví con las mismas modulaciones y transiciones lleva el *tétrico*; y el *zango* el de el descamino y el deleyte.” Ibid., 114.

⁴⁹ “análisis resulta el conocimiento del poco mérito de esta especie de Música.” Campo y Pando, “Carta sobre la música,” IV:118, 116.

⁵⁰ “qualquiera que posea las reglas, y tenga la imaginacion viva y fértil.” Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ According to Sas, there was an extant eighteenth-century copy of a Pergolesi Mass in the archive of the Lima Cathedral before 1809/10. See Sas, 189.

sweet and where vigorous melody reigns.”⁵⁴ Sentimentality only crept into Campo y Pando’s description of the piece as he switched to the media “we,” diffusing the emotional experience. “We confess to be in agreement that after listening to the first verse we remain enraptured, [and] that there are no expressions with which to describe the joy and satisfaction the soul receives.”⁵⁵ But he was careful to ascribe the *Stabat*’s arousal of affect to particular musical details and material causes. “Dissonant intervals [*las especies falsas*] exacerbate the timpani of the ear and prepare it to feel in all their sweetness consonant intervals [*las especies buenas*].”⁵⁶ Speaking of the fourth bar of the first movement, he noted “...that harmonious tritone that exasperates the sentiment, when it moves to its resolution, submerges the heart in the abyss of sadness.”⁵⁷ Uncommonly for the eighteenth century, Campo y Pando lavished the most praise on “Fac ut ardeat,” the middle fugue. He admires Pergolesi’s theme (which, again, is a stock Neapolitan contrapuntal device) for “its force and its extension” and its “rigorous imitation.”⁵⁸ Overall, this movement had something for everyone:

It lights the singer on fire; the instrumental ensemble becomes inflamed: the listener becomes ecstatic, the connoisseur admires the harmonic dissonances, the sensible consonances, the sweet harmony and the active melody.⁵⁹

Campo y Pando ended his disquisition by insisting that only pieces such as the *Stabat*, and this fugue in particular, could be considered “inimitable,” pieces that exhibited exceptional compositional brilliance as demonstrated through analysis.⁶⁰

What Maureen McLane observes about “eighteenth-century literary-cultural disputes with a decidedly culturally nationalistic turn” applies equally to musical debates. They “must be understood also as media controversies: arguments about mediums and mediation.”⁶¹ Nationalism was one set of responses to music’s increasing mobility and the increased awareness of how musical practices varied across the globe. The dominance of

⁵⁴ “clara, sencilla, dulce, en donde reyna la vigorosa melodia.” Campo y Pando, “Carta sobre la música,” IV:118, 117.

⁵⁵ “Confesemos de acuerdo, que despues de oir el primer verso quedamos tan enagenados, que no se hallan expresiones con que manifestar el gozo y satisfaccion que recibe el alma.” Ibid., 116.

⁵⁶ “Resulta de que las especies falsas exâserban el timpano del oido, y lo preparan para sentir en toda su dulzura las especies buenas.” Ibid., 116-7.

⁵⁷ “aquel tritóno harmonioso que exâspera el sentimiento; al desenlace en su salad, sumerge el corazon en el abismo de la tristeza.” Ibid., 117.

⁵⁸ “su fuerza y su extension...la rigurosa imitacion.” Ibid.

⁵⁹ “Se pone en fuego el cantor; el instrumentario se enardece: el oyente se arrebatá; y el sabio admira acorde la disonancia, sensible la consonante, dulce la *harmonia*, y la *melodia* activa.” Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 117-8.

⁶¹ Maureen McLane, “Mediating Antiquarians in Britain, 1760-1830: The Invention of Oral Tradition, or, Close Reading before Coleridge,” in *This is Enlightenment*, edited by Siskin and Warner (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 248. McLane gives the Ossian controversy as an example.

Italianate music, and its association with artistic progress, provoked two intertwined, but inherently antagonistic, views of musical nationalism. One sought national identity in repertoires and musical practices that pre-dated media proliferation, music that was viewed as somehow “old” or “local” and in some sense untouched by the consequences of global mediation. The other tied national identity to artistic progress, whether a nation’s musical culture met or exceeded universal standards. The nationalisms articulated by Sicramio and Campo y Pando correspond respectively to these paradigms. Sicramio uses the *yaraví* as a conduit to a national identity rooted in the soil of South America. He essentializes the “Indian” and then uses this representation as part of his own *criollo* self-fashioning. Sentiment binds his ideas together and encourages readers to identify with a “Peruvian-ness” categorically different from the “Spanish,” the “Italian,” the “French” and so forth. Campo y Pando, whom Stevenson describes as a “culturano,”⁶² rejected Sicramio’s *criollo*-fabricated indigenous culture in favor of the European heritage and its standards and practices. For him, the “rules” of harmony applied equally everywhere and the progress of music in his homeland to the point where Orejón y Aparicio measures up against the “immortal” Pergolesi was a source of national pride.

The debate between Sicramio and Campo y Pando transposed the debate in Spain over the *Stabat* to the New World. One of the earliest references to the piece in Spanish comes from José Cadalso’s satirical *Los eruditos a la violeta* (Madrid, 1772), a “complete course in all the sciences...for those who pretend to know much, [while] studying little.”⁶³ “Of music,” Cadalso wrote, “there is much to say” – except there was not, since all modern music paled in comparison to that of the ancients.⁶⁴ With obvious sarcasm, he opined “[o]ur music is...without connection, modulation nor domination over the soul: neither the *Stabat mater* of Pergolesi, nor the *tonadillas* of Misón are capable of moving a [single] key [tecla] of the infinities that the well-tempered organ of the human heart possesses.”⁶⁵ Cadalso summarizes here all modern music through the antipodes of the cosmopolitan and sacred *Stabat* and the Spanish and secular *tonadillas* (similar to intermezzi) of Luis Misón (1727-1776). Cadalso’s pithy satire skewered the formulaic and simplistic judgments of music in circulation among his contemporaries.⁶⁶ Variations on this dichotomy would reappear in Spanish musical discourse in the next decades. Vicente Adan, in his *Documentos para instruccion de músicos y aficionados* (Madrid, 1786), urged the study of “obras extranjeras” to master church composition, “principally the magisterial ones...in the

⁶² Stevenson, 302.

⁶³ “curso completo de todas las ciencias...de los que pretenden saber mucho, estudiando poco.”

⁶⁴ José Cadalso, *Los eruditos a la violeta* (Madrid: Don Antonio de Sancha, 1772), 62.

⁶⁵ “Nuestra música está...sin conexión, sin modulación, ni dominación sobre el alma: ni el *Stabat mater* del Pergolese, ni las tonadillas de Misón son capaces de mover una tecla de las infinitas que tiene el buen templado órgano del corazón humano.” Ibid.

⁶⁶ Such judgments were of course the most mobile kinds of judgments and the *Stabat*, as has been shown through out this dissertation, was frequently the recipient of such anecdotal aesthetic pronouncements.

Italian style,” the *Stabat* settings of Haydn and Pergolesi and the *Miserere* of Jommelli.⁶⁷ Anacleto de Leta’s repost to the *Documentos*, the *Carta Laudatoria á Don Vicente Adan* (Madrid, 1786), “agrees” that it would be better to study the works of these composers than those of Cristóbal de Morales, Palestrina, Tomás Luis de Victoria, Carlos Patiño, Sebastián Durón and other Spanish composers from previous centuries.⁶⁸ A similar disagreement concerning Italian influences in Spanish church music emerges between the writings of Benito Jerónimo Feijóo and Gaspar de Molina y Saldívar, the latter upholding the *Stabat* as a worthy model for church musicians to follow.⁶⁹ These treatises established the *Stabat* as emblematic, if anecdotally so, of musical cosmopolitanism and progress in Spain. Campo y Pando’s descent from these Spanish proponents of the *Stabat* is signaled by his partiality towards the “Fac ut ardeat” fugue, which appears to have been more popular in Spain than elsewhere in Europe.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Vicente Adan, *Documentos para instruccion de musicos y aficionados* (Madrid: Joseph Otero, 1786), 11.

⁶⁸ Anacleto de Leta, *Carta laudatoria á Don Vicente Adan* (Madrid: La Imprenta Real, 1786), 46.

⁶⁹ Gaspar de Molina y Saldívar, *Reflexiones sobre la arquitectura, ornato, y musica del templo* (Madrid: D. Joachín Ibarra, 1785), 364, 409.

⁷⁰ Eximeno made similar claims regarding Pergolesi’s contrapuntal skill in the roughly contemporaneous *Don Lazarillo Vizcardi* and several individual transcriptions for organ of the fugue alone survive in Spanish sources. “How gracious is not the fugue that Pergolesi made in his *Stabat mater* on the words “Fac ut ardeat cor meum” [¡Qué graciosa no es la fuga que hace Pergolese en su *Stabat Mater* sobre las palabras: Fac ut ardeat cor meum].” See Antonio Eximeno, *Don Lazarillo Vizcardi: Sus investigaciones músicas con ocasion del concurso á un magisterio de capilla vacante*, edited by F.A. Barbieri, Vol. 1 (Madrid: [M. Rivadeneyra], 1872), 268. One transcription survives in a manuscript collection of organ “versos” in the Escorial library (E-E, RBME. 179-3 (9)). For a modern edition, see “Verso,” in *Nueva biblioteca española de música de teclado*, edited by Antonio Baciero, Vol. 1 (Madrid: Union Musical Española, 1977), 66-8. A second transcription by José Polo is really a new fugue on the same Neapolitan schema as Pergolesi’s. For a modern edition, see “Obra orgánica sobre el verso “Fac ut ardeat” de Pergolesi,” in *Músicos Aragoneses en Valencia en el siglo XVIII*, Tecla Aragonesa VII, edited by Vicente Ros (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, Sección de Música Antigua, Excma. Diputación Provincial, 2000), 38-43. In both examples, Pergolesi’s original composition is treated more or less as a starting point for contrapuntal fantasy, in the same manner that a typical Spanish “verso” would treat a bit of plainchant. These acts of transcription/recomposition are thus also acts of mediating music’s history and acts of homage. As with the treatises that excerpted the *Stabat*’s opening, these sources represented the fugue’s opening as Pergolesi’s original material and not a Neapolitan schema. This phenomenon was not limited to Spain. For an almost exact keyboard transcription of “Fac ut ardeat” see D-DI, MS Mus.2354-U-1 (RISM No. 211011832) and for a new keyboard fugue fashioned from Pergolesi’s opening schema see the manuscript of six fugues by “Handel” in D-B, Mus.ms. 9169 (RISM No. 452014000).

In Spain, as in other European countries, the *Stabat* was a focal point around which questions of artistic progress in music versus national identity were debated. But in transposing these questions to a colonial context and to non-European music, the aesthetic calculus shifted. Vanessa Agnew recounts the shock that European travelers experienced when confronted with the affective capacities of non-European music. Not only were they amazed at the power it had over indigenous peoples, but they themselves frequently felt moved or overwhelmed by music completely foreign to them.⁷¹ Sicramio's account belongs to this species of "Orphic discourse;" the *yaraví* exhibiting a singular ability to move not just indigenous listeners but anyone who hears it. In the context of the *Mercurio's* political agenda, the *yaraví's* claim to universal sympathetic communication must be seen as articulating the incipient social bonds of a "nation." As in Leta and Feijóo, this involved an appeal to shared, remote past, even if the discourses of sentiment were foreign to them. For Campo y Pando, who belonged to the highest echelon of Lima's musical profession, the *Stabat* was not a "foreign work," but part of an aesthetic system valid anywhere on the globe. Its introduction to Peru was a milestone in the country's cultural development. But when juxtaposed with non-European music, the *Stabat* had to shed some of the sensibility that had originally marked its epoch-making modernity. Campo y Pando's celebration of its compositional artifice is used to distinguish the *Stabat* and elevate it above the "natural" *yaraví*. This published discourse (re)produced, in a colonial context, the distinction between "folk" and "art" music already being articulated in Europe. But, the widening of this division also required an aesthetic reconfiguration: the forms of sympathetic communication associated with mid-eighteenth-century masterpieces such as the *Stabat* would become part of the ideology of folk music, while art music now required a degree of complexity previously condemned by enlightened critics as artificial and pedantic. In order for the *Stabat* to retain a position in the shifting canon of European "art" music, its artifice had to be highlighted at the expense of its natural communication of sentiment, its harmony over its melody, "Fac ut ardeat" over "Vidit suum." While the *Stabat* managed to survive this transition with prestige intact in this instance, its sentimental legacy would eventually make its "high art" status problematic.

New published media formats – the *Mercurio*, the *Sociedad*, etc. – transported the nationalism debate to the New World and made different music its subject. They staged new musical encounters between the nascent categories of folk and art music. But before this debate could happen, folk music itself had to be invented, and this would not have been possible without the mediation of Italianate musical styles. No *harawi* or *yaraví* survives from the 1790s; no trace of either the example quoted by Sicramio or Campo y Pando's collection of twelve. A sole *villancico* ("Una pobre serranita") from the first decades of the nineteenth century, whose *coplas* are in mixed Quechua/Spanish and are subtitled "*yaraví*," gives only an imperfect idea.⁷² Otherwise, the earliest examples appear in *Antigüedades Peruanas* (Vienna, 1851).⁷³ One of the three is given here (Music Example 4.1):

⁷¹ Agnew, 95-7. Her account deals mostly with James Cook's travels in Polynesia.

⁷² Illari, 430-3.

⁷³ Mariano Eduardo de Rivero and Juan Diego de Tschudi, *Antigüedades peruanas* (Vienna: Imprenta Imperial de la Corte y del Estado, 1851), 135-8.

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "III. Haravi por re menor" from the collection "Antigüedades peruanas". The score is written for piano and is organized into five systems, each consisting of a treble and bass staff. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The piece begins with a treble staff featuring a series of chords and a melodic line, while the bass staff provides a steady accompaniment. The first system (measures 1-3) shows the initial entry of the piece. The second system (measures 4-5) continues the melodic development in the treble. The third system (measures 6-8) introduces a more complex texture with sixteenth-note patterns in the treble. The fourth system (measures 10-13) features a repeat sign and a change in the bass line. The fifth system (measures 14-17) concludes the piece with a final cadence. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings typical of a piano score.

Music Example 4.1: "III. Haravi por re menor" from *Antigüedades peruanas*.

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "III. Haravi por re menor". The score is written for piano and consists of four systems of music, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The first system begins at measure 19. The second system begins at measure 23. The third system begins at measure 27. The fourth system begins at measure 30. The music features a mix of chords and melodic lines, with some chromaticism and irregular phrasing. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4.

Music Example 4.1 (cont.): "III. Haravi por re menor"

From this example, it is hard to make out what of the *harawi* remained in the *yaraví*, especially since the absence of text eliminates one of the crucial genre-defining elements. Stevenson notes of these examples that, "[t]he mawkish Italian sentiment and frequent parallel thirds in the first, the Alberti bass in the second, and the "thirdsiness" of the third make it hard to believe any of them a purely indigenous composition."⁷⁴ Save for the occasional chromaticisms and the irregular phrase structure, the texture, ornamentation, walking bass-line (bars 1-2) and deceptive cadence schema (bars 3-4) strongly recall eighteenth-century Italianate keyboard pieces. "Hybridization" does not adequately describe the process by which the *harawi* became the *yaraví* judging from these examples. Whatever indigenous artefacts they were based on, passed not only through the medium of

⁷⁴ Stevenson, 300, n. 21.

Western notation, but through the medium of the keyboard and the haptic approach to composition cultivated by Italianate pedagogy. Sicramio's nationalist program of course required him, even if he was musically astute enough to make such judgments, to efface the European part of the *yaraví's* heritage. But what made the sentiment of the *yaraví* legible to him was the syntactical guideposts and schemata that stemmed from the Neapolitan-Italian aspects of the *yaraví*. Eighteenth-century examples of folk music packaged for commercial consumption from *Orpheus Caledonius* (1733) onwards demonstrate the influence of an Italianate style on the folk idiom,⁷⁵ a connection progressively reinforced by the gradual peripheralization of Italy itself, and particularly the Italian South, in eighteenth-century notions of Europe.⁷⁶ The mediation of indigenous musics by the Neapolitan-Italian style allowed for European and non-European musics to be compared, contrasted and evaluated as they were in the pages of the *Mercurio peruano*. The Neapolitan-Italian style brought Ibero-American folk musics into focus by allowing their reproduction through media technologies like the keyboard and the score. As Ana María Ochoa Gautier has shown, the spaces where ostensibly "literate" and ostensibly "aural" cultures intersected in colonial Latin America were productive of new kinds of identities.⁷⁷

Campo y Pando saved the *Stabat's* reputation by distancing it from sentimental aesthetics and thereby the new folk sensibility articulated by Sicramio. But as the line between folk and art music became more clearly demarcated, the *Stabat's* reputation, nurtured for decades by the aesthetics of sensibility, became imperiled. In François-René de Chateaubriand's *Génie du christianisme* (Paris, 1803), Pergolesi's "variety" of dolorous expressions became a "distraction." "Unity," he claims, "is necessary for sentiment."⁷⁸ Strophic songs, "our old French romances," better imitated nature, he argued, because "the man who suffers, promenades his thoughts thus across different images, while the base of his sorrow remains always the same."⁷⁹ Though Pergolesi "deployed...all the riches of his art," he failed in the *Stabat* to "surpass the simple song [*chant*] of the church."⁸⁰ Presumably, Gregorian chant possessed a "unity" of "sentiment" similar to "old romances." Chateaubriand, like Sicramio, turns the discourse of sentiment on its head in order to praise older, non-art music, in this instance attacking the *Stabat* for lacking qualities that were once widely attributed to it. "Art" music would relinquish to "folk" music the naturalness and simplicity of sentiment that had been central to the *Stabat's* reception.

⁷⁵ This is to say that the melodic, harmonic and ornamental elements that connote the "folk" idiom only become legible as such against the backdrop of the universalized, common practice, *lingua franca* that was Neapolitan/Italian style.

⁷⁶ Nelson Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 2-3.

⁷⁷ Ana María Ochoa Gautier, *Auralty: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

⁷⁸ François-René de Chateaubriand, *Génie du christianisme*, Vol. 3 (Paris: Migneret, 1803), 7-8.

⁷⁹ "l'homme qui souffre promène ainsi ses pensées sur différentes images, tandis que le fond de ses chagrins reste le même." *Ibid.*, 8.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

After decades of media proliferation, media itself were becoming naturalized, and the discourse of emotional immediacy no longer served a purpose in acclimating users to new media environments. During this period of increasing media saturation, notions of unmediated expressivity would increasingly be projected on to older corpuses of musics - European and non-European, folk and non-folk - that were being (re)discovered, (re)evaluated and often (re)created around 1800. Predating eighteenth-century media proliferation, these repertoires could be represented as “less mediated,” whereas the hindsight of decades had left the *Stabat*’s artiness and artifice increasingly apparent. Those, like Campo y Pando, who still wished to make a case for the *Stabat* had to adapt their praise to shifting criteria.

MEDIA AESTHETICS II: SATURATION

HIM: It should be forbidden by order of the police for anyone of any quality or status to arrange a performance of Pergolesi’s *Stabat Mater*. This *Stabat* should have been burnt by the public executioner.

Denis Diderot, *Le Neveu de Rameau*

(written during the 1760s and early 70s)⁸¹

Aesthetic investments in the *Stabat* were investments in new media: their ability to circulate music, to link people together and to create new forms of sociability. With saturation, the *Stabat*’s once remarkable and unprecedented mobility and immediacy of expression became commonplace. The reception history of the *Stabat* served as a “platform” for those of other musical works.⁸² Media saturation most clearly manifested itself, though, as a contradiction in aesthetic discourse: a backlash against the effects of media proliferation propagated through the very media that had recently become less visible. The effect of media saturation was to discipline the unruly proliferations of media, often while looking back nostalgically to a supposedly less mediated past. Particularly in France and England, the eighteenth century’s capacious and multifaceted understanding of sympathy was circumscribed and policed in order to “quarantine” possible sympathetic “contagions” among the expanding and diversifying media-consuming public.⁸³ New

⁸¹ Denis Diderot, *Rameau’s Nephew – Le Neveu de Rameau*, edited by Marian Hobson, translated by Kate E. Tunstall and Caroline Warman (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2016), 74.

⁸² Siskin and Warner frame Romanticism as built on the “platform” of the Enlightenment. See Clifford Siskin and William Warner, “If This is Enlightenment Then What is Romanticism?” *European Romantic Review* 22:3 (Jun., 2011): 281-91.

⁸³ Mary Fairclough has explicated how the French Revolution problematized sympathetic communication as a medium that united large groups of people into revolutionary mobs. Sympathy’s latent ability to destabilized society as well as individual autonomy, inspiring individuals to relinquish self-control to participate in revolutionary activity, required its careful supervision. See Mary Fairclough, *The Romantic Crowd: Sympathy, Controversy and Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 59-124.

generic boundaries were affirmed to circumscribe the mobility of music and audiences. With music's "public" established and its international circulation assured, a new generation of aestheticians began rejecting the *liebhaber* for the *kenner*, the cosmopolitan for the autochthonous, the mobility of feeling for the transcendence of the material world and the self. The *Stabat* ultimately became the victim of this shift. In this milieu, the *Stabat's* palpable mediacy became an aesthetic liability.

Boyer's *Notices*, appearing only two years after the high-water mark of the *Stabat's* public performance in 1770, showed some of the earliest signs of saturation. His closing remarks on Pergolesi's music suggest that the frisson of novelty that had attended the initial dissemination of his music had begun to wear away:

The Italians...reproach him [Pergolesi] for his *repetizioni*, a style sometimes too abrupt [coupé]; the main voice a little too subordinate to the lower parts, which have sometimes so engaged him that he makes them shine at the expense of this melodic unity [unité de mélodie] that composers recommend so much.⁸⁴

Even if Boyer was relaying judgments second-hand, these comments indicate that by the 1770s Neapolitan style had begun to achieve saturation. As one of the most crucial protocols for music's new mobility, the saturation of Neapolitan style was a harbinger of the saturation of other musical media forms. Only after audiences across Europe had learned and internalized Neapolitan musical formulas could the seams of Pergolesi's music begin to show as Boyer describes. Among post-Boyer Pergolesi partisans, a note of defensiveness reinforces the notion that Neapolitan style had become saturated. Grétry felt compelled to vindicate the *Stabat* from those who dismissed its lack of variety. He claimed that more variety would ruin the "truth" of the work, distracting from Mary's monolithic despair.⁸⁵ Grétry and others defended Pergolesi from critics who, like an anonymous reviewer for the *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* (1793), labeled Pergolesi's *Stabat* "monotonous." The *Zeitung* reviewer preferred Rodewald's *Stabat*, which, like Pergolesi's, was "simple," "noble," "beautiful" and "touching."⁸⁶ However, the latter's "contains even more," "everywhere power and wealth of harmony," occasional "bold and striking...modulations" and the use of winds and horn.⁸⁷ Composers of the generations after Pergolesi and his contemporaries built and elaborated on Neapolitan syntax without ever abandoning its basic premise. The simplicity of the *Stabat*, which had once been so

⁸⁴ "Mais ils lui reprochent les *repetizioni*, un style par fois trop coupé; le chant principal un peu trop subordonné aux parties les plus basses, ce qui l'a engagé quelquefois à faire briller celles-ci au dépend de cette unité de mélodie que les compositeurs recommandent tant." Pascal Boyer, "Notices sur le vie et les ouvrages de Pergolèse," *Mercure de France* 2 (Jul., 1772): 172.

⁸⁵ André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, *Mémoires ou Essais sur la musique* (Paris: L'Auteur; Prault; Les Marchands de Nouveautés; Liège: F. J. Desoer, 1789), 88-91.

⁸⁶ "einfacher, edler und grosser Stil und schöner, rührender und bedeutender Gesang." "Das berühmte *Stabat mater* von Pergolesi, und das noch unberühmte von Rodewald," *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung. Historischen und kritischen Inhalts* 9 (Apr. 6, 1793): 33.

⁸⁷ "Aber es enthält noch mehr: überall Kraft und Reichthum der Harmonie und schöne, hin und wieder dreiste und frappante, obwohl stets ungezwungene Modulation." *Ibid.*

novel and so vital in instructing Europeans in Neapolitan mannerisms, was becoming hackneyed.

With the saturation of Neapolitan style came a perception that composers of Pergolesi's generation, the first musical "moderns," now belonged to a historical past. Writers in the final decades of the century began confronting the question of what happens after the onset of modernity. Or, as they phrased the question: since the time of Pergolesi had music continued to progress or had it declined? Francesco Milizia's *Trattato completo, formale e materiale del teatro* (Venice, 1794) made the case for the latter. Music was "charged with decline after Vinci and Pergolesi," lost to a faddish "desire to surprise by means of novelty." Only by recapturing the "simplicity that made Vinci and Pergolesi famous" could music again "please," "instruct" and affect the "heart." Echoing a host of earlier aestheticians, he insisted that "only beautiful simplicity can imitate nature."⁸⁸ Vincenzo Manfredini, in his *Difesa di musica moderna* (1788), took the opposite view, but avoided consigning Pergolesi to a historical dustbin. He cast Corelli, Bononcini, Vinci, Pergolesi, the Scarlattis, Porpora, Marcello, Handel and Clari as "ancient" composers and insisted that "modern" composers (a list that included Leo, Durante, Hasse, Galuppi, Jommelli, Traetta and Pergolesi again) excelled over their predecessors. "[M]odern music," he declared, "is superior to ancient music in its most essential part, which is without the slightest doubt good melody, which consists in delightful and varied singing." Pergolesi, a "sublime genius," is the sole exception to the dull and unvaried melody of the ancients.⁸⁹ The saturation of Neapolitan style decoupled musical "simplicity" from "modernity." Modern music, for better or worse, would now be considered more complex and varied than ancient. To be sure, not everyone had yet experienced the passing of the Neapolitan school. Francesco Galeazzi (*Elementi teorico-pratici di Musica*, 1791) still wrote as if the reign of Neapolitan music had not ended. But as music history expanded its horizons, with new music continuing to be written and, more importantly, older music more widely circulated, Pergolesi's place in history shrank. Grigorii Orlov (*Essai sur l'histoire de la musique en Italie*, 1822) placed Pergolesi and Vinci within the fourth of six periods of dramatic music, his periodization stretching from Peri and Monteverdi – largely forgotten figures during the eighteenth century – to Haydn and Cherubini.⁹⁰ For Orlov in 1822, even the period following Pergolesi's had passed.

⁸⁸ Francesco Milizia, "Complete Formal and Material Treatise on the Theater," translated in Enrico Fubini, *Music & Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe: A Source Book*, translations by Wolfgang Freis, Lisa Gasbarrone, Michael Louis Leone, translations edited by Bonnie J. Blackburn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 254.

⁸⁹ Vincenzo Manfredini, "Defense of Modern Music and Its Celebrated Performers," in Enrico Fubini, *Music & Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe: A Source Book*, translations by Wolfgang Freis, Lisa Gasbarrone, Michael Louis Leone, translations edited by Bonnie J. Blackburn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 355-6.

⁹⁰ Grigorii Orlov, *Essai sur l'histoire de la musique en Italie, depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours*, Vol. 1 (Paris: P. Dufart; Chasseriau, 1822), 110.

Siskin and Warner describe Romanticism as “the experience of the Enlightenment as a historical event:” a “coming to terms with what had just happened.”⁹¹ Coming to terms with Pergolesi’s place in music’s history was tantamount to coming to terms with musical media proliferation. Some in the early nineteenth century pushed Milizia’s decline still further as a way to critique Enlightenment aesthetics. For early Romantics, the semi-mythical figure of Palestrina proved useful in constructing a compelling counter to the predominant eighteenth-century narrative of Neapolitan musical apotheosis.⁹² Reactionary rather than conservative, aiming to reset the clock more than to stop time, the Palestrina revival’s (re)imagining of the past was distinct from the “pasts” created by the Academy of Ancient Music or the Concert Spirituel. Burney arguably launched the revival with *La musica che si canta annualmente nelle funzioni della Settimana Santa, nella Cappella Pontificia* (London, 1771), containing Palestrina’s 8-voice *Stabat mater* among other pieces. During the 1790s, Palestrina began occupying media real estate adjacent to Pergolesi. The 1795-6 concert season allowed Stockholm audiences to sample Palestrina (*Popule meus*) alongside Pergolesi’s *Stabat*,⁹³ while Herder’s 1793 essay “Cäcelia,” embedded Palestrina’s name among a list of notable composers of sacred music, flanked by Leo, Durante, Pergolesi, Handel and C.P.E. Bach.⁹⁴ Early Romantics gravitated to atypically homophonic and syllabic works by Palestrina, like the *Stabat mater* and *Popule meus*, skewing the early nineteenth century’s image of Palestrina’s style. Like Pergolesi, Palestrina would be associated with a stripped-down, antique “simplicity,” but a simplicity conjoined to a harmonic rather than melodic ideal.⁹⁵

For German Romantics in particular, Palestrina offered a means to critique the French aesthetics and Italian music that had inundated Central Europe as a result of media proliferation. Palestrina’s most zealous converts effectively rewrote music history, consigning Pergolesi and most eighteenth-century Italian music to a period of decline following the death of Palestrina. Friedrich Reichardt (1791) believed that Pergolesi ignored the “lofty school [hohe schule]” of Palestrina.⁹⁶ In *Alte und Neue Kirchenmusic* (1814), E.T.A. Hoffmann placed Pergolesi’s *Stabat* and Jommelli’s *Miserere* in “[t]he middle [period] between the music of actual worship and the spiritual drama,”⁹⁷ between “old and new church music.” Even Tieck, despite his attachment to Pergolesi’s *Stabat*, still displaced Pergolesi from the historical position he had long held. The history of Catholic music summarized in Tieck’s *Phantasmus* was divided into three periods. The first was that of

⁹¹ Siskin and Warner, “Romanticism?,” 285.

⁹² James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁹³ Patrik Vretblad, *Konsertlivet i Stockholm under 1700-talet* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & söner, [1918]), 258.

⁹⁴ Quoted in Garratt, 39.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 43-5.

⁹⁶ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 41.

⁹⁷ “Das Mittel zwischen der Musik des eigentlichen Kultus und dem geistlichen Drama.” E.T.A. Hoffmann, “Alte und Neue Kirchenmusic,” in *Schriften zur Musik*, text revision and notes by Hans-Joachim Kruse, edited by Viktor Liebrecht (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1988), 235.

Palestrina: the “singing, sustained without rapid movement, is sufficient unto itself, and calls unto our souls the image of eternity.”⁹⁸ During the following period, that of Marcello and Leo, the art of music had “diverted from this pure, sacred path,” but desired “to take back by storm that old innocence and conquer paradise again.”⁹⁹ By the time of Pergolesi, “sacred music...[was] exactly like a child playing and dawdling, innocently wallowing and splashing in the sweetness of tone, and, in a gentle manner, pain and joy mixed together in the loveliest of melodies.”¹⁰⁰ Though Tieck’s historical trajectory does not completely write off Pergolesi, it established new aesthetic criteria for religious music that devalued the *Stabat*. Early German Romantics rejected the “gradual decline into theatricality” that they saw in religious music during the eighteenth century, the growing presence of operatic elements in church music that the *Stabat*’s fame symbolized for Joseph Richter and others.¹⁰¹ The ostensible generic purity of Palestrina’s music evoked the purity of religious experience, uncorrupted by sentiment or the cosmopolitan admixture of musical style. Reichardt, Hoffmann and Tieck’s interest in Palestrina was never merely an antiquarian endeavor. The Palestrina myth formed part of a new aesthetic of religious music, which moved away from depictions of the all-too-human feelings of Biblical characters to engage with representations of the ineffable and transcendent, Tieck’s “image of eternity.”

We have already seen the beginnings of this aesthetic shift in the writings of Tieck, Wieland and Wackenroder, discussed at the end of Chapter 2. The proliferation of spiritual concerts had created a marketplace for spiritual works and such compositions developed a certain prestige among the most high-minded segments of the music-consuming public. The re-sacralization of these works was a sign of the saturation of concert media, the ubiquity of the concert experience, allowed audiences to reimagine it as a quasi-religious experience. But the reception history of the *Stabat*, which bound the piece to the earthly materiality of sentiment and media, ultimately proved incompatible with the new dictates of spiritual music. John Hubbard came close to making this point in his *An Essay on Music* (Boston, 1808), discussing the difference between the sublime and the beautiful in the context of religious music. Handel’s “Hallelujah” Chorus epitomized the sublime in music, while Pergolesi’s “Eja mater,” the beautiful.¹⁰² The sublime overwhelmed the senses (“the mind is lost in admiration...almost incapable of contemplating the great ideas thus presented”), while the beautiful can only “ravish” and “charm.” Hubbard’s “beautiful” belongs to the same category as Tieck’s “innocent wallowing and splashing in the sweetness of tone” – it is music of concrete sensory gratification. “Few writers have given us specimens of the sublime,” Hubbard noted, but examples of the beautiful “are very numerous.” Early eighteenth-century Neapolitan style had permeated music culture too

⁹⁸ “Gesang, ausgehalten, ohne rasche Bewegung, sich selbst genügend, ruft in unsre Seele das Bild der Ewigkeit.” Ludwig Tieck, *Phantasia: Eine Sammlung von Märchen, Erzählungen, Schauspielen und Novellen*, Vol. 1 (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1811), 471.

⁹⁹ “von dieser heiligen reinen Bahn gewichen.” *Ibid.*, 472.

¹⁰⁰ “will in jene alte Unschuld zurück stürmen und das Paradies wieder erobern.” *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Garratt, 40-1.

¹⁰² John Hubbard, *An Essay on Music, pronounced before the Middlesex Musical Society, Sept. 9, A.D. 1807* (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1808), 15-6.

much for it to now represent the divine and transcendent. Music that appealed directly to the senses, whose meaning was easily graspable, whose representations were concrete, was the music of media proliferation, music that could communicate and circulate easily, integrating audiences into the new media regime. With saturation, and the congealment of the “public,” the highest form of art would become that which resisted definite expression and easy portability. Other spiritual compositions that better fit these new criteria would come to replace the *Stabat*, filling out the media space that its reception history had already carved.

Romanticism, according to Siskin and Warner, emerged as one “contingent possibility” of media saturation, resting on top of the “platform” of Enlightenment media proliferation. It is possible to see how certain later spiritual works – Haydn’s late oratorios, Mozart’s Requiem – rested on top of the *Stabat*’s platform as much as Haydn and Mozart’s musical style rested on the platform of Neapolitan style. Unlike most of the spiritual works mentioned previously, these compositions did not necessarily circulate side by side with the *Stabat*, but supplanted it discursively. When the students at the newly established Milan Conservatory gave their first public concert in 1809, the highlight of the program was Pergolesi’s *Stabat*. The following year, though, they performed Haydn’s *The Creation* and then, in 1811, *The Seasons*.¹⁰³ Haydn’s two late oratorios became international successes soon after they were written, performed at spiritual concerts across Europe, traveling in a matter of years distances covered by the *Stabat* over decades. In Åbo, where Roman’s version of the *Stabat* had become a yearly item for the Musikaliska Sällskapet, *The Seasons* was performed for the first time in 1803, substituting for the *Stabat* on the Holy Week concert. After that, *The Seasons* was repeated annually, and the *Stabat* seems to have disappeared from their repertoire.¹⁰⁴ The rapid dissemination of Haydn’s late oratorios was enabled by decades of standardization, consolidation and integration of the media behind concert culture. Through out his career, Haydn exhibited a keen understanding of how his works would be mediated. His own *Stabat* seemingly anticipated comparison with Pergolesi’s setting by referring to the older composer’s “Vidit suum” and *The Seasons*’ self-conscious quotation of the popular “Surprise” Symphony reveals a composer well aware of his status, winking at his fans. With *The Creation*, in particular, Haydn seems to have intended to write an international success and an “immortal” masterpiece of spiritual music. *The Creation*’s opening musically represented for Haydn’s audiences and critics what previous audiences and critics had to ascribe posthumously to composers like Pergolesi: divinely inspired creation. By depicting a universe as yet devoid of humanity, Haydn also announced his distance from the sentimental heritage of spiritual music. From the beginning *The Creation* was conceived as a bilingual (English and German) work and was published as such in 1800, the same year as the English Convent Garden premiere and a year following its Viennese world premiere by the Tonkünstler Societät (a charity

¹⁰³ Carlo Gervasoni, *Nuova teoria di musica* (Parma: Stamperia Blanchon, 1812), 57.

¹⁰⁴ Otto Emanuel Andersson, *Musikaliska Sällskapet i Åbo, 1790-1808* (Åbo: Bro, 1940), 164.

organization).¹⁰⁵ The libretto was doubly linked to “ancient” artistic traditions, both John Milton, on whose *Paradise Lost* it was partially based, and Handel, who, supposedly, was the originally intended composer.¹⁰⁶ After receiving a medal commemorating the Parisian premiere, Haydn remarked to its dedicators (the 143 French musicians of the Concerts des Amateurs) that their generous act gave him faith that he “WOULD NOT WHOLLY DIE” (his capitalization).¹⁰⁷

The aspirations of new spiritual works to transcendence, of time and place, were only possible because media saturation made the once materially contingent nature of music circulation forgettable. Unlike the *Stabat*, *The Creation*'s transcendence would not depend on its adaptability. In his Haydn biography, Stendhal commented that one would only have “a very imperfect idea” of Haydn's *The Creation* from listening to it performed by “a dozen singers or instrumentalists collected round a pianoforte,” but “a good voice” combined with “a tolerable accompaniment” were “sufficient” for the enjoyment of Pergolesi's *Stabat*.¹⁰⁸ To Stendhal, Haydn's *The Creation* lost something in adaptation, its effect diminished from processes crucial to the *Stabat*'s circulation. Of course, concert protocols had stabilized to an extent that allowed for a piece of *The Creation*'s orchestral and choral dimensions to circulate easily in the early 1800s, while the *Stabat*'s minimally proscriptive text was better suited to the more varied performance circumstances of the previous decades. Stendhal noted that *The Creation* required “at least twenty four voices and sixty instrumentalists” and had been performed this way in “France, Italy, England, Holland and Russia.”¹⁰⁹ What defined a musical “work” was changing; more parameters were becoming essential to its individual identity, and fidelity to this identity became a necessary aspect of expressive authenticity. Haydn, his publishers (Breitkopf & Härtel), his surrogates, collaborators and acolytes were all invested in projecting *The Creation* into the circulation as a self-contained, unified and therefore authentic product of the composer's genius.¹¹⁰ As this model of music production gained currency, a piece as constantly and conspicuously adapted and adaptable as Pergolesi's *Stabat* could not be valued as much as a work which appeared to resist such alterations and remain, despite its extensive circulation, the inviolable product of its composer's intentions. The new masterpieces of Romantic music would not be so obviously mediated as the *Stabat*. They would, instead, appear to resist mediation. Or more precisely, they would be praised for the qualities that ostensibly made mediation difficult.

¹⁰⁵ Nicholas Mathew, “‘Achieved is the glorious work’: *The Creation* and the Choral Work Concept,” in *Engaging Haydn: Culture, Context, and Criticism*, edited by Mary Hunter and Richard Will (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 135.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 129.

¹⁰⁸ Stendhal, *The Lives of Haydn and Mozart, with Observations on Metastasio and on the Present State of Music in France and Italy*, translated by L.A.C. Bombet, Second edition (London: John Murray, 1818), 264-5.

¹⁰⁹ Stendhal, 265.

¹¹⁰ Mathew, 128-35.

More than Haydn's late oratorios, Mozart's Requiem came closest to occupying an analogous position to Pergolesi's *Stabat* in the nineteenth century – the partly contingent result of convergent biographical circumstances. Like the *Stabat*, the Requiem became, through the medium of biography, the swan song of a composer who died prematurely young, a naïve genius whose almost otherworldly gifts inspired the homicidal jealousy of lesser rivals. Comparisons to Raphael's *Transfiguration* followed in due course.¹¹¹ William Stafford has shown how, in the telling, the story of the Requiem's composition and Mozart's death became keys to understanding the supposed incongruities between the composer's life and art.¹¹² But these biographical riddles were questions asked and answered by writers and critics of an altogether different *Weltanschauung* from those who mused on Pergolesi's brief life a century earlier. They were not attending to the mysteries of sympathetic communication, but the mysteries of the creative process as a quasi-divine act. While the sensibility of the *Stabat* was medicalized through Pergolesi's melancholy temperament and failing body, Mozart's failing body was transcended in the act of the Requiem's composition. Elizabeth Kramer posits that "the Requiem itself was at the center of a transformation of existing generic categories," the "transfiguration" of the eighteenth-century idea of "church music" into the nineteenth-century idea of "religious music."¹¹³ "Spiritual music," the core repertoire of eighteenth-century spiritual concerts, mediated this development. The Requiem's generic transcendence was essential to the posthumous deification of Mozart and the resulting mystification of Mozart's compositional act and the transformation of listening in to a quasi-religious experience. New spiritual works would not be imitations of nature's beautiful simplicity, but sublime manifestations of supernatural complexity. They would make full use of the expanded orchestral palette of their times (even as Pergolesi apologists would assign classical value to his minimal instrumentation) and even rehabilitate counterpoint, the scourge of eighteenth-century musical sentimentalists. Pergolesi's *Stabat* and its mediation through spiritual concerts were the platform on which this transfiguration occurred. Once Romanticism was erected on the platform of the Enlightenment, its acolytes buried the foundation of their new temple.

Sianne Ngai associates the all-encompassing commodification and hyper-connectivity of "late capitalism" with the increasing stratification and hierarchization of aesthetic categories, particularly those with a "weak" affective charge.¹¹⁴ The period of media saturation in the eighteenth century, though, coincided with a similar development. It coincided with the new tripartite division of music into folk, art and popular that replaced the traditional church-chamber-theater framework. It coincided with the emergence of what David Gramit terms "serious music culture," which embraced music as

¹¹¹ William Stafford, *The Mozart Myths: A Critical Reassessment* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), Goethe's comparison is quoted on 208 and Rochlitz' on 212.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Elizabeth Kramer, "The Idea of Transfiguration in the Early German Reception of Mozart's Requiem," *Current Musicology* 81 (Spring, 2006), 73.

¹¹⁴ Sianne Ngai, *Our Aesthetic Categories: Zany, Cute, Interesting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 1-52.

“a serious activity worthy of the attention and support of cultivated society,” but “demanded limiting access to it along the lines of existing social divisions.”¹¹⁵ In this milieu, aesthetic categories associated with media proliferation (the “sentimental,” but also its companions, the “beautiful,” the “pleasing,” the “agreeable,” and so on) were diminished in comparison to the new aesthetic categories of media saturation (the “transcendent,” the “divine,” the “sublime”). The “sentimental,” particularly in its weaker affective intensities, was relegated to the domestic sphere, the non-European and the folkish. The *Stabat*, with its ethos of immediate sympathetic communication, its easy adaptability, its appeal to Kenner *and* Liebhaber, necessarily came to occupy this “weaker” aesthetic category, a lower rung of prestige. It became the victim of the commoditization of the musical work in the new century, historical evidence of the material and social means of music’s production, which precisely had to be effaced. And, as per the ideological rules of the canon, once marginalized from the canon, its former centrality was forgotten.

EPILOGUE: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I remember that a French newspaper with usual lightness said Pergolesi had his death in his *Stabat* and Rossini his greatest triumph...

Anonymous, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, May 7, 1843¹¹⁶

The eighteenth-century fame of the *Stabat* was too great for the *Stabat* simply to disappear overnight. Over a hundred years after the fact, Pergolesi was still dying anew, a sacrifice at the altar of musical progress. The early decades of the nineteenth century witness many such “little deaths” for the perennially moribund composer as the aesthetic paradigm shifts wrought by media saturation whittled away at Pergolesi’s eighteenth-century fame. But for composers, critics and audiences, Pergolesi remained a known and, intermittently, revered figure. His example endured as a point of reference for the *Stabat* genre well into the new century. Among other examples,¹¹⁷ Franz Schubert’s resetting of Klopstock’s parody (D383, 1816) contains pointed allusions¹¹⁸ to the setting that originally inspired the poet,

¹¹⁵ David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 21.

¹¹⁶ “Mi ricordo che un giornale francese con la solita leggerezza diceva avere il Pergolesi avuta la morte nel suo *Stabat* e il Rossini il suo massimo trionfo.” “Musica sacra. Lo *Stabat Mater* di Rossini eseguito in Napoli a pro degli Asili infantile, per cura di S.A.R. il conte di Siracusa,” *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* 2:19 (May 7, 1843): 80.

¹¹⁷ For more on Antonio Brunetti’s *Stabat*, see Paolo Peretti, “Due *Stabat mater* di Giovanni Gualberto Brunetti (1764) e di Antonio Brunetti (1825) ‘ad imitazione dell’esimo Sig. Pergolesi,’” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 29:2 (1994): 401-57.

¹¹⁸ After the somber f minor opening, the texture of the choir entrance (“Jesus Christ’s schwebt am Kreuze!”) strongly recalls that of Pergolesi’s “Quando corpus.” In the following movement (like Pergolesi’s in 3/8 and for soprano solo), Schubert uses similar word painting to illustrate the metaphorical “sword” piercing Mary. Finally, the movement that

and Gioachino Rossini reportedly struggled with Pergolesi's legacy when attempting his own setting (1841).¹¹⁹ Critics of Rossini's setting explicitly drew comparisons between the two Italians' settings. Opinion was divided along the well-worn battle lines of ancient and modern. Joseph d'Ortigue acknowledged that Rossini's *Stabat* was "a brilliant work, with forms more varied and more developed than the *Stabat* of Pergolesi."¹²⁰ "[W]e know," he continued, "all the weak parts [of Pergolesi's setting], the inequality of style and the monotony."¹²¹ But, he found Pergolesi's setting "much superior to that of the modern master," because of its "truth of expression" and "sincerity of inspiration."¹²² Paul Merruau, on the other hand, found comparisons between the two impossible: "it would be too unfavorable to Pergolesi, because Rossini in his composition has profited from all the musical discoveries that the other did not know."¹²³ However diminished in stature, the *Stabat* had not disappeared.

In certain ways, little changed concerning Pergolesi reception during the first decades after 1800. His music was still printed, performed and discussed. Publication of the *Stabat* continued unabated, perhaps even peaking during this time, but the piece never appeared in anything like its early eighteenth-century form. Piano-vocal scores took up more of the market share, suggesting an increasing domestication of the piece as its presence in concert-giving spaces receded. Notable publications included new parodies in German (Hamburg, ca. 1814-36), arranged by Carl Heinrich Zöllner, and English (London, 1829), arranged by Thomas Foster Barham, as well as a reduction for piano solo (Leipzig, 1844) by Franz Hüntten and the first full publication outside Europe, in a keyboard reduction edited and with English translation by John Sullivan Dwight (Boston, 1850-2).¹²⁴ Barham's preface suggests the tenuous toehold the piece retained among the music-consuming public. Though a century old, the piece had "not been consigned to oblivion" and had "maintained a high rank among the standard works of sacred music." Barham lamented the paltry number of recent performances in Britain, in contrast to Germany and Paris, where performances were still, according to him, common during Passion time. His versatile publication was "calculated either for Public or Family use," arranged for organ or piano with instructions for deriving accompaniments for two violins and violoncello as

corresponds to Pergolesi's "Vidit suum" (No. 6, "Ach, was hätten wir empfunden") is scored similarly to Hiller's version, but with a tenor soloist and the addition of a solo oboe.

¹¹⁹ Alan Kendall, *Gioacchino Rossini, the Reluctant Hero* (London: V. Gollancz, 1992), 151.

¹²⁰ "une œuvre plus brillante, aux formes plus variées et plus développées, que le *Stabat* de Pergolèse." Joseph d'Ortigue, "Le *Stabat* du Rossini," *Revue de Paris* 36:3 (Dec. 12, 1841): 137.

¹²¹ "nous connaissons toutes les parties faibles, l'inégalité de style et la monotonie." Ibid.

¹²² "bien supérieure à celle du maître moderne...la vérité d'expression...la sincérité d'inspiration." Ibid.

¹²³ "Il paragone troppo sarebbe sfavorevole a Pergolesi, perchè Rossini nella sua composizione ha profittato di tutte le scoperte musicali che l'altro non conosceva." Paul Merruau, untitled article from *Corriere Francese* (Jan 10, 1842), in *Lo Stabat mater di Rossini giudicato dalla stampa periodica francese ed italiana* (Milan: Ricordi, 1843), 44.

¹²⁴ See Appendix II.

desired, and substituting an English text for the Latin since, Barham claimed, women disliked singing in dead languages. Barham, like Hiller (whom he references), voiced concern that musical taste needed to be cultivated in private spaces as much as public ones. Other piano-vocal publications from these decades suggest a role for the *Stabat* in educating the public in proper musical taste by bringing a canon of classics into the home. The title page of an 1842 combined publication of the *Stabat* and Mozart's Requiem, published by Mme. Ve. Launer, "éditeur de musique classique," is adorned with the names of Beethoven, Mozart, Bellini, Gluck, Boieldieu, Donizetti, Mercadante and Rossini. As one of the final redoubts of sensibility, a space where the "natural" binds of sympathy were still believed to operate unproblematically, the domestic sphere persisted as a congenial space for the *Stabat*.

This is not to say that orchestral scores of the *Stabat* were not published, nor that the *Stabat*'s ossifying "classical" status did not prevent others from "modernizing" Pergolesi's text. Giovanni Paisiello (ca. 1810-11) and Aleksey L'vov (1833, reprinted 1840) published popular new orchestral arrangements. Scored for four voices, strings and paired winds including horns, Paisiello took advantage of his enlarged ensemble to thicken and elaborate on Pergolesi's original textures. Its premiere (1810) in the Neapolitan Duomo seems to have been the occasion for a bit of fanfare in the Kingdom of Naples under Murat (a Napoleonic puppet-state) and its publication soon after in Paris, a calculated act of cultural diplomacy. Work and arranger taken together would have symbolized a long and continuing history of musical exchange between the two states, lending legitimacy to French proxy rule.¹²⁵ This arrangement marshaled the contemporary international reputation of Paisiello alongside the legacies of the *Stabat* in both kingdoms; a reminder to French audiences of the flowering of public culture under the stable government of the *ancien régime* and redolent for Neapolitan audiences of an increasingly storied musical "golden age."¹²⁶ L'vov's arrangement dwarfed even Paisiello's in terms of its orchestral and vocal forces, scored for soloists, chorus, clarinets, bassoons, trumpets, trombones, timpani and strings. Aside from the rather garish minor plagal cadence that ends the arrangement, L'vov attempted far less recomposition than Paisiello, preferring only to fill in the implied harmonies of Pergolesi's thinner sections. Richard Wagner wrote enthusiastically of

¹²⁵ Paisiello had managed for years to retain a post as *maestro di cappella* to the Neapolitan King Ferdinando I, while serving on and off in various musical roles for Napoleon, his family and his political surrogates. Not only was he the *maestro di cappella nazionale* of the short-lived and French-backed Parthenopaean Republic, but he was for a time Napoleon's own *maître de chapelle*. By 1810, Paisiello was in charge of all music at Joachim Murat's court and also served as one of the directors of the newly consolidated Real Collegio di Musica. For a concise look at Paisiello's fortunes towards the end of his life, see Jno Leland Hunt, *Giovanni Paisiello: His Life as an Opera Composer* (S.l.: National Opera Association, 1975), 51-6.

¹²⁶ Paisiello's arrangement did outlive the political climate of its premiere. It was revived at least once in Naples, in 1820, by the Confraternity of San Luigi, the successor association to the *Stabat*'s possible commissioning confraternity. See Philip Gossett, "Rossini in Naples," *The Musical Quarterly* 54:3 (Jul., 1968): 331-2.

L'vov's effort, claiming that what Mozart did for Handel's *Messiah*, L'vov did for Pergolesi's *Stabat*.¹²⁷ L'vov's "only aim," Wagner claimed, "has been to remind the modern school of a sublime exemplar, and to get it enrolled in the repertoire of contemporary performances."¹²⁸ Like Barham, Wagner recognized a moral imperative in reviving neglected masterpieces and judged recomposition and republication necessary to bring such works back into the public ear. L'vov's arrangement, like Paisiello's, enjoyed a life of its own. Performances are documented in Weimar (1842) and Hamburg (1848). The anonymous *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* reviewer for the Hamburg concert held a contrary opinion to Wagner, though. For him, the addition of instruments had an "obscuring and annoying effect [hinderlich und störend einwirken]."¹²⁹ Perusing L'vov's score, one senses that Pergolesi's composition could finally no longer support the weight of the sonic forces foisted on it.¹³⁰

As these arrangements suggest, the *Stabat* persisted in the concert hall, though without the same regularity. Roman's arrangement remained part of concert repertoire in Stockholm until at least 1819 and the *Stabat* was performed in Lund as late as 1835 using a Swedish translation of Klopstock's parody.¹³¹ A charity performance in Berlin featured the Hiller/Klopstock version in 1825, while the Concert of Ancient Music in London was still excerpting it as late as 1840, and probably even later. In 1804, the Salisbury Annual Musical Festival was resuscitated as the Salisbury Triennial Festival after going dormant in 1792. Likely, the "Grand Selection of Sacred Music" that began this festival and the following one (1807) featured excerpts from the *Stabat*. The piece's Cheltenham premiere in 1841 still merited special mention in the local paper, described as a "rich treat" with "upwards of two hundred fashionables" attending despite "the inauspicious weather." Beyond performances, though, Pergolesi's legacy continued to influence and to be invoked in connection with the ongoing proliferation of institutions supporting and shaping public

¹²⁷ Richard Wagner, "Pergolesi's 'Stabat Mater,'" in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, Vol. VII "In Paris and Dresden," translated by William Ashton Ellis (New York: Broude Brothers, [1966]), 103-4. Wagner even interpreted L'vov's instrumental choices as references to the scoring of Mozart's Requiem.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 364.

¹³⁰ L'vov's was the final significant attempt to enlarge and thereby to modernize the *Stabat*'s timbral palette to appear in print, though Viennese court musicians tinkered with their arrangement into the 1840s. According to the piano reduction edited by Martin Haselböck, this version was scored for SATB soli, SATB choir, two flutes, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, three trombones, strings and continuo with contributions by several generations of court musicians including Antonio Salieri, Franz Xaver Süssmayr, Ignaz Xaver von Seyfried and Otto Nicolai. For a modern edition, see Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, *Stabat mater: In der Wiener Version*, edited by Martin Haselböck, keyboard reduction by Paul Horn (Stuttgart: Carus, 2009). There is also, Fortunato Raeintropf's 1866 symphony based on themes from Pergolesi's work, premiered in the Chiesa di S. Ferdinando di Palazzo. See I-LEpastore, MS.B. 61 (RISM No. 850013134).

¹³¹ For information on these performances, see Appendix III.

music culture. Berlin's Singakademie revived a "*concert spirituel*" tradition and programmed the *Stabat* as part of it, including a performance in 1837. According to Katharine Ellis, the *Stabat* "formed a bridge between Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary concert life" in France.¹³² *Concerts spirituels* resumed shortly after Napoleon seized power and the *Stabat* maintained a place in their repertoire through Napoleon's fall and into the Bourbon Restoration (from 1800 to about 1828).¹³³ During the 1830s and 40s, though, the Palestrina revival spread through France and the *concert spirituel* repertoire aged accordingly.¹³⁴ The relative stability of Napoleon's rule allowed public concert organizations to resume functioning and concert culture to appear in new areas. Douai's Société des Amateurs mounted a performance of the *Stabat* in the city's Église de Saint-Jacques the first year of their existence (1807).¹³⁵

Arguably the most significant manifestation of the continued influence of Pergolesi legacy on French musical culture, if not the most obvious, was the founding of the Conservatoire de Paris in 1795. While several writers – John Potter (1762)¹³⁶ and Burney (1774)¹³⁷ in England and Waclaw Sierakowski (1795)¹³⁸ in Poland – had floated proposals for national music schools on the Neapolitan model, the Conservatoire provided the blueprint, directly and indirectly, for the eventual state institutionalization of music pedagogy in Europe.¹³⁹ With the founding of the Real Collegio in 1807 by Joseph

¹³² Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 7.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 7-9

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3-41.

¹³⁵ Guy Gosselin, *L'âge d'or de la vie musicale à Douai, 1800-1850* (Liège: Mardaga, 1994), 137.

¹³⁶ "A SCHEME for Erecting and Supporting a MUSICAL ACADEMY in this Kingdom" is appended to Potter's *On the Present State of Music and Musicians* (London: C. Henderson, 1762). "In Italy," Potter wrote, "there are a number of schools, and academies for music; and vast encouragements afforded to those who excel in the art," 97.

¹³⁷ See Jamie Croy Kassler, "Burney's 'Sketch of a Plan for a Public Music-School,'" *The Musical Quarterly* 58:2 (Apr., 1792): 210-234. This sketch was produced not long after Burney's return from his European travels, which of course included his visit to the Onofrio.

¹³⁸ Sierakowski's plan accounts for the first volume of his *Sztuka muzyki dla młodzieży krajowej* (The Art of Music for the Country's Youth) (Kraków, 1795-6). The plan was presented to the Polish Sejm in 1792, but the deteriorating political situation in Poland prevented any action on it. Sierakowski's treatise reveals him to have been an avid reader of Rousseau and a forceful advocate for the music of Pergolesi and his Neapolitan contemporaries. See Alina Nowak-Romanowicz, *The History of Music in Poland*, Vol. IV "The Classical Era: 1750-1830," edited by Stefan Sutkowski (Warsaw, Sutkowski Edition Warsaw, 2004), 364-6.

¹³⁹ Rosa Cafiero, "The Early Reception of Neapolitan Partimento Theory in France: A Survey," *Journal of Music Theory* 51:1 "Partimenti" (Spring, 2007): 137-59. Obviously, the

Bonaparte, created from the remains of the Turchini and the Onofrio, the French remediated the conservatory model back to the Neapolitans.

Even more so than in France, Pergolesi's reputation became linked to the ongoing development of public musical culture on the Italian peninsula. Pergolesi's canonical status, along with those of his Neapolitan contemporaries, belonged to a vision of a shared Italian musical heritage. Ercole Paganini's *Piano per lo stabilimento nella città di Milano di una Società Filarmonica sotto la intitolazione "Gli Orfei"* (Milan, 1819) listed Pergolesi among the composers of "musica vocale antica" whose works would form the backbone of the new organization's repertoire.¹⁴⁰ Neapolitan "golden age" composers figured prominently in his assessment of "ancient music," reflecting Paganini's education at the Turchini. Under the influence of the amateur music historian Francesco Caffi, the short-lived Istituto Filarmonico in Venice (1811-16) performed Pergolesi's *Stabat* as part of its mixed concert and educational activities.¹⁴¹ Later, two concert societies took Pergolesi's name: the Società Filarmonica Napoletana Pergolesi (1834-1840)¹⁴² and Società Filarmonica Pergolesi in Reggio Calabria (active in the 1880s).¹⁴³ Pergolesi's name also came to adorn the façade of the Teatro San Carlo,¹⁴⁴ rebuilt following the 1816 fire, and to mark the 170-year anniversary of his birth Jesi rechristened its opera house the "Teatro Comunale Pergolesi."¹⁴⁵ The nation, like the home, had become a space where a vision of the associative binding power of sympathy continued.

Villarosa's *Lettera* did little to dampen enthusiasm for mythologizing Pergolesi's life. New rumors flared concerning Pergolesi's death and the *Stabat*'s composition. As Mozart's

legacies of many Neapolitan composers played a role in the creation of the Conservatoire, but the French public had a particular affection for Pergolesi above all.

¹⁴⁰ Maria Grazia Sità, "Filarmonici a Milano tra Settecento e Ottocento," in *Accademie e società filarmoniche in Italia: Studie e ricerche, Quaderni dell'Archivio storico delle società filarmoniche italiane*, edited by Antonio Carlini, Vol. 2 (Trento: Società Filarmonica Trento, 1999), 249-50.

¹⁴¹ Maria Girardi, "Accademie e Società Filarmoniche a Venezia," in *Accademie e società filarmoniche in Italia: Studie e ricerche, Quaderni dell'Archivio storico delle società filarmoniche italiane*, edited by Antonio Carlini, Vol. 3 (Trento: Società Filarmonica Trento, 2001), 259.

¹⁴² Paologiovanni Maione and Francesca Seller, "L'attività musicale nella Napoli postunitaria tra società e accademie," in *Accademie e società filarmoniche in Italia: Studie e ricerche, Quaderni dell'Archivio storico delle società italiane*, edited by Antonio Carlini, Vol. 3 (Trento: Società Filarmonica Trento, 2001), 342.

¹⁴³ Teresa Chirico, "Musica e Associazioni in Calabria," in *Accademie e società filarmoniche in Italia: Studie e ricerche, Quaderni dell'Archivio storico delle società italiane*, edited by Antonio Carlini, Vol. 3 (Trento: Società Filarmonica Trento, 2001), 375-9.

¹⁴⁴ From his balcony, Giovanni Battista Gennaro Grossi mused on the names incised on the opera house's exterior in the preface to *Le belle arti* (Naples: Tipografia del Giornale Enciclopedico, 1820), vi.

¹⁴⁵ Karyl Charna Lynn, *Italian Opera Houses and Festivals* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 168.

fame began to eclipse Pergolesi's, the latter's biography was remediated through the former's and a rumor developed that Pergolesi died before completing his *Stabat*. A published piano reduction (1840s), arranged by Ignazio d'Asdia, claimed that Pergolesi died after completing the final bars of "Quando corpus" and that the "Amen" fugue was composed by Leo, perhaps confused with Feo, whom Sigismondo placed at Pergolesi's bedside during his final days.¹⁴⁶ Pergolesi also found love in new forms during the nineteenth century, and this time, luckily, without the V.D. One lurid tale appeared in *Il Figaro* ("Aneddoti," 1843).¹⁴⁷ Pergolesi, the anonymous author claimed, attended the hanging of an infamous bandit, whose wife stood prostrate by the gallows and enraptured the gather crowd with a prayer sung to the Virgin. Overcome, she fell into the composer's arms as a guard removed her dead husband's body. This tableau moved Pergolesi to compose the *Stabat* according to the article, which was excerpted in the Launer publication mentioned above. Such public spectacle markedly contrasts with the eighteenth-century image of the composer wasting away, bedridden, in the countryside.

On the Italian peninsula, fact and fiction frequently melded together in biographical representations. Plays and poems apotheosized the composer, curating and inventing information as needed.¹⁴⁸ Even Francesco Florimo's ostensibly scholarly *Cenno storico sulla scuola musicale di Napoli* (Naples, 1869) contained many engrossing but unsubstantiated rumors. One of these concerns a doomed love triangle between Pergolesi, Maria Spinelli and her aristocratic betrothed. Filled with grief over the impossibility of their union, Pergolesi pours himself into composing a piece for another Maria before he dies of a broken heart.¹⁴⁹

If these stories sound like boilerplate midcentury Italian opera plots, it is because they belong to the same cultural ferment. They were eventually made into operas as well, the opera house being perhaps the third space where the aesthetics of sentiment persisted undimmed. Two Pergolesi "bioperics" (opera-biographies) appeared in the same year (1857) in Milan and Naples, the musical capitals respectively of the north and south of the still politically fragmented peninsula. Stefano Ronchetti-Monteviti and Temistocle Solera's *Pergolese* premiered at La Scala, while Paolo Serrao and Federico Quercia's *Pergolesi* premiered at the Real Teatro del Fondo. They share with Florimo's *Cenno storico*, and most mid-century Italian opera, the basic plot mechanism of a doomed love triangle, which in

¹⁴⁶ A late eighteenth-century manuscript from Naples (I-Nc, 21.4.14) has some comments (likely in a later hand) on the penultimate page dismissing the idea that Fago wrote the "Amen." By way of proof, the writer claimed to have seen Pergolesi's autograph. Marcello Pepe copied biographical information about Pergolesi into his manuscript of the *Stabat* from 1837-9 (I-CBp, Pepe Ms.419). He asserted that Cotumacci wrote the "Amen" after Pergolesi's death.

¹⁴⁷ "La bella Marta, il bandito Stenio e lo *Stabat Mater* di Pergolesi," *Il Figaro* 11:51 (Jun. 28, 1843), 203.

¹⁴⁸ Many are listed or excerpted in Francesco Degrada et al, *Pergolesi* (Naples: Civita, 1986), 163-8.

¹⁴⁹ Francesco Florimo, *Cenno storico sulla scuola musicale di Napoli* (Naples: Lorenzo Rocco, 1869), 247-50.

this case prompts the *Stabat's* composition and Pergolesi's demise. At key moments, both composers (Rochetti-Monteviti and Serrao) quote the *Stabat* in their scores. The differences between these operas are perhaps more intriguing than their similarities, suggesting the frictions between North and South on the eve of the Risorgimento. The Milanese version enshrined a vision of a pan-Italian musical past, opening with a funeral scene for Corelli, attended by a pantheon of early eighteenth-century Neapolitan composers (Pergolesi, A. Scarlatti, Leo, Durante, Porpora, Vinci, etc.). Metastasio plays a significant part in the action as the intermediary between Pergolesi and his lover. Such heavy-handed glorification is largely absent from the Neapolitan bioperic, which is more like an entertaining piece of historical fiction. Neapolitans, after all, had been claiming Pergolesi as their own for decades.¹⁵⁰

This sketch suggests how the themes of Pergolesi reception in the eighteenth century endured and mutated as media continued to proliferate into the first half of the nineteenth century. New publishing houses in new cities published new arrangements of the *Stabat*. Concert culture coalesced in new locations and reconstituted itself in areas where eighteenth-century experiments had not taken root, with the *Stabat* lingering in the international repertoire. Continued interest in Pergolesi biography, both academic and popular, formed part of an expanding field of discourse on the social, historical and artistic aspects of composition. Nevertheless, some things did change. If the *Stabat* and Pergolesi were poised ambiguously between “modern” and “ancient” in the final decades of the eighteenth century, after the disruptions and dislocations of the Napoleonic Wars and their collateral revolutions no one could hear the piece as “modern” ever again. Its continued presence was conditional on its status as a revered example of “ancient” or, as it was rebranded, “classical” music. Castil-Blaze's *Dictionnaire de musique moderne* (Paris, 1821) defines “classic” works, like Pergolesi's *Stabat* and his cantatas, as “works that the academy considers masterpieces...and that it has adopted to serve as models for the teaching of the art.”¹⁵¹ The *Stabat* was a model piece in the broadest sense, used to educate new generations of musicians and new generations of listeners. To wit, the keyboard reduction published by Auguste le Duc (ca. 1811-2) promised its purchasers that, “[t]his masterpiece

¹⁵⁰ For more information on these operas, see Lucio Tufano, “‘Mostruoso a vedette un Pergolesi coi baffi.’ 1857: il mito in scena tra Milano (Solera - Ronchetti Monteviti) e Napoli (Quercia - Serrao),” in *Studi pergolesiani* 9, edited by Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 625-58. Composer bioperics such as these became a sub-genre onto themselves in the nineteenth century, but the plots are all based on eighteenth-century gossip. The earliest composer bioperics were based on the life of Stradella, of which those by Niedermeyer (1837) and Flotow (1844) are the most well known. After these Pergolesi bioperics, perhaps the most significant was Hans Pfitzner's *Palestrina* (1917). Viewed in this way, the history of nineteenth-century bioperics recapitulated the history of eighteenth-century composer-biographical interest.

¹⁵¹ “que l'école considère comme des chefs-d'oeuvre...et qu'elle a adoptés pour servir de modèles dans l'enseignement de l'art.” Castil-Blaze [François-Henri-Joseph Blaze], *Dictionnaire de musique moderne*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Magasin de musique de la lyre moderne, 1821), 117.

will always be a classic work for students of singing [Chant] and harmony.”¹⁵² Once the *Stabat* had taught generations of listeners how to listen “for the sentiment” and how to make sense of music’s new circulations. Now, it would teach them the (conservative) fundamentals of technique and good taste.

Pergolesi’s *Stabat mater* belongs to that small class of eighteenth-century compositions that did not have to be rediscovered in the twentieth century, because they never truly disappeared from circulation. Reviewing a performance in 1857, the *Gazzetta musicale di Napoli* remarked that:

The only monument of the vaunted Neapolitan school that the twists and turns of history have respected is the *Stabat* of Pergolesi. The generations that followed remembered only the glorious names of Scarlatti, Durante, Leo, Jommelli, Piccinni, Cimarosa, Paisiello; and while their works lie forgotten in the dust of the archives, not a season passes among us that Pergolesi’s *Stabat* is not performed with the admiration of those who hear it.¹⁵³

While a classic, though a modest one at least outside Italy and France, it was still a living classic even through midcentury. One suspects that the conspicuous absence of any quotation from the *Stabat* (or, for that matter, from *La serva padrona*) in Igor Stravinsky’s *Pulcinella* (1920) was the result of the work not being obscure enough for Stravinsky to treat it as an *objet trouvé* ripe for neoclassical estrangement.¹⁵⁴ In the end, the *Stabat*’s enduring fame was, and is, something of an aberration. A piece likely never meant to be heard by many or heard on more than a handful of occasions was propelled through space and time by an unlikely confluence of historical circumstances, a cosmopolitan web of media beyond anything that Pergolesi could have imagined.

¹⁵² This publication was republished in a modern edition by Edizioni Armelin Musica (Padova, 2005), edited by Maurizio Machella.

¹⁵³ “Il solo monumento della vantata scuola napoletana che le vicende del tempo abbiano rispettato é lo *Stabat* del Pergolesi. Le generazioni si succedono ricordandosi appena de’ soli nomi gloriosi di Scarlatti, di Durante, di Leo, di Jommelli, di Piccinni, di Cimarosa, di Paesiello; e laddove le opere di costoro giacciono dimenticate nella polvere degli archivi, lo *Stabat* del Pergolesi non passa stagione che fra noi non si esegua con l’ammirazione di chi lo sente.” Article excerpted in Tufano, 649.

¹⁵⁴ There is an affinity between the schematic approach to composition displayed by Stravinsky’s eighteenth-century sources and his own “block” or “mosaic” approach to composition. This could account for the Russian composer’s attraction to the material. For more on Stravinsky’s process, see Maureen A. Carr, “Eighteenth-Century Sources and Stravinsky’s Use of These Models,” in *Stravinsky’s Pulcinella: A Facsimile of the Sources and Sketches*, edited by Carr (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2010), 3-39.

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APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

LIBRARY	SHELFMARK	RISM NO.	DATE	PROVENANCE	FORMAT
A-Ed	G 23	600038425	18th	Eisenstadt Cathedral	Parts
A-FK	II 5	600073078	1764	St. Nikolaus Cathedral, Feldkirch; Anton Frölich (own)	Parts
A-KR	I 39/12	600177779	18.2d	Kremsmünster Abbey (Benedictine); Joseph Haydvoegel (cop)	Parts
A-Lld	136	605000851	1840	(Old) Linz Cathedral; Jan Hrubesch (cop)	Parts (I)
A-Sd	A 1310	659001839	1743-1752	Salzburg Cathedral; Johann Jakob Rott (cop); Anton Franz Spitzeder (own?)	Score
A-SEI	R 15a	600026687	18th	Seitenstetten Abbey (Benedictine)	Parts
A-SEI	R 15b	600026688	18th	Seitenstetten Abbey (Benedictine)	Parts
A-ST	Mus.ms. 396	650003197	1755c	Stams Abbey (Cistercian); Giovanni Mangini (cop)	Score
A-ST	Mus.ms. 395	650003198	1756	Stams Abbey (Cistercian); Stefan Paluselli (own); Alois Specker (own)	Parts
A-ST	Mus.ms. 397	650003199	1770-5c	Stams Abbey (Cistercian)	Parts
A-ST	Mus.ms. 398	650003200	1781	Stams Abbey (Cistercian); Alois Specker (cop)	Parts
A-ST	Mus.ms. 399	650003201	1790c	Stams Abbey (Cistercian); Stefan Paluselli (cop)	Parts
A-VOR	590	600055504	1750c	Vorau Abbey	Parts

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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MUSICAL TEXT	LYRICAL TEXT	COMMENTS
		"Signore Auth. Pergolese Romanus Ex Musicaliis F: Antonij Frölich Can: Regl: ad S: Lucij 1764."
Hiller with S2, 2hn, trb	German: Klopstock	
		"In usum capellae;" Rott died in 1752
		"Del Sigre. Pergolesi Cap: Maj: in Vaticano Romae."
Ripieno SA parts; Stefan Paluselli "corrected" original score with some of Hiller's figured bass, dynamics and instrumental changes		
Ripieno SA parts		
Ripieno SA parts		
Hiller	German: Klopstock	
Hiller		
TB parts added later		"Sig: Pergolosi Romano"

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

A-Waf	375	600066496	1835	Altlerchenfeld Parish Church, Vienna	Parts (I)
A-Whk	HK 2270	600160318	1831-43	Hofburgkapelle	Score
A-Whk	HK 2267	600160319	1831	Hofburgkapelle	KV
A-Whk	HK 2726	600243647	1800c; 1831c	Hofburgkapelle	Parts
A-Wlic	169	600500613	1780c	Lichtental Parish Church, Vienna	Parts
A-Z	IV/23	600066941	1780c	Zwettl Abbey (Cistercian)	Parts
A-Z	Suppl. 17	600066943	18.me	Zwettl Abbey (Cistercian)	Parts
B-Asp	70	702004405	1750-1850	Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp	Parts
B-Bc	874	704002667	18.4q		Score
B-Br	MS II 3889 Mus Fétis 1859	700005856	1737	Rome; George Thomas Smart (own); F. J. Fétis (own)	Score
B-Br	Ms II 4963 Mus	700007380	19.1d	François-Joseph Fétis (cop)	KV & Parts
B-Br	Mus Ms 1204	701001204	1800c	Cathedral of St. Michael and St. Gudula, Brussels	Parts
B-BRb	S 85 (1)	702005307	18.2d	Saint-Salvator Cathedral, Bruges	Parts
B-Hswal	Swal 63	702005838	18.2d	Sint-Waldetrudis Kerk, Herentals	Score & Parts
B-Mse	FSE 123	703003172	18.2d	Église Sainte Elisabeth, Mons	Parts

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

SAB, instrumental parts missing		
"Viennese Version"		"Stabat mater von Pergolesi Vierstimmig gesetzt von Salieri Mit Harmoniebegleitung v. Süssmayer Posaunen von Ign. Ritter von Seyfried Revidiert von Otto Nicolai. 1843."
KV of "Viennese Version"		
Earliest parts for S, A, Org; latter parts for the so-called "Viennese Version"		
Excerpts incorporated into a Requiem (SATB)?		
Original instrumentation, with 2fl, 2cl, 2bn, 2hn added later		
Hiller w/o winds	German: Klopstock	
		Toscani, LXIV; "1737" may be a reference to the year the piece was supposedly written, according to certain Pergolesi biographies
"Quae" only		In a collection containing mostly music by Fétis, but also H. Schütz
With 2ob, bn; with Gallo trio		For similar uses of Gallo trio, see MSS in D-Eu, D-LÜh, H-KE
"Cujus" only (b min)	Latin: O memoriale mortis Domini	

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

CH-A	Ms Mus F 3(c) (Ms.6329)	400014741	18th		Parts
CH-E	577,8b	400012773	18.2d	Einsiedeln Abbey (Benedictine); Robert Lucas Pearsall (own)	Score & Parts
CH-E	577,8a	400012774	18.2d	Einsiedeln Abbey (Benedictine); Robert Lucas Pearsall (own)	Score & Parts
CH-E	577,8c	400105057	18.2d	Einsiedeln Abbey (Benedictine)	Parts
CH-E	577,8d	400105058	1800- 1810	Einsiedeln Abbey (Benedictine)	KV & Parts (I)
CH-EN	Ms A 552 (Ms.5923)	400004307	1779	Engelberg Abbey (Benedictine); Ailingen/ Friedrichshafen; Deuringen/ Stadtbergen; Gerum (own); Dominicus Ritter (own)	Parts (I)
CH-SAf	Musikbibl.P 13 (Ms.6824)	400007022	18.2d	St. Andreas' Convent, Sarnen (Benedictine)	Parts
CH-W	Dep.MK 827 (Ms.7789)	400015069	18.2d		Parts (I)
CH-Zz	AMG XIII 294 & a-z (Ms.763)	400008212	18.2d		Parts
CZ-BRE	432	550269318	1800c	St. Ignatius Church, Březnice	Parts
CZ-OSm	A 1684	550265465	18th		Parts
CZ-Pak	976	550268175	1736- 1756	Josef Antonín Sehling (cop); Prague Cathedral	Parts
CZ-Pk	5334	550280559	18.4q	Lobkowicz family	Score

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESÌ'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

"Quis" only		
Hiller	German: Klopstock	
		"Percolesi"
Hiller (soli and chorus)	German: Klopstock	
Hiller? (soli and chorus, no 2fl)	German/Latin: (Klopstock?)	"Passionsmusik."
SATB		
Two parts, 2nd begins with "Sancta;" SATB for "Stabat," "O quam," fugue, "Quando," "Amen;" vla part developed	"Dies Irae" text also added	Sehling died in 1756, was a violinist at Cathedral; Niubo, 290-1

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

CZ-Pkřiž	XXXVI B 259	550282990	1736-1750	Knights of the Cross with the Red Star (Catholic order), Prague	Parts
CZ-Pnm	XXXVIII B 99	550040413	1736-1816	Gunther Nommesi (cop)	Parts
CZ-Pnm	XLIX F 291	550071428	1770-1790	Hospitál milosrdných bratří, Kuks	Parts (I)
CZ-Pnm	XL B 43	551001363	1766	Želiv Monastery (Premonstratensian); Wenceslaus Ziak (cop)	Parts
CZ-Pnm	XIII E 338		18th	St. Nicholas Church (Jesuit), Prague; Lord's Mortal Anxiety confraternity	
CZ-Pnm	XL B 49		18th	Želiv Monastery (Premonstratensian)	
CZ-Pnm	XLI A 49		18th		
CZ-Pnm	XXXII C 120		1745	Osek Monastery (Cistercian)	Score & Parts
CZ-Pu	59 R 32	550503037	19.1t	Monastery of St. Joseph (Capuchin), Prague	Score
D-AÖhk	633	450041589	1790-1800	Heilige Kapelle, Altötting	Parts
D-B	Mus.ms. 9169	452014000	1800c		Keyboard arr
D-B	Am.B 523 (5)	452506279	1780c	Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek	Score

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

		"[Eja] mater et fac ut ardeat prod: 25 Mart: 1782"
		"Bergolesi;" Nommesi died in 1816, was a member of the clergy and led the choir in the Břevnov Monastery (Benedictine) from 1762-6
SATB, no vla		"Authore Pergolesi Romae"
"Fac" only, added B	German	"Aria pro defunctis;" Niubo, 289
		"Romae;" Niubo, 309
	German: Klopstock	Niubo, 289
		New parts were copied around 1800; Niubo, 288
Some parts dated to 18th century, most date to 19th; possibly SATB and influenced by Vogler		
Four-voice organ fugue based on same contrapuntal schema as <i>Stabat</i> fugue, but completely different piece		Part of a collection of 6 fugues attributed to Handel; same as collection in D-Hs
		"PLANCTUS BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS;" bound with the P's 4 cantatas (Naples, 1738)

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

D-B	Mus.ms. 17155	455028432	1770c		Score
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/1	455028433	1767	Christoph Daniel Ebeling (cop), Leipzig	Score
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/2	455028434	1780c		Score
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/3	455028435	1760c		Score
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/4	455028436	1750c		Score
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/5	455028437	1770c		Score
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/6	455028438	1820c		Score
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/8	455028439	1827- 1846		Score & Parts
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/10	455028440	1800c		Parts
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/11	455028441	1790c		Parts
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/12	455028442	1780- 1820		Parts
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/13	455028443	1810c	Bernard Klein (own)	PV
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/16	455028444	1741-7	J.S. Bach (cop, arr), Johann Christoph Altnickol (cop)	Parts & KV
D-B	Mus.ms. 17155/15	455028445	19.1t		Parts (I)
D-B	Mus.ms. 30348 (10)	455036949	1800c		KV
D-BAR	Ba 120 Bü 211	450001466	1800c	House of Hohenlohe- Bartenstein	Parts

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

Walsh; later hand added elements from Hiller	Latin/German: Klopstock (added later)	"Johannis Baptistae Pergolesii"
		"Napolitano"
		"Pergolese"
Walsh		
Added TB, 2cl, 2hn; reworked vln2 and vla to be more independent		"Stabat Mater. del Signor Giambattista Pergolesi, Maestro di Musica, a Loretto. In Partitura. Si trovano aggiunti Il Clarinetti II Corni, Tenore e Basso. di Composizione moderna."
SATB; "Stabat," "O Quam," "Quis"	German: Klopstock	For performances in 1827 & 1846
Fugues only, with B		
Original instrumentation, with Hiller's winds added later	Latin/German: Klopstock (added later)	
		"Immortale"
Soli and ripieni vlns, vla part elaborated and more independent	German: Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden (Psalm 51)	For more information, see Degrada and Nott; for a modern edition, see Pergolesi
"Vidit" and "Quando;" A missing		
"Cujus" only	German: Klopstock	Bound with lieder (Schultz, André) and excerpts from Grétry's <i>Zémoire</i>

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TO CIRCA 1840

D-BDk	91	240000109	1772	St. Katharinenkirche, Brandenburg an der Havel; S.D. Steinbeck (cop); Johann Samuel Spielberg (cop)	Score & Parts
D-BFb	P-er 30 a - b	450001216	1770c	Charlotte, Countess of Bentheim-Steinfurt (own)	Score & Parts
D-Bsa	SA 142	469014200	1785	Carl Friedrich Kolbe (cop); St. Nicolai Church, Potsdam; Sing-Akademie, Berlin	Score
D-Bsa	SA 142a	469014210	1825	Giuseppe Jannacconi (arr, cop)	Score
D-Bsa	SA 143	469014300	1785	Carl Friedrich Kolbe (cop); St. Nicolai Church, Potsdam; Sing-Akademie, Berlin	Score & Parts
D-Bsa	SA 146	469014600	1800c	Zelter (cop); Sing-Akademie, Berlin	Score
D-Bsa	SA 147	469014700	1800c	Zelter (cop); Sing-Akademie, Berlin	Score
D-Bsa	SA 148	469014800	18.2d	Zelter (own); Sing-Akademie, Berlin	Score
D-Bsa	SA 149	469014900	1779	Johann Samuel Carl Possin (cop); Carl Friedrich Zelter (cop); Sing-Akademie, Berlin	Parts (I)
D-CR	Mus.ant. 47:2	220000088	18.2d	Johann Adam Friedrich Pauli (cop), Kantor in Greiz	Score

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Add B		
Paris		
Hiller (soli and chorus) with added bn	German: Klopstock	Score for SA 143; contains performer names; Kolbe was cantor at St. Nicolai
Complete reworking of the <i>Stabat</i> for SATB chorus and bc (only uses some melodic material from P's <i>Stabat</i>)		"Originale di Giuseppe Jannacconi al Sigr. Lauska F. S. in segno di stima [Jannacconi:] Sequenza <i>Stabat Mater</i> del Sigr. Pergolesi Gio: Battista Ridotta a 4.° Concertata e Brevissima G. J. 1825"
Hiller (soli and chorus) with added bn	German: Klopstock	For a performance in 1785; Kolbe was cantor at St. Nicolai
Vla elaborated (different hand)		Zelter copied out excerpts from Gerber's <i>Lexicon</i> (1792) on P
Solo and tutti passages		"Sigr Bergoleehse" suggests an early date; includes performer names
	Vocal parts missing	"Napolitano"
	German/Latin: Klopstock	

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D-Dl	Mus.3005-D-503 & Mus.3005-D-503a	211004818	1772-3	Fürstenschule, Grimma; Heinrich Gottfried Reichard (cop)	Score & Parts
D-Dl	Mus.2354-U-1	211011832	1760-1763	Friedrich Christian (Elector of Saxony)	Keyboard arr
D-Dl	Mus.3005-D-1b	212006339	1738-40	Katholische Hofkirche, Dresden	Score
D-Dl	Mus.3005-D-1	212006340	1740-65	Duchess Maria Antonia (Electress of Saxony) (own); Peter August (cop)	Score
D-Dl	Mus.3005-D-1a	212006366	1742-65	Katholische Hofkirche, Dresden	Score
D-DO	Don Mus.Ms. 1539	450017849	1750c	Fürstenberg family, Donauschingen	Parts
D-DO	Don Mus.Ms. 1540	450017850	1810c	Fürstenberg family, Donauschingen	Parts
D-Eu	Esl VIII 261	450201644	1775-1785		Parts
D-Eu	Esl VIII 262	450300983	1745-1755	Joseph Meck (cop); Eichstätt Hofkapelle	Score
D-FTZd	26/4	450020281	1742	Saint Peter's Cathedral, Fritzlär	Parts (I)
D-HEms	Th Pe 2-3	450022542	1810-1840		Score & Parts
D-HER	Mus.K 133:2	220010372	18.3t	Schwesternhaus (unmarried girls' school), Herrnhut	Parts (I)

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	German/Latin: Klopstock	With performance dates in 1773 & 1782
"Fac ut ardeat" arr for keyboard with fugues by J.S. Bach, C.P.E. Bach, Kellner, Seger, Pezold, etc.		
		Bacciagaluppi & Stockigt
		Bound with some secular Pergolesi pieces and excerpts from Gennaro Manna's <i>Tito Manilo</i> (1742)
	German/Latin: Klopstock	"Bergolesi"
Gallo trio only		For similar uses of Gallo trio, see MSS in B-Br, D-LÜh, H-KE
Missing vln2		At end of incomplete bc part: "Authore Gio. Bapt. Pergolesi Rom [crossed out and changed to:] Neapolit;" dated at end of A part: "1742 23 Jan."
Also has voice parts for "Stabat" and "Amen" only		
Missing or no vla	Notable text changes (from incipits): "Sancta mater" -> "Jesu quoque" & "Eja mater" -> "Fili Dei"	All MSS in D-HER are associated with the Moravian settlements in Herrnhut and Niesky, see also MSS in DK-Ch, US-BETm, US-WS

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D-HER	Mus.A 17:36	220012522	18.2d	Christian Friedrich Gregor (cop)	Score & Parts (I)
D-HER	Mus.B 40:185	220013232	18.2d		Parts
D-HER	Mus.M 118:2	220017017	18.3t	Paedagogium (school for Moravian clergy), Niesky	Parts
D-HER	Mus.M 118:3	220017018	18.3t	Paedagogium, Niesky; G.L. Stock (cop)	Parts
D-HER	Mus.M 118:4	220017019	18.3t	Paedagogium, Niesky	Parts
D-HER	Mus.M 118:5	220017020	18.3t	Paedagogium, Niesky	KV
D-Hj	XXV	450037178	1820c	Gelehrtenschule des Johanneums	PV & Parts (I)
D-HR	III 4 1/2 4 o 459	450025368	1757	Oettingen-Wallerstein Family	Parts
D-HR	III 4 1/2 4 o 459	450025369	1820c		Score & Parts
D-Hs	M B/2494	450015041	18.me		Keyboard arr

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No vla; only S part	Notable text changes (from incipits): "Sancta mater" -> "Jesu quoque" & "Eja mater" -> "Fili Dei"	All MSS in D-HER are associated with the Moravian settlements in Herrnhut and Niesky, see also MSS in DK-Ch, US-BETm, US-WS
"Sancta" & "Quando" only; no vla	German: Liebe die mit so viel Wunden - Da man seine Seit' durchstoßen	All MSS in D-HER are associated with the Moravian settlements in Herrnhut and Niesky, see also MSS in DK-Ch, US-BETm, US-WS
	Notable text changes (from incipits): "Sancta mater" -> "Jesu quoque" & "Eja mater" -> "Fili Dei"	All MSS in D-HER are associated with the Moravian settlements in Herrnhut and Niesky, see also MSS in DK-Ch, US-BETm, US-WS
Missing or no vla	Latin/German: Klopstock (added later)	All MSS in D-HER are associated with the Moravian settlements in Herrnhut and Niesky, see also MSS in DK-Ch, US-BETm, US-WS
Hiller	German: Klopstock	All MSS in D-HER are associated with the Moravian settlements in Herrnhut and Niesky, see also MSS in DK-Ch, US-BETm, US-WS
Hiller (1774)	German: Klopstock	All MSS in D-HER are associated with the Moravian settlements in Herrnhut and Niesky, see also MSS in DK-Ch, US-BETm, US-WS
PV and voice parts only		
With 2bn		Contains many performer names
Four-voice organ fugue based on same contrapuntal device as <i>Stabat</i> fugue, but completely different piece		Part of a collection of 6 fugues attributed to Handel; same as collection in D-B

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D-Hs	M B/1923	450015098	18.me		Score
D-Hs	M A/416 (Nr. 3)	450015434	18.me		Score
D-Hs	M A/417	450015437	1740c		Score
D-Hs	M A/1193	450015439	1740c		Score
D-Hs	ND VI 616	452501038	1752c	Gervase Scrope (cop)	Score
D-KA	Mus. Hs. 723	453002418	1740-1780	Ettenheimmünster Abbey (Benedictine)	Score
D-KAg	69 von Babo Nr. 246	453011267	19.2q	Lambert Joseph Leopold von Babo (own)	Parts (I)
D-KNu	5 P 328	450063267	1837	Copisteria di Strada Trinità degli Spagnoli n. 3, Naples (cop)	Score
D-LEm	PM 7230	201005180	18.3t		KV
D-LEm	Becker III.2.143	225004822	1800c	Johann Ludwig Gottfried Kindscher (own); St. Mary's Church, Dessau	Score
D-LEm	PM 4130	230007892	18.2d	"Score is probably of Central or North German origin"	Score & Parts (I)
D-LEu	N.I.10371	225000872	18.2d		Score
D-LEu	N.I.10492	225000874	1759	Stolberg-Wernigerode family	Score
D-LÜh	Mus. A 20	452012466	1800c	Musikverein, Lübeck	Score
D-Mb	Mus.Hs. 64	455028147	1796	St. Boniface's Abbe, Munich (Benedictine)	Parts (I)

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		With Hasse's <i>Salve regina</i> and misc opera arias (Gasparini, Scarlatti, Porpora, Hasse); Chrysander's library
		"Napolitano;" "1737 [year of composition?];" bound with Rinaldo di Capua opera excerpts and P cantata; Chrysander's library
		Chrysander's library
		Chrysander's library
Str parts only	German: Schmerzensvoll mit tiefem Sehnen (printed librettos kept with parts)	
Hiller (1774)	German/Latin: Klopstock	
Walsh		Kindscher was the organist at St. Mary's; MS has biographical sketch taken from <i>Conversations Lexikon mit vorzüglicher Rücksicht auf die gegenwärtigen Zeiten</i> (Leipzig, 1796-1808)
Only bc part		
		"Das Pöbftliche Miffale am stillen Freytag 1759 aufgeföhrt zu Rom;" possible souvenir
With Gallo trio	German/Latin: Traure nun mein armes Herz	"Liebhaber=Concert gehörig;" for similar uses of Gallo trio, see MSS in B-Br, D-Eu, H-KE
Vogler		Performed in 1796

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D-Mbs	Mus.ms. 4208	455022736	1777		Score
D-Mbs	Mus.ms. 4262	455022935	18th		Score
D-Mbs	Mus.ms. 989	456010330	19.1t	Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut (own)	Score
D-Mbs	Mus.ms. 1288	456010335	1750c	Max Keller (own)	Score
D-Mbs	Mus.ms. Mm 887	456013618	1840c	St. Michael's Church, Munich; Karl Kern (cop)	Parts (I)
D-MGmi	HA IV 116	454600142	18.2d	Hessen-Philippsthal- Barchfeld family	KV & Parts (I)
D-MMm	632	453011466	1760- 1780	Collegium musicum, Memmingen	Parts (I)
D-Nla	Musikaliensa mmlung Rossach 99	456001334	1790c	Johann Adam Geyer (cop)	Score
D-OB	MO 691	450008196	1764 (1767?)	Johann Martin Kerler (cop); Ottobeuren Abbey (Benedictine)	Parts
D-OHL	Mus.arch.H.5: 1	230003524	18.4q	Carl Friedrich Ulbricht (cop); Olbernhau Church	Score
D-OHL	Mus.arch.P.1: 1	230003609	18.4q		KV
D-OHL	Mus.arch.P.1: 2	230003610	18.4q	Carl Gottlieb Käßner (cop); Olbernhau Church	Parts (I)
D-OHL	Mus.arch.P.1: 3	230003611	1798	Carl Gottlieb Käßner (cop); Olbernhau Church	Parts (I)
D-RH	Ms 590	450017142	1750s		Parts
D-RH	Ms 591	450017143	1780c		Score & Parts (I)
D-Rtt	Pergolesi 1	450010279	1800c		Parts

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Two copies: Original and Vogler (SATB)		
Hiller (1774)	German: Klopstock	Copied out the passage on P from Chateaubriand's <i>Génie</i>
Caspar Ett's arrangement (incomplete); only 4 parts (2vln, vlne, org)		"Pergolese's großem Stabat Mater;" see Morrison, 113-5
		"...Pergolese Maestro di Cappella in Roma..."
Hiller	German: Klopstock	"Bergolese;" Geyer was a schoolmaster in Wiedersbach (Leutershausen)
		In a later hand: "Niemand hat so tief empfunden, und niemand so schön gesungen der Mutter Jesu Schmerzen, wie du - himmlischer Pergolese! W-d"
Hiller	German: Klopstock	
Hiller (1774)	German: Klopstock	
Hiller (soli & chorus) with 2bn added; with introduzione and chorales; in two parts	German: Klopstock	
Hiller (soli & chorus); with chorales; in two parts	German: Klopstock	
Paris		"...Pergolese, Maestro di Musica à Loretto"
	German: Wieland	"Motetto"
With chorus (SATB), 2cl & 2hn (ab lib)		Contains performer names; related to other MS in D-Rtt

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D-Rtt	Pergolesi 2	450010280	1790c		Parts
D-SDOk	508	450110715	1770-1789	Collegium musicum, Schorndorf; Johann Lorenz Eidenbenz (cop)	Parts (I)
D-SPlb	Mus D Hs 169	450043388	1800ish	Speyer Cathedral	Score
D-SPlb	Mus D Hs 170	450043389	1810c	Speyer Cathedral	Score
D-ST	Ms 10	450057310	1787	Ludwig Friedrich Ernst (own)	KV
D-SWI	Mus.4178/3	240003516	1771	Lauenberg; Johann Caspar Roemhildt (cop)	Score & Parts
D-SWI	Mus.4178/5	240003517	1790s		Scores
D-SWI	Mus.4178/7 a, b, c	240003518	18.4q	Johann Michael Baldauff (cop); Carl Siegismund Jäppelt (cop)	Parts
D-SWI	Mus.4178/4	240003520	18.3t		Score & Parts
D-SWI	Mus.4178/6	240003521	18.4q	Johann Christoph Perlberg (cop)	Score & Parts
D-Tl	G 123	455011804	1790s	Gutenzell Abbey (Cistercian nunnery)	Parts

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	German: Seht, O Sünder	"Teutsche Stabat mater;" related to other MS in D-Rtt; same text as a MS in D-SWI
	German/Latin: Klopstock/Notable text changes (from incipits): "Sancta mater" -> "Jesu quoque" & "Eja mater" -> "Fili Dei"	Changes in Latin text similar to MSS in D-HER
Hiller (1774)	German: Klopstock	Ernst was a clergyman in Ahlerstedt
With chorales	German/Latin: Schauet wie Maria stehet	Possibly performed in 1771/2
	German/Latin: Klopstock	
SAB	German/Latin: O ihr Menschen seid betrübet	"Motetto"
Hiller	German: Andacht fühle jene Schmerzen ("von M.C. Findeisen")	
Soli (SSB) & chorus (SATB), with 2fl & bn added; with overture and chorales	German: Seht, O Sünder	"Stabat=Mater ins Deutsche übersetzt und [mit] eingeschalteten Chorälen von Thomorganist Sievers aus Magdeburg;" see note on Sievers; singers names on parts; same text as a MS in D-Rtt
Hiller influenced?	German: Bei dem Kreuz mit nassen Wangen	"N. B. Diese Musick wird von allen Kennern vor [sic] ein Meister Stuck gehalten; und der author derselben hat es kniend zur eifrigen Andacht gegen der Mutter gottes Componirt in Rom, [2nd hand] starb 1739."

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D-TRb	104/163 03	456000818	1827	Rome; Diocese of Trier/Trier Cathedral	Score
D-TRb	104/163 04	456000819	1790c	Trier Cathedral Music School	Parts
D-WEY	382	450012393	1760c	Pfarrkirche, Weyarn	Parts
D-WFe	P 101	250000578	1780	Kantorei of Weißenfels; Johann Andreas Meyer (cop); Johann August Gärtner (own)	Parts
D-WFe	P 101	250000579	18.2d	Kantorei of Weißenfels	Parts
D-WFe	P 100	250000580	18.4q	Kantorei of Weißenfels	Score
D-WRI	HMA 3935	250000142	18.2d		Parts (I)
D-WWW	K 6 Nr.13	454000321	1780c	Wolfegg Castle, Waldburg-Wolfegg-Waldsee family	Parts (I)
DK-A	R8	150201874	1760s		Score
DK-A	R23	150201881	1770	Sorø Ridderlige Akademi?; Johan Friderich Schübeler (cop)?	Parts
DK-A	R155	150203390	1780	Concert Salen, Aarhus; Henrik Ernst Grosmann (cop)	Score & Parts
DK-Ch	R602	150201469	1780c	Moravian Church, Christiansfeld	Parts
DK-Ch	R808-R821	150203084-97	1780c	Moravian Church, Christiansfeld	KV
DK-Kk	mu 7502.2632	150202929	1780s		Score

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With pn accompaniment based on Klage		"Del Celebre Gio: Batta Pergolesi...Roma 22. Ottobr. 1827;" remark inside: "Die beste deutsche Uebersetzung soll die von Wieland sein..."
SATB?		"Authore Italo"
Hiller (soli and chorus)	German: Klopstock	Meyer was a cantor at Cathedral School in Naumberg, Gärtner was a cantor in Zöblitz
	German/Latin: Klopstock	
	German: Klopstock	"Oratorio"
Missing "Quae," "Eja" and "Fac;" soli and chorus?		Most parts missing
SATB		Instrumental parts missing
No vla?		
Add fl(2)	Vocal parts missing; German or Danish? (see 1770, Sorø in Appendix IV)	"Schuebeler, Sorø d. 6te Martii 1770;" a Johan Friderich Schübeler worked as the Akademi's dance master
SATB, with 2ob, 2bn; with overture and chorales	Danish: Sporon	Performed during Lent 1780
"Quando"	German: Welch ein trostlos Flehn und Klagen	Related to following KV, see also MSS in D-HER, US-BETm, US-WS
V & org	German: Schau das Leiden deines todtbetrübten Freundes	Part of a collection of German-language religious vocal music (related to previous MS); see also MSS in D-HER, US-BETm, US-WS

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DK-Kk	mu 7502.2633	150202930	1778-1790		KV
DK-Kk	mu 7502.2734	150202941	1780-1790		Score
DK-Kk	mu 7502.2836	150202953	1770-1790		Score
DK-Kk	mu 6308.2850	150205130	1756-1816	Werner Hans Rudolph Rosenkrantz Giedde (own)	Score
DK-Kk	mu 9608.1697	150205853	1800c		Score
DK-Km	R400	150203475	1780-1800		Score
DK-Tv	R193	150200995	1800c	Valdemar's Castle, Tåsinge	Parts (I)
E-AS	1.25		1742	Astorga Cathedral	Score & Parts
E-E	RBME . 179-3 (9)		18th		Score
E-E	RBME. 81-6		1750-1850	El Escorial	Parts (I)
E-GRcr	1.773		18th	Granada Cathedral	Score
E-Mn	M.GUELBENZ U/1465		18.4q		Parts (I)
E-Mn	MC/4630/22		18.2d	Infante Francisco de Paula (own)	Parts
E-Mn	MP/5975/2		1800c		Parts (I)
E-Mn	MP/5975/3		1800c		Parts (I)
E-SA	E-Sac, 53.12		18.2d	Salamanca Cathedral	Score & Parts
F-LYm	Rés. FM 133979		1770c	L'Académie des Beaux-Arts, Lyon	Score
F-Pn	D-18350		1770s	French	Score
F-Pn	L 16108		18th	Teresa Giorgi (own)	Score
F-Pn	L 19459		18th		Score
F-Pn	L. 1138		18th	Menus-Plaisirs du Roi	Score

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Schiørring?	Danish: Sporon	
	German/Latin	"Oratorio;" "Neapolitano"
		"Mottetta"
		Dates are Giedde's; Giedde was active in Copenhagen concert culture; see Bittmann
Fragmentary part (A) for both fugues	German: Erben sollen sie am Throne - Amen	
		Several scores, some in bad condition, one dated 1742; see Alvarez-Perez, 128
Arr of fugue for keyboard, substantially altered		Called "verso" in MS; see Baciero, 66-8 for modern edition
	No vocal parts	"Perggolessi"
		"Pervolessi;" see Lopez-Calo, 550
	No vocal parts	
Walsh		
A only		
S only		
		García Fraile, 422
Chorus (SATB)		Performed in 1770; see Di Profio, 176
"Inflamatus," very abridged, for 2vcl	No text	Collection of sonates, movements and opera arias arranged for vcl duet ("Violoncele" and "Basse")
"Stabat" only		

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F-Pn	L. 1329		1811		Score
F-Pn	L. 19454		1820c		Parts
F-Pn	L. 27 (1)		18.2d		Score
F-Pn	RES VM7-583-4		1650-1800	France	Score
F-Pn	RES VMC MS-146		1750-80	Dourlen (own)	Score
F-Pn	VM1-1159		18th	Naples	Score
F-Pn	VM1-1160		18th	Italy	Parts (I)
F-Pn	VM1-3123		1765	France	Score
F-Pn	VM1-480		1770s	Jean-Baptiste de Serre (cop); Jacques-Joseph-Marie Decroix (own)	Score
F-Pn	VMB MS-46		18.4q	France	Score
F-Po	CS-1034 (5)		19.1q		Score
F-TOmt	Ms. 2-Fonds CNR	840002327	1790s		Score
GB-Ge	R.d.16	800070386	1763	Hamburg; J.H. Findeisen (own)	Score
GB-Ge	R.d.65	800070866	1790s		Score

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Paris; in two parts (2nd starts with "Sanctus")		"Complainte de La Vierge"
"Stabat," "Cujus," "Quae," "Vidit," "Inflammatu," fugue (with chorus)		Contain soloists names
Walsh or Paris		Bound with fake P <i>Salve</i> and "Messe à grande Symphonie par Laurenzitti"
		"Airs à chanter et à danser et Stabat de Pergolèse;" assembled over 100+ years, PSM is the last piece added to a collection of circa 1700 airs and airs à boire and early 18th vaudevilles; MS highlights the generic ambiguity that attended the piece's assimilation into France's musical self-image
		"del fù sig.r...Pergolesi"
"Vidit" & "Quis" only; voice parts only; both transposed to d min		Part of "Supplement" (pgs 406-8) of "Recit et Duo de Mr de La Lande et de quelques autres maitres;" music otherwise by Delalande, Campra, Carissimi, Gilles, Bernier, Mondonville, etc. (i.e. composers performed at Concert Spirituel)
		Bound with P's <i>Confitebor</i> and <i>Laudate</i>
		"Hamburg. 1763. J.H. Findeisen"
		"Celebre"

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GB-Lam	MS 62	800092476	1783		Score
GB-Lbl	R.M.22.m.5	800247990	18.2d	Rome	Score
GB-Lbl	R.M.24.b.8	800252557	1738	Martin Smith (cop); Maurice Greene (own); William Boyce (own)	Score
GB-Lbl	Add. 5044	806045235	1740- 1760	James Matthias (own)	Score
GB-Lbl	Add. 31662	806046673	1771	"A Mr. Bettini a Venise"	Score
GB-Lbl	Add. 31663	806046674	18.2d		Score
GB-Lbl	Add. 49519	806250185	18.2d		Score
GB-Lbl	Add. 65486	806252625	1794- 1848	Samuel Picart (own); Vincent Novello (own)	KV
GB-Lcm	Novello 5202		18.2d		Score
GB-Lcm	RCM MS 483		1750c	Domenico Dragonetti (own); Novello (own); Sacred Harmonic Society (own)	Score
GB-Lcm	RCM MS 485		18.2d		Parts
GB-Lcm	RCM MS 816/5		1759	Benjamin Cooke (arr, cop); Academy of Ancient Music	Score
H-Bb	46,184	530001534	1830c		PV
H-KE	0/69	530000583	1800c	Festetics family?	Score

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

Hiller; transposed to e min	German: Klopstock	Performed in 1783
		"P. Antonaroli delin. Si vendono dal Cartolaro passato l'Arco de Carbognani"
		"Portato da Roma nel anno 1738;" See Toscani, LXIV-LXV and, for provenance, Bruce & Johnstone, 162
		Bound with most of P's well-known sacred compositions: <i>Laudate, Confitebor, Domine ad adjuvandum, Salve</i> , Mass in D
		"Napoletano"
Walsh?		Bound with P's <i>Salve</i> and (originally) "12 Italian Du'o"
Transposed to d min		Bound with music by Torri, Greene, J.C. & J.S. Bach, Jommelli, Arnold, Lobo, Steffani, B. Marcello
No vla		"Ioanne Baptista Perglesio NAPOL"
Walsh, mistakes fixed		Bound with P's <i>Salve regina</i>
Walsh		"Concerts of Ancient Music, 1847"
"O Quam," fugue, "Amen" arranged for SATB chorus (Cooke attempted to make fugues for 4 voices), to be used with original string parts and original voice parts in other movts		Likely an attempt to align the <i>Stabat's</i> sound with that of the rest of the Academy's repertoire
Pleyel		
With Gallo trio		For similar uses of Gallo trio, see MSS in B-Br, D-Eu, D-LÜh

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESÌ'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

HR-Dk	W/o Shelfmark		1760-1789	Luka Sorgo [Luka Sorkočević] (cop, own); Dubrovnik Cathedral (own)	Score
HR-Dsmb	68/1819	500052921	1800-1810	Franciscan Monastery, Dubrovnik	Score
HR-Dsmb	147/4070	500052922	1790-1799	Franciscan Monastery, Dubrovnik	Score & Parts
HR-Zha	LXXI.G	500027376	1770c	Julije Bajamonti (cop)	Score
I-ALM	8.B.75		1790s		Score
I-BGc	293.11	850006414	1800-1810	Johann Simon Mayr (cop)	Parts (I)
I-BGc	M.1.64	850006415	1818	N. Azzelli (cop), Mayr (own)	Score
I-BGc	309.15	850006417	1800-1810	Mayr (cop)	Parts (I)
I-BGc	C.3.33	850006419	18.2d	Mayr (cop)	Score
I-BGc	E.1.26	850006426	18.2d	Mayr (cop)	Score
I-BGc	273.5	850006884	19.1q	Mayr (cop)	Score
I-BGi	XXXV 8979 L	850014834	18.2d		Score
I-BGi	XXXV 8981 L	850014839	18.2d		Score
I-BGi	Piatti-Lochis PREIS.L.8979		18.me		Score
I-BGi	Piatti-Lochis PREIS.L.8981		1761-1790		Score
I-BREd	DKA 360/1	650004902	1755c	Bressanone Cathedral	Score
I-BREd	DKA 360	650004903	1760c	Bishops of Bressanone?	Parts
I-BRs	W/o Shelfmark		18.2d	Seminario diocesano, Brescia	KV
I-Bsf	FN.P.I.3		18.me	Convento dei Frati Minori Conventuali, Bologna	Score

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

		Katalinić, 179
SATB		
		Bajamonti lived/worked in Split
Fugue, TB parts only	Untexted	See I-BGc, 309.15 below
		"Dell'Immortale Pergolesi"
Fugue, SA parts only	Untexted	See I-BGc, 293.11 above
		"Roma"
Combination of Hiller and Paisiello with changes by Mayr; SATB with 2fl, ob, cl, bn, 2hn		
No vla		
		Bound with P's <i>Salve</i>
		With P's <i>Salve</i>
		"Pergolesi Napolitano"
		"Napolitano"

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESÌ'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

I-Bsf	M.P.IV-4		1761-1790	Convento dei Frati Minori Conventuali, Bologna	Score
I-Bsf	M.V.XXI.2@2		18.4q		Score
I-CBp	Pepe Ms.419		1837-9	Marcello Pepe (cop, own)	Score & Parts
I-CHf	C 1.1	850002770	1790s	Congregazione dell' Oratorio di San Filippo Neri, Chioggia	Score & Parts
I-Fa	1922	850004372	1790s	Basilica e Convento della Santissima Annunziata, Florence	Score & Parts (I)
I-Fa	108-A	850004373	18.2d	Basilica e Convento della Santissima Annunziata, Florence	Score
I-Fa	108-752	850004374	1790s	Basilica e Convento della Santissima Annunziata, Florence	Score
I-Fa	753	850004375	18.me	Basilica e Convento della Santissima Annunziata, Florence	Score
I-Fc	F.P.Ch.691		1790s		Score & Parts
I-GVNac	Capitolo Cattedrale Ms.371		1801-1810	Diocese of Giovinazzo; Padrone Cortese (own?)	Score
I-LEpastore	MS.A.16	850013058	1790s		Parts (I)
I-Mc	M. S. MS. 215-2	851001617	18.2d		Score
I-Mc	M. S. MS. 216-5	851001630	18.2d		Score
I-Mc	M. S. MS. 216-6	851001631	18.me		Score
I-Mc	M. S. MS. 216 bis	851001632	1810c?		Parts (I)
I-Mc	M. S. MS. 216-7	851001633	18.me		Score

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

No vln2		
		Contains biographical information; claims that Carlo Cotumacci composed the "Amen"
SATB		
		"Pergolese Napoletano"
		"Pergolese Romano"
No vla		
Soli and Chorus SA		
S part only		
SB		
		Has singers names
Paisiello w/chorus		
Some movements marked "coro"		Has singers names

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESÌ'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

I-Mc	M. S. MS. 266-3	851001634	19.1t		PV
I-MC	3-G-25	852032120	1736	P's autograph	Score
I-MC	7-E-20/1	852032121	18.2d		Score
I-MC	7-E-20/2	852032122	1764	Rome; Giuseppe Sparagana (own)	Score
I-Mc	Nosedà M.5.12		1767	Saverio Valente (own)	Score
I-Mc	Nosedà M.5.13		18.me		Score
I-Mc	Nosedà M.5.14		18.2d	Copisteria di Strada Trinità degli Spagnoli n. 3, Naples (cop)	Score
I-Mc	Nosedà M.6.1		18.me	Conte Saventi (own); Valente (own)	Score & Parts (I)
I-Mc	Nosedà M.6.2		18.2d	Copisteria di Strada Trinità degli Spagnoli n. 3, Naples (cop)	Score
I-Mc	Nosedà M.6.3		18.me	Filippo Nola (own)	Score
I-Mc	Nosedà M.6.4		18.2d	Copisteria di Strada Trinità degli Spagnoli n. 3, Naples (cop)	PV
I-Mc	Nosedà M.6.5		18.me	Paolo Greppi (own)	Parts
I-Mc	Nosedà M.6.6		18.2d		PV
I-Mc	Nosedà Q.1.2		1823	Antonio Sorrentino (own)	Score
I-Mc	Nosedà Q.41.10		1810	Copisteria di Strada Trinità degli Spagnoli n. 3, Naples (cop); Valente (own)	Parts
I-Mc	W/o Shelfmark		1754	Jean-Jacques Rousseau (cop)	Score
I-Mr	W/o Shelfmark		18.2d		Score
I-Namco	W/o Shelfmark		18.me	Congregazione dell'Oratorio, Naples	Score

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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		Note say that P gifted his autograph to Giuseppe de Majo; see Toscani
		"Pergolese"
		"...per divertim.to del Sig. D. Giuseppe Sparagana..."
		Valente was trained at the Pietà and worked mostly in Naples
		Same handwriting as I-Mc, Nosedà M.6.1
"Quae" only		
		Valente was trained at the Pietà and worked mostly in Naples; same handwriting as I-Mc, Nosedà M.5.13
TB, pn		
		Valente was trained at the Pietà and worked mostly in Naples
		Copied in Geneva; now part of Fondo Mascarello Bravi
Soli and chorus SA, w/2fl, 2ob, 2cl, 2bn		
		Catalogue SBN identifier: IT\ICCU\NAP\0404842

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

I-Namco	W/o Shelfmark		18.me	Congregazione dell'Oratorio, Naples	Score
I-Namco	W/o Shelfmark		18.me	Congregazione dell'Oratorio, Naples	Score & Parts
I-Nc	21.4.13		18.me		Score
I-Nc	21.4.14		1761-1790	Stamperia e magazzino di musica Trinità degli Spagnoli, Naples (cop)	Score
I-Nc	34.5.34		1790s		Score
I-Nc	Cantate 381 (olim 67-VII-13)		1730s	Naples	Score
I-Nc	Fondo Romaniello 362		18.me		Score
I-Nc	Mus.Rel. 1550		1770?		Score
I-Nc	Mus.Rel. 1553		1811-1840		Score
I-Nc	Mus.Rel. 1555		1811-1840		Score
I-Nc	Mus.Rel. 1556		1761-1790		Score
I-Nc	Mus.Rel. 1557		1811-1840		Score
I-Nc	Mus.Rel. 1559		1831	Nunzio Caracciolo (own)	Score
I-Nc	Mus.Rel. 1560		1811-1840		Score
I-Nn	MS S.Mart. 768	850027066	1730s	Romualdo de Sterlich, Marchese di Cermignano (own)	Score

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

"senza stromenti"		Catalogue SBN identifier: IT\ICCU\NAP\0404846
12 parts (unspecified)		Catalogue SBN identifier: IT\ICCU\NAP\0404856
Score is marked for "coro" and "ragazzi" in places		Penultimate page quotes the remarks on provenance found in P's autograph and remarks that the idea that Fago composed the "Amen" is groundless; contains performer names
Divided into two parts betw. fugue and "Sancta;" written out rit. was added		"Pergolesi"
		Toscani, LXV
Written out rit. was added		
		Once part of Biblioteca Certosa di S Martino; Toscani, LXV

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESÌ'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 102		18th		Score
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 103		18th	Antonio Facci (own)	Score
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 104		18th		Score
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 105		18th		Score
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 106		1811- 1840		Score
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 107		18th		Score
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 109		19.1t		Score
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 110		18th		KV
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 111		18th		KV
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 112		18th		Part
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 1248		18.me		Parts (I)
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 20		18.2d		Score
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 266		1811- 1840		KV
I-OS	Mss.Mus.B 9		18th		Score
I-PAc	Borbone Borb.2920		19.1q	Maria Luisa, Queen of Etruria (own)	Score
I-PAc	Borbone Borb.2923		1811- 1840		Score
I-PAc	Torrigiani Ms.Tor.68		1791- 1810	Therese Alarj (own)	Score
I-PAc	Torrigiani Ms.Tor.69		1791- 1810		Score
I-Pca	C.III.1179		18th		Score

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

Paisiello w/o fl2		
A only		
With 2B		
		With Pergolesi (<i>Laetatus sum</i>), Jommelli (<i>Miserere</i> and <i>Te Deum</i>), Perti (<i>Adoramus te</i>); see I-Rama, A.Ms.3739; US-Wc, M2018.A2 P45

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESÌ'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

I-PEsp	M.CXXXVII.2		1801-1810	Church and Abbey of S. Pietro, Perugia	KV
I-Rama	A.Ms.3739	850034030	1809?	Spanish royal family?	Score
I-Rama	Accademico A-Ms-1592		1790s		Score
I-Rama	Accademico A-Ms-1593		1801-1810		Score
I-Rama	Accademico A-Ms-190		1811-1840	Giustina Cencetti del Vecchio (own)	Score
I-Rama	W/o Shelfmark		19.1t		Parts
I-Rama	W/o Shelfmark		1791-1810		Parts (I)
I-Rc	Mss. 2568	850011207	1790s	Giuseppe Baini (own)	Score
I-Rc	Mss. 2568@2		18.4q		Score
I-Rcsg	W/o Shelfmark		19.1t	Congregazione dell'Oratorio, Rome	Parts (I)
I-Ribimus	W/o Shelfmark		1790?	Michele Antonio Mauro (own)	Score & Part
I-Rn	W/o Shelfmark		1750-1850	Reggio Emilia	Score
I-Rrai	P.S.M. 1168	850012294	1790s	Marchesino Graniti (own?); Fondo Carafa (archive of the Carafa family who patronized P)	Score
I-Rsc	Accademico A-Ms-384		1791-1810		Score
I-Rsc	Governativo G-Mss-2661		1801-1810		Parts (I)
I-Rsc	Governativo G-Mss-2773		1788		Score

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

		Bound with Jommelli's <i>Miserere</i> ("Pietà, Signore"), see I-OS, Mss.Mus.B 20; US-Wc, M2018.A2 P45
		"Per Uso della Sig.ra D. Giustina Cencetti del Vecchio Virtuosa di Musica"
Hiller w/o 2fl	German: Klopstock	
A only		
		Bound with sacred music by A. Scarlatti, Bainsi, Bonfichi, Pisari, Ratti, Jannacconi, anonymous
With introduction		
		Score mutilated after "Vidit"
TB		
		"Per uso di Sua Escellenza il Sigr Marchesino Graniti"
Vln1, vln2, vla only	(no text)	

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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I-Rsc	Governativo G- Mss-2785		1810- 1840		Score
I-Rsc	Governativo G- Mss-345		19.2q		PV
I-Rsg	Ms. mus. B.1960	850504361	18.2d	Basilica di San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome	Score & Parts (I)
I-Tf	10 III 19-3	850007368	1800- 1810	Accademia Filarmonica, Torino	Parts (I)
I-Vc	Torre Franca Ms.B. 11	850029240	1790s		Score
I-Vc	Torre Franca Ms.B. 19	850029331	1790s		Score
I-Vc	Correr Busta 21.3		18.me	Ospedale della Pietà, Venice	Score
I-Vc	Correr Busta 8.13		18.me		Score
I-VEcon	Murari Bra MS 397		1761- 1790		Parts
I-VIb	CANNETI XIII.B.2430		18th		Score
I-VIb	CANNETI XIII.B.2431		1814	Laura Carlotta Bellini (own)	Score
I-Vlevi	CF.B.112	850011790	1790s		Score
I-Vlevi	Borbone Borb.2920		1761- 1790		
I-Vnm	CANAL 10362		18th		Score
I-Vsmc	Ms. Mus. 297		18.me	Chiesa di Santa Maria della Consolazione, Congregazione di San Filippo Neri	Score & Parts
MEX-Dc	MS. Mus. 3A.168		18.2d	Durango Cathedral, Durango, Mexico	Parts
NL-At	Ms-Per-1	180000616	1790s		Parts
PL-KRZ	XII-3		18th	Krzeszów Monastery (Cistercian), Church of the Assumption	

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

"Quae," "Eja," fugue, "Amen" for pn only		Arranged by Candido Zannotti; with arr fugue from Sarti's <i>Miserere</i>
Copy of Klage		
		"Sigr N.N. detto il Pergolesi"
"Quando" and Amen; chorus	"Gloria amen"	
Has a sinfonia		
		Toscani, LXV
		Davies, 394
Hiller	German: Klopstock	
		Jež, 361

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PL-KRZ	XIII-8		18th	Krzeszów Monastery (Cistercian), Church of the Assumption	
PL-OPsm	M 768		18th	Opole Monastery (Dominican), Church of Adalbertus	
PL-Pa	Muz GR III/44	300234358	1764	St. Hedwig's Church, Grodzisk Wielkopolski; B. Stęszewski (cop), Stanisław Ścigalski (own)	Parts
PL-WRu	60623 Muz.	301000198	18.2d	St. Elizabeth's Church, Wrocław	Parts (I)
PL-WRu	60622 Muz.	301000203	19.1d	St. Elizabeth's Church, Wrocław	Score
PL-WRu	62028 Muz.	301009012	1790- 1799	St. Bernhardin's Church, Wrocław	Parts (I)
PL-Wu	RM 5028	300511911	18.2d	Church of St. Clara, Wrocław	Parts
PL-Wu	RM 5027	300511918	1778	Church of St. Clara, Wrocław	Parts
PL-Wu	RM 4753	300511919	1764	Abbey of St. Augustine, Żagań	Parts
PL-Wu	RM 4950		18th	Lubiąż Abbey (Cistercian)	
PL-Wu	RM 5022		18th		
RUS-SPit	Sheremetev Collection 831		18.4q	Count Nikolai Petrovich Sheremetev (own)	Score
S-HÄ	W/o Shelfmark	190004560	18.me?	Härnösand Cathedral?	Score
S-HÄ	W/o Shelfmark	190004561	1758	Härnösand Cathedral?	Parts

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESÌ'S *STABAT MATER*
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Hiller	German: Klopstock	Jež, 361
		Jež, 365
		"Perkolesi" & "Barlagosy;" possibly performed in 1764
Hiller	No vocal parts	
Hiller	German/Latin: Klopstock	
Hiller (soli and chorus)	German: Klopstock	
With 2fl and/or 2ob		"Bergolese"
		"Bergolese"
		"Oratorium pro Sepulchro D. N. J. C. ... Bergolesi"
		Jež, 354
Single aria	Latin: O augustissima	Jež, 364
		Seems to be the only non-operatic score in the collection; on score the names of Praskovia Ivanovna Kovalyova-Zhemchugova and Anna Buyanova, the stars of Nikolai Petrovich's serf theater, are written; see Mooser, 856-7
		"Motetto" (PSM was alternatively referred to as "Motet" and "Passion Music" in Sweden)
	Latin/Swedish	"Motetto"

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S-K	Ms. mus. 11	190026701	18.2d	Kalmar Diocese?	Score
S-L	Saml. Engelhart 523,701	190003046	1736- 1765	Hinrich Christoph Engelhart (own)	Score & Parts
S-L	Saml. Wenster A:8	190003044-5	1771	Wenster family	Score & Parts
S-Sfo	167	190004076	1769?	Freemason Society, Stockholm	Score & Parts
S-Sfo	14	190004077	1769	Freemason Society, Stockholm; Francesco Uttini (cop)	Score & Parts (I)
S-Sfo	14	190004085	1769	Freemason Society, Stockholm; Francesco Uttini (cop)	Score & Parts
S-SK	751	190009326	18.me?	Skara Cathedral?	KV & Parts (I)
S-Sk	S 235	190014355	18.2d		Score
S-Skma	Musik Rar (1995/124)	190019482	18.4q		Parts (I)
S-Skma	Musik Rar (1995/90 S)	190019483	18.4q		Parts (I)
S-Skma	Musik Rar (1995/91 S)	190019484	18.4q	Jonas Hammargren (cop)	Parts (I)
S-Skma	KO-klav./Sv.- R (Klav. II:1)	190023504	18.4q		KV
S-Skma	KO-Klav/Sv.-R (Klav III:1)	190023505	1790s		KV

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TO CIRCA 1840

	Swedish	"Motetto"
	Swedish (2x): The rättferdigas åminnelse; Roman	"Motetto;" Engelhardt was music director at Uppsala from 1727-1765
	German	Christian Wenster was a <i>stadtmusikant</i> for various towns in South Sweden
Uttini's introduction to <i>Stabat</i> ; with 2ob, 2hn	(no text)	
Uttini's insertions (introduction and B aria) into <i>Stabat</i>	Swedish: Christus lydig intil döden (aria)	
Soli and chorus SATB; with 2fl, 2ob, 3hn; with chorales (maybe Roman's)	Swedish	
	Swedish	"Motetto"
Walsh		"Motetto"
Vln1, vln2, vla only; chorales slightly different than in Roman	(no text, but chorales suggest Roman)	"Motetto"
Combined vln2 and A	Swedish: Roman	
Vln2, vla only; Fugue and "Cujus" only	(no text)	
After "Stabat," no duet has both parts included; an aria ("Den lag mig kärlek föreskriver") from Johnsen's opera <i>Aeglé</i> is appended (see RISM No. 190017666)	Swedish: Roman with chorales (including extra chorale, No. 158, v. 18, before "Amen")	"Motetto...da Pergolese"
Unfinished, stops after first page of "Inflammatus"	Swedish: Roman with chorales (missing chorale betw. "Sancta" and "Fac")	"Motetto;" on inside cover: "G. S. Cronhavne[?]"

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S-Skma	KO-R	190023567	18.2d		Parts (I)
S-Skma	KO-R (Part. XII:1)	190023593	18.2d		Score
S-Skma	KO-R (Part.: IV:1)	190023594	18.2d		Score
S-Skma	KO-R (Part: VII:1)	190023595	18.2d		Score
S-Skma	KO-R (Part: VI:1)	190023596	1790s		Score
S-Skma	KO-R (Part. V:1)	190023597	18.2d		Score
S-Skma	KO-R (Part: VIII.1)	190023598	18.2d		Score
S-Skma	KO/Sv.-R	190023599	18.2d		Score
S-Skma	KO/Sv.-R	190023600	18.2d		Score
S-Skma	KO-Klav/Sv.-R (Klav I:1)	190023601	18.2d		KV & Parts
S-Skma	Alströmer saml. 163:20	190023602	1780c	Anders Wesström (cop); Patrik Alströmer (own)	Parts (I)
S-Skma	KO-Klav/Sv.-R (Klav XIV:1)	190023603	1753		KV

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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Intercut with excerpts from Graun's <i>Kommt Her und Schaut</i> and <i>Der Tod Jesu</i> ; soli and chorus SATB	German: Lasset uns aufsehen auf Jesum	"Passion Music del Signore Pergolese."
Walsh		
	Swedish	"Motetto"
	Swedish	"Motetto"
		"Motet de Pergolese Stabat Mater Partitura Per Il Cembalo, o Organo"
Vln1, vla and vcl only; parts are marked with placement of Roman chorales (minus one)	(no text, but chorales suggest Roman)	"Motetto;" see Appendix IV for Wesström's performance activities in Stockholm (1761-2, 1793)
	Swedish/Latin: Roman	"Trång. d 6/26 1753;" "P. Kiörning"

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESÌ'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

S-Skma	KO/Sv.-Rr saml. Ro:86a-c	190023604	1768		Score & Parts (I)
S-Skma	KO/Sv.-R	190023605	1783		Parts (I)
S-Skma	W/o Shelfmark	190023606	1772		Parts (I)
S-Skma	Ro:97/95	190023607	1759		Score
S-Skma	QA-R	190023608	18.2d		Score
S-Skma	QA-R	190023609	18.2d		Score
S-Skma	QA-R	190023610	18.2d		Score
S-Skma	T/Sv.-R	190100124	1769		Score
S-Skma	Z/Sv.	190100917	18.2d		Score
S-Skma	Ro:62c	190101815	1749?		Parts (I)

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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86a: score of harmonizations of the chorales from Roman; 86b: parts to chorales, some showing a new fugue written to the last lines of last chorale (Uttini?); 86c: bits of material showing music by Handel and Marcello and a fusion of Marcello with P's two fugues	Swedish: Roman	"Motetto;" material very fragmentary and does not suggest any connection to the 1749 Stockholm premiere based on published libretto
Soli and chorus SATB; with 2ob; with chorales	Swedish	"Motetto"
		"Motet"
Roman's arrangement of two fugues for vln solo ("Amen" transposed to a minor)	(no text)	
"Amen" arranged for organ	(no text)	
"Amen" arranged for organ	(no text)	
Fugue arranged for organ	(no text)	
"O Quam" retexted as part of <i>Drottning Disa</i> (a <i>herdespel</i> , or "shepherd play")	Swedish: Hjältens död var	With other pieces by Giardini, Charpentier, Pergolesi, Chelleri, anonymous; one of the few secular retextings of PSM
Arrangements (by Zellbell) of two of Roman's chorales associated with <i>Stabat</i> for SATB and strings		Bound with various keyboard music and songs
Mostly parts to excerpts from Roman's <i>Swedish Mass</i> and some anonymous pieces - possibly insertions?		Material very fragmentary and does not suggest any connection to the 1749 Stockholm premiere based on published libretto

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

S-Skma	KO/Sv.-R		18.2d		Parts (I)
S-Skma	Ro:97/72		18.2d		Parts (I)
S-Sm	W/o Shelfmark	190004251	18.4q		Score
S-Uu	Vok. mus. i hs. 129:2	190025232	1745c	Uppsala University?	Parts
S-Uu	Vok. mus. i hs. 63:1	190025233	18.me?	Uppsala University?	Parts
S-Uu	Vok. mus. i hs. 63:3	190025234	18.me	Uppsala University?	Parts (I)
S-Uu	Vok. mus. i hs. 64:1:2e	190025234	18.me	Uppsala University?	Parts (I)
S-Uu	Vok. mus. i hs. 164:18	190025235	18.2d	Uppsala University?	Parts (I)
S-Uu	Vok. mus. i hs. 63:3	190025236	1745c	Uppsala University?	Parts
S-Uu	Vok. mus. i hs. 63:3	190025237	18.me	Uppsala University?	Parts (I)
S-Uu	Vok. mus. i hs. 63:3	190025238	18.me	Uppsala University?	KV & Parts (I)
S-Uu	Vok. mus. i hs. 63:3	190025239	18.me	Uppsala University?	KV & Parts
S-V	W/o Shelfmark	190007753	18.me		Parts

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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A for "Quae;" vln1 and bc for "Cujus" and fugue	Swedish: Roman	Material fragmentary, but suggests parts for excerpts
S only; "Stabat," "O Quam," fugue, TACET, "Sancta," TACET, "Amen" (movts missing)	Swedish: The rättferdigas åminnelse	
"Amen" arranged for keyboard	(no text)	
	Swedish: Roman, with extra chorale before "Amen"	"Motetto"
"Amen" only; with 2fl, org; g minor; 2fl and vla are more elaborated		
"Amen" only; with B; vocal parts only		Shares RISM No. with next
Vln1, vln2 only; 4 movts: chorus - chorale - "Amen" from <i>Stabat</i> - chorus?		Shares RISM No. with previous; "Jubilate Psalm 100 af Capellmåst. Och Hof Inst. Roman"
"Eja" only, A only	Swedish: Roman	
"O quam" with B and 2ob	Swedish (2x): Hur skal en ung sin väg; Och the vise skola lysa	On back are some of the chorales used by Roman, reharmonized
Fugue only; most instrumental parts missing	Swedish: Roman	In another packet with these materials, are parts to a 16-bar, slow, minor-key something with an introductory character
"O quam" and "Pro peccatis" only, no string parts	Swedish (2x): Roman; Jag vet at min förlossare lefver	"Efter jordfästelsen [After the burial]"
Vocal material for "Fac" and parts for "Fac" and "O Quam"	Swedish (3x): Bort det at iag skal berömma mig; Jag vet at min förlossare lefver; The rättferdigas åminnelse	
	Swedish	"Motetto"

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

S-VX	Eklins saml.	190013219	18.2d	Salomon Elkin (own)	Score
SK-BRnm	MUS XX 41	570004062	18.2d	Švedlár Parish Church	Parts
SK-BRnm	MUS XIII 181	570004434	18.2d		Parts
SK-J	H-524	570002391	18.2d	Piarist Monastery and Collegium, Podolíneč	Parts (I)
US-Bc	W/o Shelfmark	000100826	18th		Score
US-BEm	MS 170	000120229	18.2d	Bruno Bejá (own); Maddalena Cimarosa (own)	Score
US-BEm	MS 346	000120550	18.4q		KV
US-BETm	79B		1776-1790	Collegium Musicum Bethlehem (Moravian settlement in PA); Immanuel Nitschmann (cop)	Score
US-Bp	M.120.28 (3)	000104458	1790c		Score
US-Bu	BSO Collection, vol. 23	000138935	19.1q	Giuseppe Pignatelli, Duca di Monteleone e Terranova (own)	Score
US-FAy	Quarto 532 MS	000101112	1739-42	Thomas Gray (own); William Mason (own)	Score
US-LOu	Sacra 84	000127479	1790c	Risacoli Family (Florentine nobles); B. F. Boboli (own)	Score
US-LOu	Sacra 84 b	000127569	1790c	Risacoli Family (Florentine nobles)	Score
US-NH	Misc. Ms. 167	900005943	18.2d		Score
US-NH	LM 4492	900009483	1750-1850	Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck (own)	Score

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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	Swedish/Latin	"Motetto;" Elkin was a musician active in Växjö, possibly associated with the Cathedral
With chorus SA	German/Latin: Mutter mit	
		"Bertolesi"
With chorus (TB missing)		
With introduzione		
		"Regalata a M. Mad[dalen]a Cimarosa."
Hiller	German: Klopstock	Dated between Hiller publication & Nitschmann's death; Claypool, 182-3; see also MSS in D-HER, Dk-Ch, US-WS
		"Pargolesa"
		"Del Sig:r Gioanbattista Tesi [sic] detto il Pergolese;" bound with music by Mayr
		Bound with other Pergolesiana (mostly opera) and a misattributed piece, possibly by Vinci, collected by Gray in Florence
Incipit shows some diminutions		"Celebre" Pergolesi

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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US-NHub	Osborn Music MS. 518	900009002	1750- 1850		Score
US-NYcub	Music Library Deposit 89.6T	000100004	18.2d	J. G. F. Breitkopf's firm, Leipzig (lending library copy?)	Score
US-NYpm	Cary 327.5	000101757	18.2d		Score
US-NYpm	Cary 456		1730s	Roman	Score
US-NYq	X M2018 .P47 S8	000128134	18.2d		Score
US-SFsc	M2.1 M400	000117763	18.2d		Score
US-Wc	M2018.A2 P45	000140273	18.2d		Scores
US-WS	XLIV		1780- 1790	Collegium Musicum Salem (Moravian settlement in NC); Johann Friedrich Peter (cop)	Score & Parts
US-WS	XLIV		1786- 1812	Johannes Herbst (own)	Parts

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

Possibly insertions: 4 settings of Latin texts (SSSAATTBB chorus) by Johann Georg Albrechtsberger		
		"Cantate sacre" by Pergolesi = 1. <i>Stabat</i> , 2. <i>Salve creator [regina]</i> , 3. <i>Conturbat</i> ; "Si trova in Lipsia nella Officina Musica di J. G. F. Breitkopf."
Different movement plan, begins as usual up to "Vidit," then: "Vidit," "Sancta," "Fac," "Fac me cruce [second half of "Inflammatu[s]?"], "Quando," "Benedictum," "O clemens" (last two possibly from P's <i>Salve</i>)		
		Bound with P's <i>Salve regina</i> ; Toscani, LXV-LXVI
		Bound with Jommelli's <i>Miserere</i> ("Pietà, Signore"); see I-OS, Mss.Mus.B 20, I-Rama, A.Ms.3739
Hiller	German: Klopstock	Date based on Peter's time in Salem; McCorkle, 264; see also MSS in D-HER, Dk-Ch, US-BETm
Hiller	German: Klopstock	Herbst was a minister/bishop to Moravian settlements in US; date based on Herbst's time in US; Falconer, 113, 122; see also MSS in D-HER, Dk-Ch, US-BETm

APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESÌ'S *STABAT MATER*
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??	Ms 21		1819	Felice Fuscilli (cop, own)	Score
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APPENDIX I: EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
TO CIRCA 1840

		"Per uso del Cantore D. Felice Fuscilli, e scritta di sua mano in Napoli 1819;" "Terminato al 14 Ag.o 1819. per mio ozio, e divertimento;" catalogue SBN identifier: IT\ICCU\MSM\0076316
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APPENDIX I NOTES

GENERAL: This chart should not be interpreted as an exhaustive catalogue of eighteenth-century MSS copies of the *Stabat*. These are just the ones I have found in the course of my research. Undoubtedly there is a bias towards MSS that have been catalogued online.

DATE ABBREVIATIONS:

18th = eighteenth century

18.me = middle of eighteenth century (~1740-1760)

18.2d = second half of 18th century (~1750-1800)

18.3q = third quarter of 18th century (~1750-1775)

18.4q = last quarter of 18th century (~1775-1800)

18.3t = last third of 18th century (~1766-1800)

19.1q = first quarter of nineteenth century (~1800-1825)

19.2q = second quarter of 19th century (~1825-1850)

19.1t = first third of 19th century (~1800-1833)

19.1d = first half of 19th century (~1800-1850)

c = approximately, circa

PROVENANCE ABBREVIATIONS:

cop = copyist

own = owner

arr = arranger

FORMAT ABBREVIATIONS:

KV = keyboard/vocal score or short score

PV = piano/vocal score

(I) = set of parts is incomplete

MUSICAL TEXT ABBREVIATIONS:

(If left blank, no changes were, or are presumed to have been, made)

2vln = 2 violins

vln2 = 2nd violin

Hiller = copy of Hiller orchestration (Leipzig, 1776) for SATB (soli and/or chorus), 2vln, vla, vcl, 2fl, 2ob, bc; usually paired with Klopstock's parody (see below).

Hiller (1774) = copy of Hiller keyboard-vocal reduction (Leipzig, 1774), which used Klopstock's parody as well.

"Viennese Version" = arrangement by successive generations of Habsburg Hofkapelle personnel for soli and chorus SATB, 2fl, 2ob, 2bn, 2hn, 3trb, str and bc. For a modern piano-vocal edition, see Pergolesi below.

Gallo trio = the first trio sonata published by R. Bremner as part of *The Periodical Trios* (1760s?) was attributed to Pergolesi, but is now known to be the work of Domenico Gallo. It appears as an *introduzione* for the *Stabat* in several manuscripts.

Vogler = Vogler's published *Verbesserung* (Mainz, 1778-81). Reworked P's part-writing, harmony and texture, but otherwise left composition intact.
Klage = copy of Klage's piano-vocal reduction (Berlin, 1824), based on Hiller's.
Schiørring = copy of Schiørring keyboard reduction (Copenhagen, 1778), which used Sporon's parody. It is unclear if Schiørring, like Hiller, produced an orchestral arrangement as well.
Paris = based on Paris publication (1753) or its decedents.
Walsh = based on Walsh publication (1748) or its decedents.
Pleyel = copy of piano-vocal score published by Pleyel (Paris, 1801).
Paisiello = copy of Paisiello's arrangement (Paris, 1810-1), for SATB with the addition of winds (2fl-2ob-2cl-2bn-2hn). Paisiello substantially embellished Pergolesi's textures through out. For a modern edition, see Pergolesi below.
Roman = Johan Helmich Roman made an arrangement of the *Stabat* that proved particularly popular in Sweden, being performed there almost continually from 1749 (see Appendix III). Its most notable features included the incorporation of harmonized chorales drawn from the Swedish Psalm Book and a Swedish translation of the text.

LYRICAL TEXT ABBREVIATIONS:

(If left blank, no changes were, or are presumed to have been, made)

Klopstock = "Jesus Christus schwebt' am Kreuze," published in Hiller's arrangements (Leipzig, 1774; 1776) and on its own several times.

Sporon = "Naglet til et Kors paa Jorden," Danish parody of *Stabat* text by Benjamin Georg Sporon, used for many Danish performances starting with the 1777 performance in Copenhagen. Published in Schiørring's keyboard-vocal score (Copenhagen, 1778).

Wieland = "Schaut die Mutter voller Schmerzen," first published in *Der Teutsche Merkur* (Feb., 1781).

Roman = "Skåda Jesu svåra pina," this text was an integral part of the arrangement of the *Stabat* performed almost yearly in Stockholm and frequently elsewhere in Sweden. The arrangement, which included interspersed harmonized chorales, was created by Roman, but the text (written seemingly for Pergolesi's piece) remains anonymous.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS:

P = Pergolesi

SM = *Stabat mater*

PSM = Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*

Sievers = Johann Friedrich Ludwig Sievers (1742-1806) was an organist active in Magdeburg. His arrangement may be linked to his activities as organist for the Magdeburg Cathedral and/or the concert series he organized in the "Roten Saal" of a local monastery.

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APPENDIX II: PUBLICATIONS OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
1748-1852

ORDER	DATE	PUBLISHER	LOCATION	FORMAT#
1	1748	Walsh [Jr.]	London	Score
2	1749	Walsh	London	Score
3	1753	Bayard, Le Clerc, Mlle. Castagneri; Desbrettonne	Paris; Lyon	Score
4***	1753-62	Bayard...?	Paris...?	Score
5	1761	Walsh	London	Score, abridged
6***	1762-6	Bayard, Le Clerc, Mlle. Castagneri; Le Goux, Castaud	Paris; Lyon	Score
7	1763-6	Walsh	London	Score
8	1766-91	"aux adresses ordinaires;" Castaud	Paris; Lyon	Score
9*	1768-73	Bayard, Le Clerc, Mlle. Castagneri; Le Goux, Castaud; Goddaert [Gaudaert]	Paris; Lyon; Dunkirk	Score
10**	1769	La Chevardière	Paris	Parts
11	1774	In Commission bey Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf und Sohn	Leipzig	KV, arr
12	1776	Dykische Buchhandlung	Leipzig	Score, arr

APPENDIX II: PUBLICATIONS OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
1748-1852

TITLE	ARRANGER	PARODIST
<i>Stabat mater del Sigr. Giovanni Battista Pergolesi in Le Delizie dell'Opere (v5)</i>		
<i>Stabat Mater. Compos'd by Sigr. Pergolesi</i>		
<i>Stabat Mater, del Sigr. Giovanni Battista Pergolese, della Città della Pergola Stato di sua Santità. Maestro di Musica à Loretto</i>		
<i>Stabat Mater [...?]</i>		
<i>An ode of Mr. Pope's, adapted to the principal airs of the hymn Stabat Mater. Compos'd by Signor Pergolesi</i>	??	Alexander Pope: "The dying Christian to his soul" ("Vital sparks of Heav'nly flame")
<i>Stabat Mater [...?]</i>		
<i>The Songs and Overture in the Messiah, an Oratorio set to Musick, with the Stabat Mater of Pergolesi</i>		
<i>Stabat Mater, del Sigr. Giovanni Battista Pergolese, della Città della Pergola Stato di sua Santità. Maestro di Musica à Loretto</i>		
<i>Stabat Mater [...?]</i>		
<i>Stabat Mater [...?]</i>		
<i>Stabat Mater, oder Passions-Cantate, mit der deutschen Parodie des Herrn Klopstocks, in einem Clavierauszuge. Zum Besten der neuen Armenschule zu Friedrichstadt bey Dreßden</i>	Johann Adam Hiller	Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock: "Jesus Christus schwebt' am Kreuze"
<i>Johann Baptist Pergolese vollständige Passionsmusik zum Stabat Mater, mit der Klopstockischen Parodie; in der Harmonie verbessert, mit Oboen und Flöten verstärkt, und auf vier Singstimmen gebracht von Johann Adam Hiller</i>	Hiller	Klopstock

APPENDIX II: PUBLICATIONS OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
1748-1852

13	1778	Gyldendals Forlag	Copenhagen	KV, arr
14	1778-81	B. Schott	Mainz	Score, arr
15	1780-99	S.n.	[Naples?]	Score
16	1782-9	Sieber	Paris	Score and Parts
17*	1784	Wright and Co.	London	Score, abridged
18**	1784	Harrison & Co.	London	Score, arr
19*	1790	H. Wright	London	Score
20	1791	J. Scottdale & G. Goulding	London	3v, "Sancta mater"
21	1792	W. Locke	London	KV, "Quae"
22	1794-1807	Bonjour	Paris	Score
23	1800	Robert Birchall	London	Score
24	1801	Pleyel	Paris	KV
25	1803	Henry Ranlet	Exeter, NH	3v, "Sancta mater"

APPENDIX II: PUBLICATIONS OF PERGOLESÌ'S *STABAT MATER*
1748-1852

<i>Johan Baptist Pergolesi's Musik til Stabat Mater med Hr. Professor Sporon's dertil satte Passions-Sang. I et Claveer Udtog udgivet af N. Schiørring</i>	Niels Schiørring	Benjamin Georg Sporon: "Naglet til et Kors paa Jorden"
<i>Stabat Mater, mit gegenseitiger Verbesserung in Gegenstände der Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule: Mannheimer Monatsschrift</i>	Georg Joseph Vogler	
<i>Stabat Mater del Signor Maestro Pergolesi</i>		
<i>Partition du Stabat Mater par G.B. Pergolese</i>		
<i>An ode of Mr. Pope's, adapted to the principal airs of the hymn Stabat Mater. Compos'd by Signor Pergolesi</i>	??	Pope
<i>Stabat Mater for the voice, harpsichord, and violin</i>	??	
<i>Pergolesi's celebrated Stabat Mater</i>		
"Seventh Sunday after Trinity, First Morning" (No. 144) in <i>The Psalms of David for Use of Parish Churches</i>	Samuel Arnold and John Wall Callcott	Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady: "On thee who dwelst above the Skies"
<i>The Divine Harmonist, or, Sunday Associate, containing Elegant Extracts and Original Compositions, of Sacred Music. From the most distinguished Masters, Antient and Modern. Printed in the Tenor and Bass Cliffs, with a Thorough Bass, and Accompaniment for the Organ, Harpsichord, and Piano-Forte</i>	Thomas Busby	
<i>Stabat Mater del Sigr. Giovanni Battista Pergolesi Maestro di Musica a Loretto</i>		
<i>Stabat Mater del Sigr. Giovanni Battista Pergolesi</i>		
<i>Stabat Mater à deux voix, arrangé pour le forte piano ou l'orgue par Mr. M***</i>	"Mr. M****"	
"Lombardy. Hymn 31." (No. 535) in <i>The Columbian Repository of Sacred Harmony. Selected from European and American Authors, with Many New Tunes Not Before Published</i>	Arnold and Callcott	Isaac Watts: "Why should we start and fear to die?"

APPENDIX II: PUBLICATIONS OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
1748-1852

26**	1805-15	Robert Birchall	London	KV
27	1810-11	"Tutti li Mercanti di Musica"	Paris	Score, arr
28* **	1810-11	Janet et Cotelle	Paris	Score, arr
29* **	1811	Bochsa	Paris	Score, arr
30*	1811-2	Auguste Le Duc & Co.	Paris	KV
31*	1811-6	T. Mollo	Vienna	KV
32	1812	Preston	London	Score
33* **	1814-20	Marquerie	Paris	KV
34**	1814-36	A. Craz	Hamburg	KV, arr
35	1815	G. Walker	London	Score
36	1817-22	Mme. Joly	Paris	Score
37* **	1819-1846	Pacini	Paris	KV
38*	1819-1846	Pacini	Paris	KV
39	1824	E.H.G. Christiani	Berlin	KV
40**	1824	Schlesinger	Berlin	KV (Excerpts?)

APPENDIX II: PUBLICATIONS OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
1748-1852

<i>Stabat Mater arranged with a separate accompaniment for the piano forte</i>	John Clarke-Whitfeld	
<i>Stabat Mater[,] a due voci con violini, viola e violoncello del Pergolese[.] Alla quale vi si sono aggiunti gli stromenti da fiato senza dipartirsi dell'originalità dal Signor Cavaliere Paisiello[.] Eseguitasi nel di 16 7bre nella Catedrale di Napoli, per la festività della Vergine addolorata, nell'anno 1810</i>	Giovanni Paisiello	
Idem.	Paisiello	
Idem.	Paisiello	
<i>Stabat Mater à deux voix, arrangé pour le forte piano ou l'orgue par Mr. M***</i>	"Mr. M***"	
<i>Stabat Mater à deux voix arrangé pour le forte piano ou l'orgue</i>	["Mr. M***"]	
<i>Pergolesi's celebrated Stabat Mater</i>		
<i>Stabat Mater à deux voix...</i>	"Mr. M***"	
<i>Stabat Mater, für zwei Sopran-Stimmen von G.B. Pergolesi mit freier Übertragung des lateinischen Textes "Empfindungen beim Kreuz des Heilandes". Vollständiger Clavier-Auszug von C.H. Zöllner</i>	Carl Heinrich Zöllner	?: "Empfindungen beim Kreuz des Heilandes"
<i>Stabat Mater composed by Pergolisi</i>		
<i>Stabat Mater del Signor Giovanni Battista Pergolese Maestro di Music a Loretto</i>		
<i>Stabat Mater à deux voix...</i>	"Mr. M***"	
<i>Stabat Mater à deux voix...</i>	"Mr. M***"	
<i>Stabat Mater, für zwei Sopran Stimmen von G.B. Pergolesi[.] Im vollständigen Klavierauszuge mit lateinischem und deutschem Texte[,] herausgegeben und Ihre Kaiserliche Hoheit der Grossfürstin von Rusland Alexandra Feodorowna in tiefster Ehrfurcht zugeeignet von Carl Klage</i>	Carl Klage [Hiller]	Klopstock
<i>Sion: Chants religieux pour la voix d'alto; Sammlung classischer geistlicher Gesänge für die Altstimme und Piano</i>	Klage [Hiller]	Klopstock

APPENDIX II: PUBLICATIONS OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
1748-1852

41	1826	Samuel Leigh	London	KV, "Stabat mater"
42	1829	J. Power and L.B. Seeley & Sons	London	KV
43**	1833	Lehnhold	St. Petersburg, Moscow	Score
44	1840	A. M. Schlesinger; M. Schlesinger; Novello; Lehnhold	Berlin; Paris; London; Moscow	Score, arr
45**	ca. 1840s	A.M. Schlesinger	Berlin	KV
46	ca. 1840s	B. Girard & Co.; Scip. de Rossi & C.; Filippo Sconduto; R. Lorino	Naples; Rome; Palermo; Messina	KV

APPENDIX II: PUBLICATIONS OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
1748-1852

<p>"The First Movement of the Celebrated Stabat Mater, Composed for Two Sopranos, or a Soprano and a Tenor by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi. The Piano-Forte, or Organ, Accompaniment Arranged Purposely for this Work" in <i>The Harmonicon</i> (Vol. IV, Part II)</p>	??	
<p><i>Pergolesi's celebrated Stabat Mater or Calvary. With English words, written for the purpose, substituted in the place of the ancient Latin verses and the Instrumental parts arranged for the Organ or Piano Forte which may be accompanied (ab libitum) by Two Violins & Violoncello. Calculated either for Public or Family use by Thomas Foster Barham</i></p>	Thomas Foster Barham	[Barham?]
<p><i>Stabat Mater de Pergolèse, instrumenté à grand Orchestre et avec Choeurs par Alexis Lvoff, agrégé à l'Académie de Bologne et membre honoraire de la Société philharmonique de St. Petersbourg</i></p>	Aleksey L'vov	
<p><i>Stabat Mater[.] Partitur für das große Orchester und mit Chören[,] instrumentirt von Alexis Lvoff, Mitglied der Academien von Bologna u. St. Petersburg. Die Melodie und Harmonien Pergoleses sind treu beibehalten worden</i></p>	L'vov	
<p><i>Stabat Mater von G.B. Pergolese[.] Vollständiger Clavierauszug nach der Instrumentation von Alexis Lvoff</i></p>	L'vov	
<p><i>Stabat mater a due voci del celebre Pergolesi 1736 ridotto con accompagnamento di pianoforte ed organo e dedicato a S.E. il Signor Principe Giovanni Lanza e Ventimiglia Maggiordomo di settimana di S.M. il Re del Regno delle due Sicilie...dal maestro Ignazio d'Asdia</i></p>	Ignazio d'Asdia	

APPENDIX II: PUBLICATIONS OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
1748-1852

47	1842	Mme. Ve. Launer	Paris	KV
48**	ca. 1843	F. Lucca	Milan	KV
49**	1843-6	Anton Diabelli & Co.	Vienna	KV
50	1844	Breitkopf & Härtel	Leipzig	Piano solo
51	1850-2	G. P. Reed & Co.	Boston, MA	KV

POSSIBLE or DUBIOUS:

52	1771	C.F.D. Schubart	Ludwigsburg	??
53	ca. 1780s	Christian Gottfried Donatius?	Lübeck?	KV
54	1781	Schwickert	Leipzig	KV
55	1786-1831	Porro	Paris	Score
56	1790s	Choron	Paris	3v, ??
57	1805-1827	Carli	Paris	KV
58	1819	Novello	London	4v, ??
59	Before 1841	Carnaud	Lyon	Score

APPENDIX II: PUBLICATIONS OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
1748-1852

<i>Stabat de Pergolèse à 2 voix, et Requiem de Mozart à quatre voix, avec accompagnement de piano ou orgue</i>	??	
<i>Stabat Mater a due voci con accompagnamento di pianoforte od organo del celebre Mo. Gian-Battista Jesi detto Pergolese</i>	??	
<i>Stabat Mater für zwei Singstimmen mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte</i>	??	
<i>Stabat Mater</i>	Franz Hüntten	
<i>The celebrated Stabat Mater for two voices composed by Pergolese</i>	??	John Sullivan Dwight: "O, how mournful! O, how holy!"

??	Hiller?	Klopstock
??	Christian Adolf Overbeck	??
<i>Stabat mater, oder Paßionskantate, mit der deutschen Parodie des Hrn Klopstock, im Clavierauszuge</i>	Hiller?	Klopstock
??		
??	Choron?	
??		
??	Novello?	
??		

APPENDIX II NOTES

KEY/ABBREVIATIONS:

* = Reprints or reissues of earlier publications, possibly even leftover inventory with new publishing information on it.

** = I have not personally examined this edition.

KV = Keyboard-vocal score

arr = Arrangement beyond keyboard-vocal reduction

3v or 4v = Three or four voices, usually a cappella

INDIVIDUAL NOTES:

1. Date from advertisement in *General Advertiser*, Nov. 22, 1748, see Smith and Humphries, 267. Contains many musical errors and details altered from Pergolesi's autograph.

2. Date from *General Advertiser*, May 8, 1749, see Smith & Humphries, 267. Same plates as previous. RISM Nos.: P 1348; PP 1348; 00000990048900.

3. Date from *Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, Nov. 12, 1753, see Devriès-Lesure, 399. Only minor differences from Walsh's edition. RISM Nos.: P 1355; PP 1355; 00000990048907.

4. Date range from initial Bayard et al publication (1753) to the end of Bayard's career in publishing (1762). For Bayard's career in publishing, see Devriès and Lesure, Vol. 1, 27-8. RISM Nos.: P 1356; 00000990048908.

5. Date from *Public Advertiser*, Dec. 24, 1761, see Smith & Humphries, 267. Sequence of movements: "Inflamatus" – "Cujus" – "Stabat" – "Quae" – "Vidit" – "Eja" – "Pro" – Fugue – "Sancta mater." RISM Nos.: P 1376; 00000990048927.

6. Castaud only started publishing in 1762 according to Vallas, 370. According to Devriès & Lesure, Vol. 1, 162-4, Le Goux acquired Debrottonne (Desbretonne) in 1763 and was acquired by Castaud in 1766. Marie-Anne Castagneri's name sometimes appears with as "Castagnery." Likewise, "Leclerc" and "Le Clerc" are both observed. RISM Nos.: P 1354; PP 1354; 00000990048906.

7. It is not clear what this edition is (two separate publications bound together?) and it seems lost. Walsh first published *Songs in Messiah* in 1763 and died in 1766. See Smith, 121. For the date of *Songs in Messiah*, see Burrows, 224.

8. Based on the Bayard et al. edition, but new plates were made. The F-Pn catalogue says this edition was published around 1770. It likely appeared after Castaud acquired Le Goux (1766) and definitely before Castaud was acquired by Garnier (1791). See Devriès & Lesure, Vol. 1, 162. RISM Nos.: P 1352; 00000990048904.

9. Gaudaert (Goddaert) is only recorded as being active between 1768 and 1773 according to Devriès & Lesure, Vol. 1, 160. RISM Nos.: P 1353; 00000990048905.
10. Probably lost. Date from *Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, Oct. 5, 1769, see Devriès-Lesure, 399.
11. RISM Nos.: P 1373; PP 1373; 00000990048924.
12. RISM Nos.: P 1372; PP 1372; 00000990048923.
13. RISM Nos.: P 1374; PP 1374; 00000990048925.
14. Published over several volumes. For more on Vogler's *Verbesserung*, see Floyd K. Grave, "Abbé Vogler's Revision of Pergolesi's 'Stabat Mater'," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30:1 (Spring, 1977): 43-71.
15. Library catalogues date this publication to around 1780 and place its origin in Naples. The copy at US-Bem gives at least a bookend thanks to the following notation: "Per uso del Pro[curatore] Nicolo Cugliosso, coristo primo nel Convento d'Orocoeli di Roma, l'anno 1799." A musical text that comes closer to Pergolesi's autograph than most other eighteenth-century publications provides some circumstantial evidence for a Neapolitan provenance. RISM Nos.: P 1360; 00000992006791.
16. The date range was ascertained by the plate number (578) and the address (rue Coquillière No. 22) of this publication using the information in Devriès & Lesure, Vol. 1, 144-5. RISM Nos.: P 1359; PP 1359; 00000990048911.
17. Date is from British Library catalogue. Wright (who indirectly inherited Walsh's inventory from which this edition derives) lost his partner in 1789, so this year can be considered the latest possible for the appearance of this publication. See Kidson, 159. RISM Nos.: P 1377; 00000990048928.
18. Date is from British Library catalogue. Appeared before 1798, the year Harrison added a new partner (Cluse) to his firm's name. See Humphries & Smith, 173. RISM Nos.: P 1350; PP 1350; 00000990048902.
19. Date from British Library catalogue. Wright published alone at this address between 1785 and 1801. See Humphries & Smith, 343. Like previous Wright publication, this one derives from the inventory of Walsh's that Wright obtained. RISM Nos.: P 1351; PP 1351; 00000990048903.
20. Appears on page 146. Not even twenty bars long, it is a greatly simplified gloss of the opening melody of the movement "Sancta mater" arranged for three voices a cappella.

According to the title page, a "Revd Sir A. Gordon" was responsible for choosing the texts. This one comes from Tate and Brady's translation of Psalm CXXIII in their *A New Version of the Psalms of David* (London, 1696).

21. On pages 20-2. Unlike Hiller and Schiørring's reductions, the keyboardist's right hand plays the violin parts throughout instead of duplicating the vocal part.

22. Dated using address (Rue Saint-Honoré No. 273). See Devriès & Lesure, Vol. 1, 37. RISM Nos.: P 1357; PP 1357; 00000990048909.

23. Date from British Library catalogue. Musical text derives from Walsh, but new engraving. RISM Nos.: P 1349; PP 1349; 00000990048901.

24. Date given in Gerber, 679. The right hand of the piano part is more fully realized than the keyboard arrangements of the previous century, supplying the violin parts and hardly ever doubling the voices outright. This arrangement was reprinted several times (see below). RISM Nos.: P 1363; PP 1363; 00000990048914.

25. On page 335. Samuel Holyoke, the compiler of *The Columbian Repository*, used the arrangement of "Sancta mater" from *The Psalms of David*, but affixed a new text. This text was already popular within the Sacred Harp tradition and the *Repository* was intended "[f]or the use of schools, musical societies, and worshipping assemblies." RISM Nos.: H 6358; HH 6358; 00000990030409.

26. It is assumed that Birchall published this arrangement around the same time (1805-15) as he published similar piano arrangements by Clarke-Whitfeld of other "ancient" repertoire. Regardless, it likely appeared after 1800, when Birchall began issuing much piano music, but before 1819, the year Birchall died. See Humphries & Smith, 74. RISM Nos.: P 1369; 00000990048920.

27. I have not been able to ascertain how these three editions relate to each other (which are reprints or reissues of which). Consequentially, one or two may have appeared substantially later. The date comes from the premiere advertised on the cover; the work would presumably have been published soon after. For a modern edition of this publication, see the one edited by Giuseppe Camerlingo (Parma: L'oca del Cairo, 1999). RISM Nos.: P 1371; PP 1371; 00000990048922.

28. The catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal identifies it as Paisiello's arrangement. RISM Nos.: PP 1359a; 00000991023780.

29. Bochsá did not begin publishing until 1811, unlike Janet et Cotelle who were active in 1810. See Devriès & Lesure, Vol. 1, 34-5 and Vol. 2, 234-6. RISM Nos.: P 1370; PP 1370; 00000990048921.

30. Dated from the publisher number (903). See Devriès & Lesure, Vol. 1, 105. For a modern edition, see the one edited by Maurizio Machella (Padova: Armelin Musica, 2005). Machella claims a date between 1799 and 1802. This is related, if not identical, to the publications of Pleyel, T. Mollo, Marquerie and Pacini also listed. RISM Nos.: P 1362; 00000990048913.

31. This is related, if not identical, to the publications of Pleyel, Le Duc, Marquerie and Pacini also listed. Dated from publisher number (1406). See Deutsch, 16. RISM Nos.: P 1368; PP 1368; 00000990048919.

32. Leftover stock or reissue of Wright's 1790 publication. Preston purchased Wright's catalogue around 1803. See Humphries & Smith, 264. Date from British Library catalogue.

33. This is related, if not identical, to the publications of Pleyel, Le Duc, T. Mollo and Pacini also listed. Date based on publisher number (53). See Devriès & Lesure, Vol. 2, 300. RISM Nos.: P 1364; 00000990048915.

34. Cranz began publishing in Hamburg in 1814 and Zöllner died in 1836. RISM Nos.: P 1375; PP 1375; 00000990048926.

35. Date from GB-Lbl catalogue, which accords with the date range (c. 1812-1820) for Walker at this address ("105 & 106, Gt. Portland St."). See Humphries & Smith, 319.

36. Clearly based on the Bayard et al. edition, but new plates. Based on the address ("Arcade de l'Institut ou rue de Seine No. 14"), her use of "Mme." and her self-identification as the "successor of Mr. Bonjour," this was probably issued early in her career. See Devriès & Lesure, Vol. 2, 241. RISM Nos.: P 1358; PP 1358; 00000990048910.

37. This is related, if not identical, to the publications of Pleyel, Le Duc, T. Mollo and Marquerie also listed. This bears the same plate number (53) as the Marquerie edition, suggesting that it maybe the same publication, only sold by Pacini. The following publication may or may not be a different set of plates. Dated from the address ("Boulevard des Italiens, No. 11"). See Devriès & Lesure, Vol. 2, 333. RISM Nos.: P 1365; 00000990048916.

38. See comments of previous publication. RISM Nos.: P 1366; 00000990048917.

39. Date is estimated from other items catalogued on WorldCat by this publisher. Based on Hiller's 1774 publication, but with the keyboard player's right hand covering more of the violin parts. RISM Nos.: P 1361; PP 1361; 00000990048912.

40. Date from D-TRb, 104/163 03 (RISM No. 456000818).

41. Pages 17-20.

43. Dated from G. W. Fink, "Recension: Stabat Mater de Pergolèse, instrumenté à grand orchestre et avec chœurs par Alexis Lvoff...," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 36:1 (Jan. 1, 1834): 5-13.
44. Dated from G. W. Fink, "Alexis Lvoff: Pergolese, Stabat mater. Partitur für das grosse Orchester und mit Chören...," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 42:38 (Sept. 16, 1840): 783-84.
45. Presumably, this appeared sometime after the full score was published.
46. Giovanni Lanza e Ventimiglia was named *maggiordomo* in 1840 according to *Almanacco reale del Regno delle Due Sicilie per l'anno 1857* (Naples: Stamperia reale), 68. Girard seems to have stopped publishing in the early 1850s. RISM Nos.: PP 1369a; 00000991009730.
47. Dated from the copy in D-B that is prefaced by an article ("La belle Marthe, le bandit Stenio, et le Stabat de Pergolese") from *Ménestrel* (Mar. 6, 1842).
48. Date from Biblioteca de Catalunya catalogue. Title suggests a connection to the arrangement of "Mr. M***."
49. Dated from publisher number (7920). See Deutsch, 11. Again, title suggests a connection to the arrangement of "Mr. M***." RISM Nos.: P 1367; PP 1367; 00000990048918.
50. Date from "Neue Auflagen, Bearbeitungen etc.," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 21:14 (Aug. 15, 1844): 54.
51. Published as separate movements between 1850 and 1852. Very similar to Launer publication.

POSSIBLE or DUBIOUS:

52. According to a notice in "Varia Ringiana II," Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart sold bilingual scores of the *Stabat* (original Latin with Klopstock's German) starting in 1771. From the advertisement it is unclear whether these scores were printed or manuscript copies. See Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Werke und Briefe: Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe: Oden*, Vol. 1:2, edited by Horst Gronemeyer and Klaus Hurlebusch (Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 441.
53. Alberto Basso suggests that Overbeck also arranged a companion piece to his parody of the *Salve regina* (Lübeck: Donatus, 1785) widely, but falsely, attributed to Pergolesi during the eighteenth century. No such *Stabat* publication by Overbeck survives and Basso offers no documentation. Furthermore, Overbeck would have had little incentive to produce a parody of the *Stabat* so similar to the Hiller publication that clearly served as the

inspiration for Overbeck's publication (down to its charitable auspices). See Basso, *L'invenzione della gioia: Musica e massoneria nell'età dei Lumi* (Milan: Garzanti, 1994), 622.

54. Giesecke's *Handbuch für Litteratoren* lists this publication, but, without a surviving example, this reference probably confused Hiller's reduction of Pergolesi's *Stabat* and Hiller's reduction of Haydn's *Stabat* (with Hiller's own parody instead of Klopstock's) published by Schwickert in 1781. In support of this, Giesecke fails to record Hiller's reduction of Pergolesi's *Stabat*, only the 1776 orchestration. Nevertheless, Fétis does list the Pergolesi Schwickert publication as genuine. See Johann Christian Giesecke, *Handbuch für Litteratoren...* (Magdeburg: S.n., 1794), 398 and Fétis, 194.

55. Another publication listed by Fétis that I can neither locate a surviving copy of or a more recent reference to. Dates are based on surviving publications from this publisher.

56. Caffarelli lists this publication in his preface to his collected works edition of the *Stabat*. Like the previous example, I can neither locate a surviving copy or a contemporary reference. See Pergolesi, *Opera omnia*, edited by Francesco Caffarelli, Vol. 24 "Sequenze" (Rome: Gli Amici della musica da camera, 1942).

57. Similar situation to 55.

58. Similar situation to 56.

59. Similar situation to 55 and 57, but while there was a Carnaud family of musicians who dabbled in music publishing, they were active in Paris, not Lyon. Possibly, this is confusion with one of Castaud's publications.

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APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
FROM THE 1740S INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

DATE	ORGANIZATION/VENUE	CITY	STATE	PERFORMERS
1742	Saint Peter's Church	Fritzlar	Fritzlar	
1749	Stora Riddarhussalen (Great Room in the House of the Nobility)?	Stockholm	Sweden	
1749.1003	Charitable Musical Society/Fishamble Street	Dublin	Britain (Ireland)	Smock Alley Band, Nicolo Pasquali (lead), Sullivan, Mrs. Storer, Mrs. Lampe, Mrs. Mozeen
1749.1116	Charitable Musical Society/Fishamble Street	Dublin	Britain (Ireland)	Smock Alley Band, Pasquali, Eleanor Oldmixon
1749.1121	Charitable Musical Society/Fishamble Street	Dublin	Britain (Ireland)	Smock Alley Band, Pasquali
1750	Stora Riddarhussalen?	Stockholm	Sweden	
1750.0424	Charitable Musical Society/Fishamble Street	Dublin	Britain (Ireland)	Smock Alley Band, Pasquali
1751	Bryggernes Laugshussalen (Brewers Guild Hall Room)	Copenhagen	Denmark	Johannes Erasmus Iversen (organizer)
1751	Stora Riddarhussalen?	Stockholm	Sweden	
1751.0225	Fishamble Street	Dublin	Britain (Ireland)	Nancy Storage, Oldmixon, Giovanni Battista Marella (lead)

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
FROM THE 1740S INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

VERSION	COMMENTS	SOURCE
	MS score and parts dated Jan. 23, 1742 suggest a performance that year	D-FTZd, MS 26/4 (RISM No. 450020281)
Roman; possibly with other pieces by Roman, Marcello and Handel inserted	Printed libretto in S-Sk has "additional arias" penciled in before fugue, these are supposedly catalogued in S-Skma, but materials there are too fragmentary to indicate how (or if) they were interpolated; during Lent	Vretblad, 149; "Jesu Christi Guds Sons...[1749]"; S-Skma, KO/Sv.-Rr saml. Ro:86a-c & Ro:62c (RISM Nos. 190023604 & 190101815)
	Bilingual (Latin/English) libretto published by James Hoey	Boydell, "1749-1750;" Boydell, <i>Calendar</i> , 131; "The Plaint of the Blessed Virgin"
	Performed with Vivaldi ("Spring"), cons and songs	Boydell, "1749-1750;" Boydell, <i>Calendar</i> , 132; "The Plaint of the Blessed Virgin"
	Performed with Corelli (Op. 6, No. 8)	Boydell, "1749-1750;" Boydell, <i>Calendar</i> , 132; "The Plaint of the Blessed Virgin"
Roman	During Lent	"Jesu Christi Guds Sons...[1750]"
	Performed with Handel (<i>Acis and Galatea</i>)	Boydell, "1749-1750;" Boydell, <i>Calendar</i> , 139; "The Plaint of the Blessed Virgin"
		Ravn, 49; Radiciotti, 252-3
Roman	During Lent	"Jesu Christi Guds Sons...[1751]"
	Storace benefit; Hoey sold tickets and librettos	Boydell, <i>Calendar</i> , 149; "The Plaint of the Blessed Virgin"

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
FROM THE 1740S INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1751.12		Edinburgh	Britain (Scotland)	Christina Passerini
1752	Stora Riddarhussalen?	Stockholm	Sweden	
1752.0118	Primate's House	Dublin	Britain (Ireland)	Gaetano Guadagni, Oldmixon
1752.0312	Great Room, Dean Street	London	Britain	Elisabetta de Gambarini
1753.0413	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Antoine Albanèse
1753.0416	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Pierre Dota, Royer
1753.0417	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Dota, Royer
1753.0418	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Dota, Royer
1753.0419	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Dota, Royer
1753.0427	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Louis- Augustin Richer, Royer
1754.0118	Charitable Musical Society/Fishamble Street	Dublin	Britain (Ireland)	
1754.0408	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Guadagni
1754.0409	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Guadagni
1754.0410	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Guadagni
1754.0411	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Guadagni
1754.0412	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Guadagni

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
FROM THE 1740S INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

	"Sacred Lines...by the best Masters, such as Pergolesi, Marcello, Handel, etc.;" concert series repeated the following year	Burchell, 83-4
Roman	During Lent	"Jesu Christi Guds Sons...[1752]"
		Boydell, <i>Calendar</i> , 160
	Benefit concert	Burden, Table 1
"Airs"	Joseph-Nicolas-Pancrease Royer, who led the Concert Spirituel from 1748-55, introduced the piece to the series	Mamy, 247-50
Reports indicate that only excerpts of the <i>Stabat</i> were usually performed		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
	"By particular Desire...the celebrated <i>Stabat Mater</i> "	Boydell, <i>Calendar</i> , 190
With choruses by Royer		Mamy, 247-50
With choruses by Royer		Mamy, 247-50
With choruses by Royer		Mamy, 247-50
With choruses by Royer		Mamy, 247-50
With choruses by Royer		Mamy, 247-50

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1754.0419	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Guadagni
1755	Det Musicalske Selskab (The Musical Society)/Bryggernes Laugshussalen	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1755.0327	Stora Rådhusalen (Great Room in City Hall)	Stockholm	Sweden	
1755.0328	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1755.0329	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1756		Rotterdam	Dutch Republic	
1756.0402	Theatre Royal, Drury Lane	London	Britain	Regina Mingotti, Giuseppe Ricciarelli; Felice Giardini (lead, vln)
1756.0415	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Violantina Vestris de Giardini
1756.0416	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Violantina Giardini
1756.1006	Theater troupe of Giuseppe Giordani	Amsterdam	Dutch Republic	Anna Maria Lazzari, Marina Giordani, Antonio Perellino
1757.0331	Smock Alley Theater	Dublin	Britain (Ireland)	Bernardo Palma
1757.0405	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1757.0406	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1757.0407	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1757.0408	Stora Riddarhusalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1758.0108	Hickford's room	London	Britain	

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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With choruses by Royer		Mamy, 247-50
Simon Carl Stanley's parody; complete, with chorales and other movements, some from Pergolesi's <i>Salve regina</i>	During Lent	Stanley, 1755
Roman		Vretblad, 152
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Wind, 106
	"Concerto Spirituale;" charity concert; also performed: overture, vln con (Giardini), org con (Stanley), vocal quartet (Hasse)	<i>Public Advertiser</i> , 1756
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
	Benefit concert for two dancers, Bettina Bugniani and Cosimo Marenesi; performed by members of Giuseppe Giordani's traveling opera buffa troupe	Scheurleer, "Een Merkwaardig," 41
	Benefit concert; Boydell's "calendar" stops in 1760, likely more performances occurred in Dublin before 1782	Boydell, <i>Calendar</i> , 226
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	"Célèbre Pergolese;" Good Friday	Vretblad, 152
		Burden, Table 1

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1758.0310	Theatre Royal, Drury Lane	London	Britain	Mingotti, Giardini
1758.0319	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Francesco Uttini (lead), "Italienske Virtuoser," Fru Kayser
1758.0321	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1758.0322	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1758.0323	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1758.0324	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Hr Zanders
1758.1004	Salisbury Musical Festival/Salisbury Cathedral	Salisbury	Britain	Giula Frasi, Thomas Norris
1759	Academy of Ancient Music	London	Britain	
1759	St. Peters?	Rome	Papal States	
1759	Saint Hedwig's Cathedral	Berlin	Prussia	Porporino, Carlo Concialini
1759.0108	Hickford's room	London	Britain	
1759.0311	Frimurares-Salen (Freemason's Hall)	Stockholm	Sweden	Lars Samuel Lalin
1759.0315	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Uttini (lead)
1759.0322	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Uttini
1759.0328	Frimurares-Salen	Stockholm	Sweden	L. S. Lalin

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Giardini arranged several movts for chorus	"Concerto Spirituale"	<i>Public Advertiser</i> , 1758
Roman	Benefit concert for Fru Kayser; "Motette;" with works by Uttini	Vretblad, 153
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Benefit concert for Hr Zanders; with instrumental solos; advertisement specifically mentions Swedish text and Swedish psalms	Vretblad, 153
	Anthems assembled from works by Pergolesi, Sammartini, Tasso, Vinci	Pritchard, Reid & Matthews, 25
With choruses by Benjamin Cooke ("O quam" and fugues)	It is unclear if the arrangement was copied for an imminent performance or if it was ever performed	GB-Lcm, MS 816/5 ("Chorusses added to Pergolesi's <i>Stabat Mater</i> . 1759")
	MS titled: "Das Pabstliche Missale am stillen Freytag[e] [Good Friday] 1759 aufgefuhrt zu Rom...," likely a souvenir of a concert attended	D-LEu, MS N.I.10492 (RISM No. 225000874)
	Elaborate musical performances were common at Saint Hedwig's on feast days; apparently this performance made J.A.P. Schulz cry	Radiciotti, 245
	Subscription concert	<i>Public Advertiser</i> , 1758
Roman	"Spiritual music of Pergolesi with Swedish words"	Vretblad, 156
Roman	Advertisement only says "Passions-Musiquen" without a composer (the <i>Stabat</i> is usually referred to as "Motet" or "Passion Music" in Swedish)	Vretblad, 156
Roman	With other arias	Vretblad, 156
Roman	Advertisement say "with chorales"	Vretblad, 157

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1759.0404	Villa Caserta	Rome	Papal States	Gioachino Conti ("Giziello"), Giuseppe Guspelti
1759.0406	Frimurares-Salen	Stockholm	Sweden	L. S. Lalin
1760	Raadhusstrædets Musicalske Selskab (The City Hall Street Musical Society)/Bryggernes Laugshussalen	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1760	Det Musicalske Selskab	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1760.0229	Great Room, Dean Street	London	Britain	
1760.0309	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Ferdinand Zellbell the younger (lead)
1760.0323	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Zellbell (lead)
1760.0330	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Mingotti, Pasquale Potenza
1760.0330	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Zellbell
1760.0404	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Zellbell
1761		Bath	Britain	
1761?	Det Musicalske Selskab/Bryggernes Laugshussalen	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1761		Rotterdam	Dutch Republic	
1761.0301	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Anders Wesström (vln), L. S. Lalin

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	Princess of Collamare patronized concert	Radiciotti, 208
Roman	"By popular demand" and "with chorales"	Vretblad, 157
	That year also had performances of Hasse ("Passionsmusik") and Graun (<i>Te Deum</i>)	Ravn, 64; Radiciotti, 252-3
Stanley's parody; complete, with chorales, but no other extra movements	During Lent	Stanley, 1760
		Burden, Table 1
Roman	Possibly: "Motette med svenska ord"	Vretblad, 159
Roman	"Upon multiple requests...the usual Passion Music along with the customary verses from the Psalm Book"	Vretblad, 159-60
	Or 4/10	Mamy, 247-50
Roman	"With chorales;" performed with "spiritual music with Italian words"	Vretblad, 160
Roman	With "spiritual music" and a keyboard solo	Vretblad, 160
	Benefit concert	Burchell, 136
Stanley's parody; complete, with chorales, but no other extra movements	Danish Royal Library dates this between 1761 and 1765; during Lent	Stanley, 1761-5?
		Wind, 106
Roman	Benefit concert for Wesström and Lalin; Wesström performed a vln con and Lalin sang other arias; "med svenska text och koraler"	Vretblad, 161

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1761.0308	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Wesström (vln)
1761.0315	Stora Rådhusalen (Great Room in City Hall)	Göteborg	Sweden	
1761.0315	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	L. S. Lalin, Wesström (vln), Bylau (bn)
1761.0320	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	L. S. Lalin
1762	Fishamble Street Music Hall	Dublin	Britain (Ireland)	Passerinis
1762.0307	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Henrik Filip Johnsen (lead), Wesström (vln), Anton Uriotti (vcl)
1762.0328	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	R. Uttini, F. Uttini (lead), Bylaus (ob), Uriotti (vcl)
1762.0404	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Zellbell (lead)
1762.0409	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Bylau (lead, bn?)
1762.0421	Haymarket Theater	London	Britain	
1763		Hamburg	Hamburg, Free Imperial City of	
1763	Konzertzaal	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Poland	
1763	Stora Rådhusalen?	Göteborg	Sweden	Carl Dijkman, Anders Bonge (organizers)
1763.0214	Oxford Musical Society/Music Room	Oxford	Britain	
1763.0327	Stora Rådhusalen	Göteborg	Sweden	Dijkman, Bonge (organizers)

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Roman	Wesström performed a vln con; "with chorales"	Vretblad, 162
		Berg, 124
Roman	Benefit concert for Bylau; with instrumental solos (Bylau, Wesström)	Vretblad, 162
Roman	With Hasse "spiritual music" for soloist and chorus	Vretblad, 162
		Grattan Flood, 300
Roman	"Med koralerna (på begäran) [with chorales (by request)];" with solos (Wesström, Uriotti)	Vretblad, 165
Roman	"Motette;" benefit concert for Uriotti; with con and solos for the instrumentalists	Vretblad, 165
Roman	"Med koralerna;" with "new spiritual vocal and instrumental music"	Vretblad, 165
Roman	Swedish text sold at venue; with a bassoon duet and a Geminiani con grosso	Vretblad, 165
		Burden, Table 1
	Date and location suggested from MS	GB-Ge, MS R.d.16 (RISM No. 800070386)
	"Virtuosenkonzert" during Lent; Graun's <i>Der Tod Jesu</i> and Haydn's <i>Stabat</i> were also popular; concerts were also given during Lent in church	Lott, 300-1
	Good Friday charity concert for the Freemason's orphanage	Berg, 125
		Burchell, 218; Mee, 21
		Berg, 125

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1763.0330	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Mlle. Hardi, M. Aiuto
1763.0331	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Mlle. Hardi, J. L. Besche
1763.0401	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1763.0401	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Zellbell (lead)
1764.0312	Musik-Saale	Hamburg	Hamburg, Free Imperial City of	
1764.0325	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	F. Uttini (lead), R. Uttini, Mme. Baptiste, Mme. Du Londell, Louis Gallodier
1764.0401	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Uttini (lead), Erik Ferling (vln), Bylau (ob)
1764.0402	Kościół św. Jadwigi (St. Hedwig's Church)	Grodzisk Wielkopolski	Poland, Kingdom of	
1764.0415	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Johnsen (lead)
1764.0417	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Hardi
1764.0418	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Hardi
1764.0419	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Hardi
1764.0420	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Albanèse, Hardi
1764.0420	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Zellbell (lead)
1765	Konzertzaal	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Poland	
1765.0403	Mariæ Fattighus (Mary's Poor House)	Stockholm	Sweden	

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		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	"With chorales" and "a numerous orchestra"	Vretblad, 168
	Performed with Hasse's <i>I pellegrini</i>	Kamieński, 124
Uttini's changes?	Benefit concert for Gallodier; the <i>Stabat</i> referred to as "the motet;" with Pergolesi's <i>Salve regina</i>	Vretblad, 169
With chorales	Benefit concert for Bylau; Ferling played a vln con and Bylau an ob con	Vretblad, 169
	Date on manuscript may not necessarily be a performance date	PL-Pa, Muz GR III/44 (RISM No. 300234358)
"På svenska med därtill hörige Psalmer efter en aldeles ny förfärdigad Musikalisk composition;" Roman?	"Bekante" <i>Stabat</i> ; performed with additional choruses, duets and solos	Vretblad, 169
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	With chorales and "a numerous orchestra;" with Hasse's "Passion music"	Vretblad, 170
	"Konz. der Ratsmusiker" during Lent	Lott, 300-1
Roman	"The usual Passion Music;" presumably for the benefited of the venue	Vretblad, 171

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1765.0405	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Zellbell (lead)
1765.0412	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Marie Fel, L.-A. Richer
1766		The Hague	Dutch Republic	Giovanni Battista Zingoni (lead)
1766.0303	Fastosa accademia di suoni e canti/Tre Visi	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Giuseppe Ricciarelli, Anton Raaff
1766.0316	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Mlle. Therese, Mr. Chatillon
1766.0318	Accademia at Palazzo Pitti	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Angiola Branchi, Giovanni Manzuoli
1766.0321	Accademia degli Armonici/Borgo dei Greci	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Giacomo Veroli, Luigi Giorgi
1766.0326	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1766.0327	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1766.0328	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Fel, L.-A. Richer
1766.0328	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Ferling (lead), Mlle. Therese, M. Chatillon
1766.0401	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1767	Det Musicalske Selskab/Bryggernes Laugshussalen	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1767.0415	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Fel, L.-A. Richer

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Roman	"The usual Passion Music"	Vretblad, 171
		Mamy, 247-50
		Scheurleer, <i>Mozart's</i> , 70
	Presented under the auspices, and at the villa, of George Clavering-Cowper, 3rd Earl Cowper; Grand Duke of Tuscany in attendance; <i>La serva padrona</i> also revived this year, but never performed again; Cowper also sponsored performances of Handel's music that did not catch on with the Florentine public	Weavers, 223-4; Rice, 62-71
Roman	"At the request of many distinguished persons"	Vretblad, 173
	With a cantata by Felice Alessandri di Roma	Weavers, 224
		Weavers, 224
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	With a vln con (Ferling)	Vretblad, 173
		Mamy, 247-50
Anonymous parody; complete, divided into two parts (first, through fugue; second, through "Quando" without "Amen"), each part bookended by a chorale	Likely during Lent	"Texten til Passions Musiqven..."
		Mamy, 247-50

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1767.0416	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Fel, L.-A. Richer
1767.0417	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Fel, L.-A. Richer
1767.0417	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Ferling (lead)
1767.1214	Oxford Musical Society/Music Room	Oxford	Britain	
1768	Det Musicaliske Selskab/Johannes Benzon's Estate	Aalborg	Denmark	Peter Adam Hartwich (organizer)
1768.0317	Music-Saal	Zürich	Zürich, Canton of	
1768.0322	Music-Saal	Zürich	Zürich, Canton of	
1768.0327	Accademia degl'Ingegnosi	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Giorgi, Goletti
1768.0329	Accademia degli Armonici/Borgo dei Greci	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Manzuoli, Salvatore Pazzaglia
1768.0330	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Fel, L.-A. Richer
1768.0331	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Fel, L.-A. Richer
1768.0401	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Fel, L.-A. Richer
1768.0401	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Ferling (lead), Baptiste (vcl), Soligny, M. Chatillon
1768.0408	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Fel, L.-A. Richer
1768.1223	Edinburgh Musical Society/St. Cecilia's Hall	Edinburgh	Britain (Scotland)	
1769.0313	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1769.0321	Accademia degli Armonici	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Manzuoli, Veroli
1769.0324	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Uttini (lead), Mmes. Gallodier & Uttini

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		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	"Med tillhörande korale [with the associated chorales];" with a vln con (Ferling)	Vretblad, 175
		Mee, 21
	"Vocal- og Instrumental- Passionsmusiqve;" inaugural concert, amateur organization	Koudal, 410
Johann Caspar Lavater's parody	Bilingual (Latin/German) libretto	Lavater, 1768
Johann Caspar Lavater's parody	Bilingual (Latin/German) libretto	Lavater, 1768
	With instrumental music	Weavers, 247
	"Che in mezzo a molti ed abili professori di suono, fecero bravamente risaltare il merito di questa sempre bella composizione"	Weavers, 247
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Benefit concert (for Ferling?); with cons (Ferling, Baptiste)	Vretblad, 177
		Mamy, 247-50
Stabat Mater <i>Overture</i> by Pasquali	Pasquali's overture is lost, but may have derived from the <i>Stabat</i>	Gray, 215
		Mamy, 247-50
	"Che fu cantata con buon numero di strumente...e con piacere dei molti Signori e Signore concrose"	Weavers, 259
Roman	Benefit concert (for Uttini?); with Uttini's "Passions-musik" and symphonies	Vretblad, 179

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1769.0422	Accademia at Palazzo Pitti	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Manzuoli, Branchi, Ottavia Guerrazzi (the last 2 were dilettantes)
1770	L'Académie des Beaux-Arts/Hôtel de Ville	Lyon	France	
1770		Breslau (Wrocław)	Prussia	
1770	Grosse Concert/Gasthaus "Zu den drei Schwanen"	Leipzig	Saxony, Electorate of	Johann Adam Hiller (lead), Corona Schröter, Gertrud Schmeling (later Mara)
1770.0306	Sorø Ridderlige Akademi	Sorø	Denmark	
1770.0308	Haymarket Theater	London	Britain	Guadagni, Gaspare Savoi
1770.0315	Haymarket Theater	London	Britain	Guadagni, Savoi

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		Weavers, 262
With chorus ("O quam" and fugues)	Good Friday	Vallas, 178-91, 385-6; Di Profio, 176
	Other music performed over the years: Graun's <i>Der Tod Jesu</i> (1768), Gluck's <i>Alceste</i> (1769), his <i>Orpheus</i> (1770), Handel's <i>Alexander's feast</i> (1774) and <i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> (1776)	Zduniak, 273
Klopstock's parody	Performed at least twice according to Tiedemann's letter to Klopstock; during Hiller's tenure, often paired with Haydn's <i>Stabat</i>	Schering, 403; Klopstock, 439
Danish and German parody; added chorales; with 2fl	During Lent; two librettos (German and Danish) survive for 1770 with different chorale placement suggesting at least two different performances, one for a primarily German-speaking audience and one for a primarily Danish-speaking one	"Passions-Cantata som udi Fasten 1770...;" "Passions-Cantata, welche in der Fasten-Zeit 1770...;" DK-A, MS R23 (RISM No. 150201881)
Complete	J.C. Bach's oratorio series; performed with Jommelli's <i>La passione</i> (Act I) and assorted instrumental music and choruses; bilingual (Latin, English) libretto printed	<i>Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser</i> , Mar. 8, 1770; Terry, 120; Burrows & Dunhill, 603-4; "Stabat Mater, an Hymn, As Perform'd at the King's-Theatre in the Hay-Market..."
Complete	J.C. Bach's oratorio series; performed with Jommelli's <i>La passione</i> (Act I) and assorted instrumental music and choruses; bilingual (Latin, English) libretto printed	<i>Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser</i> , Mar 15, 1770; Terry, 120; Burrows & Dunhill, 603-4; "Stabat Mater, an Hymn, As Perform'd at the King's-Theatre in the Hay-Market..."

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1770.0401	Utile Dulci/Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1770.0408	Utile Dulci/Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1770.0410	Accademia degli Armonici	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Manzuoli, Veroli
1770.0411	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Elisabeth Richer (Mme. Philidor), L.-A. Richer
1770.0413	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Ferling (lead), Baptiste (vcl)
1770.0419	Haymarket Theater	London	Britain	Guadagni, Savoi?
1770.05	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1770.0514	Oxford Musical Society/Music Room	Oxford	Britain	Elizabeth Linley, Thomas Norris, William Matthews
1770.0612	Haymarket Theater	London	Britain	Guadagni, Cecilia Grassi
1770.1005	Salisbury Annual Musical Festival/Assembly Rooms	Salisbury	Britain	Elizabeth Linley, Giusto Tenducci

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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Roman (divided into two parts)	5th Cavaljers-Concerten	Vretblad, 182; "Jesu Christi Guds Sons...[1770]"
Roman (divided into two parts)	6th Cavaljers-Concerten	Vretblad, 182; "Jesu Christi Guds Sons...[1770]"
		Weavers, 270
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman (divided into two parts)	"Med därtill hörande Coraler [with associated chorales];" benefit concert (for Ferling?); text sold at venue; Baptiste and Ferling performed con	Vretblad, 182; "Jesu Christi Guds Sons...[1770]"
Complete	J.C. Bach's oratorio series; "by Particular Desire;" performed with Jommelli's <i>La passione</i> (Act I) and assorted instrumental music and choruses; bilingual (Latin, English) libretto printed	<i>Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser</i> , Apr. 18, 1770; Terry, 120; Burrows & Dunhill, 603-4; "Stabat Mater, an Hymn, As Perform'd at the King's-Theatre in the Hay-Market..."
	Four performances total during May	Mamy, 247-50
	Performed with Burney's "I will Love Thee, O Lord my Strength" and a con; Edward Poore reported a riot	Burchell, 218; Burrows & Dunhill, 589
Complete	J.C. Bach's oratorio series; "by Particular Desire;" performed with Jommelli's <i>La passione</i> (Act I) and assorted instrumental music and choruses; bilingual (Latin, English) libretto printed	<i>Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser</i> , Jun. 12, 1770; Terry, 120; Burrows & Dunhill, 603-4; "Stabat Mater, an Hymn, As Perform'd at the King's-Theatre in the Hay-Market..."
	Performed with Jommelli (<i>La passione</i>), J.C. Bach (quartets), misc	Reid & Pritchard, 57-8; Burrows & Dunhill, 604

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
FROM THE 1740S INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1771	Riddarholmskyrkan (Riddarholm Church)	Stockholm	Sweden	
1771.0228	Haymarket Theater	London	Britain	
1771.03	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	E. Richer, L.-A. Richer
1771.0307	Haymarket Theater	London	Britain	
1771.1009		Lauenburg	Saxe- Lauenburg, Duchy of	
1772	Raadhusstrædets Musicalske Selskab/Bryggernes Laugshussalen	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1772	Sorø Ridderlige Akademi	Sorø	Denmark	
1772	Stora Riddarhussalen?	Stockholm	Sweden	
1772.0327	Convent Garden	London	Britain	
1772.0405	Accademia Filomusi	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Manzuoli, Veroli
1772.0416	Edinburgh Musical Society/St. Cecilia's Hall	Edinburgh	Britain (Scotland)	
1772.0417	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Mlle. LeClerc, L.-A. Richer
1772.0418	Casa privata di Giovanni Trinci	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Manzuoli, student
1772.0529	Oxford Musical Society/Music Room	Oxford	Britain	Elizabeth Linley
1772.1201		Vienna	Habsburg Empire	

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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Words by Johan Wellander	"Motetto" by Pergolesi sung during the funeral of King Adolf Fredrik	Andersson, 138
	Performed with Jommelli's <i>La passione</i>	Burrows & Dunhill, 625
	During Holy Week	Mamy, 247-50
	Performed with Jommelli's <i>La passione</i>	Burrows & Dunhill, 625
With chorales and a German text	Date on manuscript may not necessarily be a performance date	D-SWI, Mus.4178/3 (RISM No. 240003516)
Ewald; complete, no added movements	Likely during Lent; bilingual (Latin/Danish) libretto	Ewald, 1772
Same as German parody from 1770 in Sorø	During Lent; likely a Danish performance also occurred	"Passions-Cantata welche in der Fasten-Zeit 1772..."
Roman	During Lent	"Jesu Christi Guds Sons...[1772]"
	"Concerto Spirituale;" Pergolesi's music was performed, but piece not specified	Burden, Table 1
		Weavers, 294
		Gray, 205
		Mamy, 247-50
	With a cello con	Weavers, 295
	"Concerto Spirituale...performed in the Theatre;" "adapted from the Italian Music of Pergolesi, and other eminent Composers"	Burchell, 227
	Luin describes it as "probable"	Luin, 22

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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1773		Bath	Britain	
1773	Oxford Musical Society/Music Room	Oxford	Britain	
1773	Grosse Concert/Gasthaus "Zu den drei Schwanen"	Leipzig	Saxony, Electorate of	Hiller
1773.0314	St. Augustine School	Grimma	Saxony, Electorate of	
1773.0331	Accademia degli Armonici/Porta Rossa	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Manzuoli, Veroli
1773.0404	St. Augustine School	Grimma	Saxony, Electorate of	
1773.0407	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Nihoul, L.-A. Richer
1773.0408	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1773.0409	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1773.0409	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1773.0416	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1774	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Nihoul, L.-A. Richer?
1774	Chiesa di Santa Maria dell'Orazione e Morte	Rome	Papal States	
1774	Konzertzaal	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Poland	Friedrich August Klügling (lead)
1774.0221	Oxford Musical Society/Music Room	Oxford	Britain	Thomas Norris
1774.0323	Accademia degli Armonici/Porta Rossa	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Manzuoli, Veroli

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	Benefit concert	Burchell, 136
	Including a "Concerto Spirituale of Pergolesi, never performed in England" (possibly not the <i>Stabat</i>)	Burchell, 227
Klopstock's parody	Maybe some version of Hiller's arrangement (Leipzig, 1776) was used; during Hiller's tenure, often paired with Haydn's <i>Stabat</i>	Schering, 403
Klopstock?	Copied by Heinrich Gottfried Reichard, who worked at St. Augustine	D-DI, Mus.3005-D-503 (RISM No. 211004818)
	With arias by Niccolini and Neri and a con	Weavers, 312
Klopstock?	Copied by Heinrich Gottfried Reichard, who worked at St. Augustine	D-DI, Mus.3005-D-503 (RISM No. 211004818)
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Charity concert for the Freemason's orphanage; "numerous" orchestra composed of Freemasons, "other members of respectable society" and the "formost musical connoisseurs;" with a vln solo	Vretblad, 190
		Mamy, 247-50
	March or April	Mamy, 247-50
		Radiciotti, 208
	During Lent	Lott, 300-1
"Eja Mater"		Mee, 38
	With arias by Boscoli and Neri, a flute con and a clarinet con	Weavers, 324

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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1774.0327	Residence of Papandopoulo	St. Petersburg	Russia	Vincenzo Manfredini (lead)?
1774.0327	Accademia degl'Ingegneri/ Corso dei Tintori	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Manzuoli, Tommaso Guarducci
1774.0330	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1774.0401	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1775	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	
1775.03	Grosse Concert/Gasthaus "Zu den drei Schwanen"	Leipzig	Saxony, Electorate of	Hiller
1775.0323	Konzertzaal	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Poland	
1775.04	Kongelige Syngeskole/ Christiansborg (Royal Singing School/Danish Royal Court)	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1775.0405	Accademia degli Armonici/Porta Rossa	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Manzuoli, Veroli
1775.0414	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1776	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Nihoul, L.-A. Richer?
1776	St. Petersburg Musical Club?	St. Petersburg	Russia	
1776.0306	Convent Garden	London	Britain	

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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	Part of a series of vocal and instrumental concerts, with amateurs participating; also performed at these concerts: Graun's <i>Te Deum</i> , Hasse's <i>Salve</i> , Jommelli & Paisiello's <i>La passione</i>	Findeizen, 111, 440; Mooser, 121
	With arias, concertos and sinfonias	Weavers, 324
Roman	With chorus and the "usual Psalms;" charity concert for the Freemason's orphanage; Apr. 1 concert is announced as a repetition of this	Vretblad, 193
Roman	With chorus and the "usual Psalms;" charity concert for the Freemason's orphanage	Vretblad, 193
	March or April	Mamy, 247-50
Klopstock's parody	Maybe some version of Hiller's arrangement (Leipzig, 1776) was used; during Hiller's tenure, P's <i>Stabat</i> often paired with Haydn's <i>Stabat</i>	Schering, 403; Klopstock, 434
Klopstock parody	During Lent	Lott, 300-1
Ewald	"Gejstlig" concert	Ravn, 150
	With arias and concertos	Weavers, 337
Roman	"With the Psalms and choruses;" charity concert for the Freemason's orphanage?	Vretblad, 194
	March or April	Mamy, 247-50
	During Orthodox Easter	Mooser, 131
With choruses (by Samuel Arnold?)	"Concerto Spirituale"	Burden, Table 1

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1776.0315	Convent Garden	London	Britain	Mary Ann Wrihten, Elizabeth Weichsel, Franz La Motte (1st vln)
1776.0327	Accademia degli Armonici/Porta Rossa	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Veroli, Giovanni Rubinelli
1776.0406	Kongelige Syngeskole/ Christiansborg?	Copenhagen	Denmark	Mrs. Walter, Ms. Winther
1777	Concerts nobles/ Giethussalen (Guardhouse Hall)	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1777	Kongelige Syngeskole/ Christiansborg	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1777.0223	Freemason's Lodge	Hamburg	Hamburg, Free Imperial City of	
1777.0326	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Nihoul, L.-A. Richer
1777.0328	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Nihoul, L.-A. Richer
1777.0328	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1777.0404	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Nihoul, L.-A. Richer
1777.0428	Concerts of Ancient Music	London	Britain	
1778	Musikalischen Gesellschaft der Amelunxbornschen Kloster-Schule	Holzminden	Brunswick-Lüneberg	
1778	Christiansborg	Copenhagen	Denmark	

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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With choruses (by Samuel Arnold?)	"Concerto Spirituale"	<i>Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser</i> , 1776
		Weavers, 353
Ewald	"Geistlige Concert;" performed with a "Motet" (= Kyrie/Gloria [one of Pergolesi's Masses?]) in a Danish translation	Ewald, 1776; Ravn 161; Radiciotti, 252-3
		Ravn, 78
Sporon; complete, no added movements	"Aandelige [Spiritual] Concert;" performed with a "Motet" (= Kyrie/Gloria [one of Pergolesi's Masses?]) in a Danish translation	Sporon, 1777
<i>Die Erscheinung</i> by Klopstock with music by Gluck, Pergolesi and Zoppi	Not definitely the <i>Stabat</i> ; charity concert for the poor; performed with Bach's <i>Israeliten in der Wüste</i> , Hasse's <i>St. Elena</i> and Handel's <i>Messiah</i>	Bach, 672
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Charity concert for the Freemason's orphanage; with other arias	Vretblad, 199
		Mamy, 247-50
		GB-Lcm, MS 1159 ("Concerts of Ancient Music: Register of Performances")
Klopstock's parody, maybe Hiller's orchestration		Libretto listed in Klopstock, 435
Sporon; complete	"Aandelige Concert" during Lent; with music by Agricola (Danish settings of the Psalms) and a motet	Sporon, 1778

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1778.0308	Residence of Count Stroganov	St. Petersburg	Russia	Paisiello?
1778.0408	Accademia degli Armonici/Porta Rossa	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Manzuoli, Veroli
1778.0415	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Gaspere Savoi, Nihoul
1778.0417	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1778.0424	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Savoi, Nihoul
1779	Kongelige Syngeskole/ Christiansborg	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1779	Sorø Ridderlige Akademi	Sorø	Denmark	
1779.0218	Residence of Count Vorontsov	St. Petersburg	Russia	See Findeizen for possibilities
1779.0222	Residence of Count Stroganov	St. Petersburg	Russia	See Findeizen for possibilities

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	Anonymous Russian translation published (now lost); Findeizen speculates that Paisiello wrote his setting of <i>La passione</i> in response to this concert	Findeizen, 95; Mooser, 220
	"La seconda parte poi soddisfece appieno la numerosa udienza con il canto della <i>Stabat</i> , che quantunque più, e più volte sentita, fece nonostante quell'impressione, che può fare la bella e perfetta voce di" Veroli and Manzuoli	Weavers, 399
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Charity concert for the Freemason's orphanage; with other arias	Vretblad, 202
		Mamy, 247-50
Sporon; complete	"Aandelige Concert;" with Pergolesi's Mass ("Kyrie eleison") with Danish words by A.G. Thoroup	Sporon, 1779
In German and with chorales (different parody and chorales from previous Sorø performances)	During Lent; likely a Danish performance also occurred	"Cantata zur Passions-Musik, welche in der Fasten-Zeit 1779..."
	During Lent; Louis Henri Paisible organized oratorio concerts for several years before his death (1782) with limited success; also performed on these concerts: works by Hasse, Graun and Jommelli	Findeizen, 113, 440; Mooser, 231
	During Lent; Louis Henri Paisible organized oratorio concerts for several years before his death (1782) with limited success; also performed on these concerts: works by Hasse, Graun and Jommelli	Findeizen, 113, 440

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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1779.0317	Casa privata di Senator Lorenzo Ginori	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Maddalena Morelli?
1779.0331	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Luisa Todi, Nihoul
1779.0401	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Todi, Nihoul
1779.0402	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Todi, Guichard
1779.0402	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1779.0503	Concerts of Ancient Music	London	Britain	
1780		Bonn	Archdiocese of Cologne	
1780	Concert Salen	Aarhus	Denmark	
1780.0311	Stora salen på Söder Stadshus (Great Room in South City Hall)	Stockholm	Sweden	Kristofer Karsten, L. S. or Johan Samuel Lalin
1780.0322	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Todi, Nihoul
1780.0323	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Todi, Nihoul
1780.0324	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Todi, Nihoul
1780.0324	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1780.0331	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Todi, Nihoul
1780.1219	Salle Mesplès	Port-au-Prince	Saint-Domingue (Haïti)	Acquaire, Minette, Rivière (lead?), Macarty
1781.0309	Ospedale dei Mendicanti	Venice	Venice, Republic of	Girls of the Mendicanti

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		Weavers, 417
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage	Vretblad, 204
		GB-Lcm, MS 1159 ("Concerts of Ancient Music: Register of Performances")
	Vague on details	Luin, 31
Sporon with chorales; with chorus and winds	Performed during Lent	DK-A, MS R155 (RISM No. 150203390)
Roman	With an overture, arias, vln solo	Vretblad, 208
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Charity concert for the Freemason's orphanage; an "anselig [considerable]" orchestra	Vretblad, 209
		Mamy, 247-50
	<i>Concert spirituel</i> -type event; with arias and a con for several instruments; Minette was an actress, singer and dancer of color who achieved renown in Saint-Domingue, Madame Acquire was her mentor	Cale, 137
	With a <i>Pange lingua</i> for soloist; part of an unusual festival series; unusual too since most of the music performed at the <i>ospedali</i> was written by their maestri; the Pietà owned a copy of the <i>Stabat</i> (now in I-Vc)	Arnold, 354-5

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1781.0323	Ospedale dei Mendicanti	Venice	Venice, Republic of	Girls of the Mendicanti
1781.0406	Minoritenkirche	Vienna	Habsburg Empire	Catarina Cavalieri, Margarethe Spangler, Valentin Adamberger, Ludwig Fischer, Antonio Salieri (lead)
1781.0406	Ospedale dei Mendicanti	Venice	Venice, Republic of	Girls of the Mendicanti
1781.0413	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Anne-Antoine Clavel ("Saint- Huberty"), François Lay ("Laïs")
1781.0413	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Christian Friedrich Müller (vln)
1781.0420	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Saint-Huberty, Laïs
1781.0507	Concerts of Ancient Music	London	Britain	"Under the direction of Lord Viscount Dudley and Ward"
1782	Rotunda	Dublin	Britain (Ireland)	Company of St. Giorgio and Carnevale
1782	Christiansborg	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1782		Haderslev	Denmark	Herrn Kammerherrn von Krog; Herrn Lieutenant von Dane
1782.0303	St. Augustine School	Grimma	Saxony, Electorate of	

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	See 1781.0309 performance	Arnold, 354-5
Arranged by Carl Friberth (probably for four voices and larger orchestra)	Italian Congregation in Vienna; Joseph II attended incognito	Black, 153
	See 1781.0309 performance	Arnold, 354-5
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage; with a vln solo	Vretblad, 213
		Mamy, 247-50
Divided into two parts (first ends with first fugue); chorus added to "O quam" and the fugues	Performed with a selection of Handel's music, Corelli's Op. 6, No. 5 and Weelkes madrigal	"Concert of Antient Music...[1781]"
	"Spiritual Concert" during Passion week	Boydell, <i>Rotunda</i> , 120
Sporon; complete	"Aandelige Concert;" performed with same "Motet" from 1776/7	Sporon, 1782
Sporon	Local amateur society	Cramer, <i>Magazin der Musik</i> 1:1, 185-6
Klopstock?	Copied by Heinrich Gottfried Reichard, who worked at St. Augustine	D-DI, Mus.3005-D-503 (RISM No. 211004818)

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1782.0309	Söder Stadshus	Stockholm	Sweden	L. S. and J. S. Lalin
1782.0324	Stora Rådhusalen	Göteborg	Sweden	Le Hay (lead)
1782.0325			Habsburg Empire?	
1782.0327	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Saint-Huberty, Laïs
1782.0329	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Saint-Huberty, Laïs
1782.0329	Stora Riddarhusalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1782.0405	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Saint-Huberty, Laïs
1783.0327	Gewandhaus Konzertsaal	Leipzig	Saxony, Electorate of	Hiller
1783.0413	Altstädtschen Pfarrkirche	Königsberg	Prussia	Johann Cölestin Gontkowski (cantor)
1783.0413	Stora Rådhusalen	Göteborg	Sweden	Le Hay (lead)
1783.0416	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Todi, Murgeon
1783.0417	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Todi, Murgeon
1783.0417	Stora Riddarhusalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1783.0418	Stora Riddarhusalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1783.0418				
1784		Bonn	Archdiocese of Cologne	

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Roman w/Zellbell	"With the customary chorales from the Swedish Psalm Book composed by the late Royal Chapelmaster Zellbell;" "on request;" with con grosso w/oboe	Vretblad, 216
	Le Hay (violinist) organized a concert series during the 1780s; some proceeds went to Freemason's orphanage	Berg, 132
"Eja" and fugue only	Czech MS with possible performance date	CZ-Pkřiž, XXXVI B 259 (RISM No. 550282990)
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage	Vretblad, 217
		Mamy, 247-50
Hiller/Klopstock arrangement	Performed with Haydn & Naumann symphonies, bassoon con	Böhm, 111
Klopstock	Palm Sunday	Cover of libretto reprinted in Luin, betw. 14-5
With chorales	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage	Berg, 134
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage	Vretblad, 222
Roman	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage	Vretblad, 222
Hiller/Klopstock	Manuscript indicates date of a performance, but not location (likely performed somewhere German-speaking)	GB-Lam, MS 62 (RISM No. 800092476)
	Vague on details	Luin, 31

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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1784		Copenhagen	Denmark	
1784	Kongens Klub (King's Club)	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1784	Rathhaussaal	Oldenburg	Oldenburg	
1784.0325	Danish Royal Court (Christiansborg?)	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1784.0401	Concert-Zale	Rotterdam	Dutch Republic	Johan Carl Zentgraaf and Johann Heinrich Schröter (organizers)
1784.0409	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Saint-Huberty, Laïs
1784.0409	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Müller (vln)
1784.0410	Castle of King Stanisław II Augustus	Warsaw	Poland	Paisiello (lead)

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
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Sporon; complete, two chorales added, at beginning and after fugue (where there is a section break)	Since this libretto was not published by the royal publisher (Møller), it likely accompanied a different performance than that of the King's Club this year	Sporon, 1784
	During Lent	Ravn, 107
Hiller/Klopstock	During Easter; public, winter, amateur concert series that ended every year with a big Good Friday "geistliche concert" for the benefit of the poor; performed with excerpts from Graun's <i>Der Tod Jesu</i> and a declamation of the tenth canto of Klopstock's <i>Messias</i>	Cramer, <i>Magazin der Musik</i> 2:1, 731
Sporon?	During Lent; this may or may not be a different performance than the previous ones in Copenhagen this year; this event though does not appear in earlier editions of his <i>Travels</i> and he mentions meeting Prince Frederick's consort, Marie-Sophie, before the concert (who only married the prince in 1790)	Coxe, 130
	"Groot SPIRITUAL-CONCERT;" with "groote Passie-Symphoniën door Haydn [= <i>Seven Last Words of Christ</i> for orchestra]"	Wind, 106
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage; "den erkändt vackra [recognized beautiful] Passions-musique;" with a vln solo	Vretblad, 224
	Paisiello conducted his <i>La passione</i> also on this visit	Nowak-Romanowicz, 330

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
FROM THE 1740S INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1784.0415	Salle du Musée	Bordeaux	France	Charles François Honoré Duquesnoy, Pierre Gaveaux (organizers)
1784.0415	Residence of Cardinal Bernis	Rome	Papal States	
1785	Kongelige Musicalske Academie	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1785		Potsdam	Prussia	Carl Friedrich Kolbe (director)
1785.0310	Pantheon	London	Britain	Madame Mara [née Gertrud Schmeling]
1785.0317	Pantheon	London	Britain	
1785.0325	Stora Rådhusalen	Göteborg	Sweden	Le Hay (lead)
1785.0325	Stora Riddarhusalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Müller (vln)
1785.0401	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Giacomo Davide, Beauvalet
1786	Kongens Klub	Copenhagen	Denmark	

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	Mixed amateur/professional; program included opera and instrumental music by Haydn, Piccinni, Valentin, Sacchini, Viotti (opera excerpts and instrumental music); probably performed twice this year; spiritual concerts uncommon in Bordeaux, but Franz Beck's <i>Stabat</i> performed frequently	Taïeb, Gribenski & Morel-Borotra, 130, 192, 198-9
	Report on Gustav III's visit to Rome	<i>Journal historique et littéraire</i> , 1784, 123
Ewald's parody	During Lent; bilingual libretto (Latin/Danish); someone (18th century?) has crossed out Pergolesi and wrote "Haydn," but Ewald's parody was written specifically for P's setting and recycling it in this way would have been unlikely	Ewald, 1785
Hiller/Klopstock	Score and parts to a performance	D-Bsa, MS SA 142 (RISM No. 469014200)
"with grand Chorusses"	Benefit for Mara; Act I: Haydn Sym, misc songs and cons - Act II: "celebrated" PSM	<i>Public Advertiser</i> , 1785
With choruses ("by particular desire...in the same manner as on Madame Mara's Night")	Seventh Grand Concert	<i>Morning Post and Daily Advertiser</i> , 1785
	Charity concert "for the benefit of the poor"	Berg, 136
Roman	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage; with duo	Vretblad, 226
		Mamy, 247-50
Sporon; complete	During Lent; first part of concert, <i>Stabat</i> , second part, pasticcio cantata with text by Niels Hansen	"Gudelig Poesie til Concerten...;" Ravn, 107

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1786		Hamburg	Hamburg, Free Imperial City of	C.P.E. Bach (organizer)
1786	Casa Flaviani	Rome	Papal States	Ferrari (lead, vln), "two old singers of the Sistine Chapel"
1786.0410	Accademia degli Armonici/Porta Rossa	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Francesco Porri, Michel'Angiolo Neri
1786.0412	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Daive, Laïs
1786.0929	Hampshire Music Meeting/St. Maurice's Church or Winchester Cathedral	Winchester	Britain	Rubinelli, Elizabeth Billington (née Weichsell)
1787	Harmonien Society	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1787	Casa della Duchessa d'Albany	Rome	Papal States	
1787.0221	"Chez un négociant portugais, M. Pessoa"	Lisbon	Portugal	
1787.0406	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Matteo Babini, Laïs
1787.0406	Philharmonic Society	Kassel	Hesse-Kassel, Landgraviate of	Susette and Nina d'Aubigny von Engelbrunner
1787.0406	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Orchestra of Freemasons
1787.0514	Concerts of Ancient Music	London	Britain	

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	Charity concerts; the four concerts included works by J.S. Bach (Credo, B-minor Mass), Handel (<i>Messiah</i> , Funeral Anthem, a Coronation Anthem), Salieri, Gluck, C.P.E. Bach	Schulenberg, 14
	Accademia of Sra Flaviani; Maundy Thursday	Ferrari, 173
	"Celebre" <i>Stabat</i>	Weavers, 550
		Mamy, 247-50
Choruses by J.C. Bach	"A Grand Concerto Spirituale" featuring the <i>Stabat</i> ("a most elegant composition") and pieces by Handel	Reid & Pritchard, 72; <i>Morning Post and Daily Advertiser</i> , 1786
	In subsequent years, they performed Rodewald's <i>Stabat</i> and Graun's <i>Te Deum</i>	Ravn, 127
	Maundy Thursday	Radiciotti, 208
	Marquis de Bombelles, French ambassador to Lisbon, wrote in his diary that it was the best concert he heard in Lisbon; performed with a flacon played by a "demoiselle brésilienne" and Italian airs sung by friends of the mistress of the house	Bombelles, 100
		Mamy, 247-50
		Cramer, <i>Magazin der Musik</i> 2:2, 1276
Roman	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage	Vretblad, 234
		GB-Lcm, MS 1159 ("Concerts of Ancient Music: Register of Performances")

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1787.0829	Liverpool Music Festival	Liverpool	Britain	See article for complete list for this year
1788	Christiansborg	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1788		Kassel	Hesse-Kassel, Landgraviate of	
1788		Milan	Milan, Duchy of	
1788.0316	Frimuraresalen (Freemason's Hall)	Göteborg	Sweden	
1788.0319	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	J. Rousseau, Louis-Armand Chardin ("Chardini"), Laïs
1788.0321	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Rousseau, Chardini, Laïs
1788.0321	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	Lovisa Sofia Augusti, Sofia Francisca Stading, Hr Karsten, Hans Björkman
1788.0328	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Rousseau, Chardini, Laïs
1788.0918	Salisbury Annual Musical Festival/St. Thomas' Church	Salisbury	Britain	See article for complete list for this year
1789.0322	Accademia degli Armonici/Porta Rossa	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Anna Andreozzi, Porri
1789.0407	House of Monsignor Bayane	Rome	Papal States	
1789.0410	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Rousseau, Chardini, Laïs
1789.0410	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	R. Uttini, Mlle Stading, Hr Björkman, Hans Peter Wikbom

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	Also featured this year: Handel (<i>Israel in Egypt</i>), Boyce (<i>Solomon</i>), Arnold (<i>Redemption</i>), Purcell (<i>The Tempest</i>)	Pritchard & Breechy, 4
Sporon	During Lent; bilingual libretto (Latin/Danish)	Sporon, 1788
	Instrumentalists hidden from audience's view	Will, 114-5
	Instrumentalists hidden from audience's view	Will, 114-5
	Palm Sunday; charity concert, proceeds split between Freemason's orphanage and the poor	Berg, 137
		Mamy, 247-50
		Mamy, 247-50
Possibly excerpts from Roman's arrangement (including chorales)	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage	Vretblad, 236
		Mamy, 247-50
	"Concerto spirituale" with Handel, Haydn, Geminiani, Naumann, Pergolesi	Reid & Pritchard, 62-3
	"Il più bel pezzo di musica del" Pergolesi	Weavers, 601
	Mentioned in the travel diary of Louise von Göchhausen, lady-in-waiting to Duchess Anna Amalia of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach	Göchhausen, 75
		Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Charity concert for the Freemason's orphanage; "med stor orkester [with a large orchestra];" the next concert featured Graun's <i>Der Tod Jesu</i>	Vretblad, 237

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1790.0402	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Chardini, Laïs
1790.0402	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1790.0409	Concert Spirituel	Paris	France	Rousseau, Chardini, Laïs
1790.1014	Hampshire Music Meeting/Winchester Cathedral	Winchester	Britain	Billington, Master Pring, Mr. Bellamy
1791	"concert spirituel"	Paris	France	Viganoni, Mme. Morichelli
1791.0422	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1791.0422	Musikaliska Sällskapet i Åbo (Turun Soitannollinen Seura)	Åbo (Turku)	Sweden (Finland)	Men and boys
1792		Paris	France	
1792	Private Residence	Rome	Papal States	"Lady of the house and an old castrato"
1792	Konzertzaal	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Poland	Klügling (lead)
1792	Musikaliska Sällskapet	Åbo (Turku)	Sweden (Finland)	Men and boys
1792.0314	Concerts of Ancient Music	London	Britain	"Under the direction of Lord Grey de Wilton," Giovanni Calcagni

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	The 1790 concerts took place at an Opéra outpost at the Porte Saint-Martin, the result of Revolutionaries commandeering the Tuileries palace at the end of 1789	Mamy, 247-50
Roman	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage; "med ansenlig [substantial] orkester"	Vretblad, 237-8
	See 1790.0402 notes	Mamy, 247-50
With choruses by Arnold	"Grand Selection of Sacred Music" featuring the <i>Stabat</i> with Handel (<i>Coronation Anthem</i> and misc)	Reid & Pritchard, 73; <i>General Evening Post</i> , 1790
	The original organization folded in 1790, this was just one of the groups that laid claim to its legacy and its name	Brenet, 241
Roman	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage	Vretblad, 238
Chorales sung by four-voice choir, from a collection by Johan Lindell (lost), "full orchestra;" likely at least influenced by Roman	Influenced by tradition in Stockholm; "bekanta Passion Musik;" Good Friday; charity concert for the city's poor; probably was performed previously in Åbo	Dahlström & Salmenhaara, 170, 205; advertisement duplicated on Andersson, 138, also Andersson, 139-41
	Lower-case "concert spirituel" right before the Terror began	Ellis, 7
		<i>Musikalisches Wochenblatt</i> , IX, 66-7
Klopstock parody; 7 added chorales	During Lent	Lott, 300-1
Roman	Swedish text printed for this concert; charity concert for the poor	Andersson, 139-41
"Vidit suum" only		"Concert of Antient Music"

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1792.0420	Residence of Marchese L.	Rome	Papal States	Two female amateurs
1793	Palazzo Santacroce	Rome	Papal States	
1793	Konzertzaal	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Poland	Turge (lead)
1793.0314	Gymnasiebibliotek (Secondary School Library)	Göteborg	Sweden	Wesström (lead)
1793.0329	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1793.0329	Musikaliska Sällskapet	Åbo (Turku)	Sweden (Finland)	Men and boys
1793.0425	Mr. Salomen's Concerts/Hanover Square Rooms	London	Britain	Mara, Domenico Bruni
1794	Musikaliska Sällskapet	Åbo (Turku)	Sweden (Finland)	Men and boys
1794.0402	Concerts of Ancient Music	London	Britain	Samuel Webbe, Madam Ducrest [Félicité de Genlis?]
1794.0418	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1795.0402	Frimuraresalen	Göteborg	Sweden	
1795.0403	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	

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	"With real superstition - real in substance and consequences - during the last Lent, nothing but Pergolesi's <i>Stabat mater</i> was sung here, in all concerts, small and big"	<i>Musikalisches Wochenblatt</i> , X, 75-7.
	Accademia of Giuliana Falconieri; Holy Tuesday	Radiciotti, 208
	During Lent	Lott, 300-1
Roman?; used female singers	Advertisement seems to suggest that men were otherwise commonly featured as soloists	Berg, 139
Roman	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage; "quite a large orchestra" with chorus	Vretblad, 242
Roman	Charity concert for poor; "allmänt kända och berömda [widely known and famous] Paßions Musik;" text printed	<i>Åbo Tidningar</i> , 1793, [3]; Andersson, 139-41
	With works by Haydn, Pugnani & Clementi; "the celebrated <i>Stabat Mater</i> "	McVeigh, 124
Roman	Charity concert for the poor	Andersson, 139-41
"Sancta Mater" only	Performed with much Handel, Corelli's Op. 6, No. 11, Hasse aria	"Concert of Antient Music"
Roman, with chorus and soloists (1 woman, 2 men)	Charity concert for the Freemason's orphanage; "quite a large orchestra"	Vretblad, 249
	Charity concert for "the sick and the poor;" amateurs performed	Berg, 139
Roman, with soloists (1 woman, 2 men)	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage	Vretblad, 254

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1795.0403	Fattigskolan/ Gustavinium (School for the Poor/Uppsala University building)	Uppsala	Sweden	
1795.0403	Musikaliska Sällskapet	Åbo (Turku)	Sweden (Finland)	
1796	Fattigskolan/ Gustavinium	Uppsala	Sweden	
1796	Musikaliska Sällskapet	Åbo (Turku)	Sweden (Finland)	
1796.0325	Benediktinerabtei St. Bonifaz	Munich	Bavaria, Electorate of	
1796.0325	Frimuraresalen	Göteborg	Sweden	
1796.0325	Stora Riddarhussalen	Stockholm	Sweden	
1797	Fattigskolan/ Gustavinium	Uppsala	Sweden	
1797	Musikaliska Sällskapet	Åbo (Turku)	Sweden (Finland)	
1797.0414	Frimuraresalen	Göteborg	Sweden	
1798	Musikaliska Sällskapet	Åbo (Turku)	Sweden (Finland)	
1798.0401	Accademia degli Armonici/Porta Rossa	Florence	Tuscany, Grand Duchy of	Porri, Neri
1799.0322	Frimuraresalen	Göteborg	Sweden	

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Probably Roman	Music for the <i>Stabat</i> first acquired by Akademiska Kapellet in 1777; charity concert for "Läse- och Arbets-Scholan [Reading and Work School];" "den wackra Musiquen [beautiful music] af Pergolesi"	Jonsson, 99, 106
Roman (men and women sung)	Charity concert for the poor	Porthan, 23; Andersson, 139-41
Probably Roman	Charity concert for Läse- och Arbets-Scholan by amateurs	Jonsson, 107
Roman (women sung)	Charity concert for the poor	Andersson, 139-41
Abbé Vogler	Good Friday	D-Mb, Mus.Hs. 64 (RISM No. 455028147)
	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage; amateurs performed	Berg, 141
Roman, with chorus and soloists (1 woman, 2 men)	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage	Vretblad, 258
Probably Roman arrangement	Charity concert for Läse- och Arbets-Scholan by amateurs	Jonsson, 107-8
Roman (women sung)	Charity concert for the poor	Andersson, 139-41
		Berg, 141
Roman (women sung)	Charity concert for the city's poor; there was no Passion music the following year for financial reasons	Andersson, 139-41
	"Il numeroso concorso degli Uditori sentì con estremo piacere" the <i>Stabat</i> ; the Weavers' chronology stops in 1800, as French incursions and republican revolutionaries destabilized the political situation	Weavers, 777
	Charity concert for Freemason's orphanage	Berg, 142

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1799.0911	Liverpool Music Festival	Liverpool	Britain	See article for complete list for this year
1800	Danish Royal Court	Copenhagen	Denmark	
1800	Théâtre de la République et des Arts	Paris	France	
1800	Stora Riddarhussalen?	Stockholm	Sweden	
1800.0327	Academy of Ancient Music	London	Britain	
1800.0404	Willis' Rooms	London	Britain	Sr. Damiani, Ms. Jackson
1800.0411	Théâtre Feydeau	Paris	France	
1800.0425	Willis' Rooms	London	Britain	Sr. Damiani, Ms. Jackson
1802	Musikaliska Sällskapet	Åbo (Turku)	Sweden (Finland)	
1804	Théâtre Italien	Paris	France	Mesdames Strina-Sacchi and Cantoni
1804.0823	Salisbury Triennial Festival/Salisbury Cathedral	Salisbury	Britain	See article for complete list for this year
1804.0920	Hampshire Musical Festival/Winchester Cathedral	Winchester	Britain	See article for complete list for this year
1805	L'église Notre-Dame	Douai	France	

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	"Selection of Sacred Music from Handel, Purcell, Boyce, Pergolesi, Leo, and Graun;" also feature this year: Arnold's <i>Redemption</i> , Handel's <i>Messiah</i>	Pritchard & Breechy, 6
Sporon; complete	During Lent; bilingual libretto (Latin/Danish)	Sporon, 1800
	Part of Napoleonic revival of the Concert Spirituel; according to Ellis, for almost three decades after the <i>Stabat</i> was once again an annual item	Ritterman, 80; Ellis, 7, 9
Roman	During Lent	"Jesu Christi Guds Sons...[1800]"
	Bilingual libretto (Latin/English) with same English translation as 1749 Dublin libretto	"Translation of the <i>Stabat Mater</i> of Pergolesi, and the <i>Adeste Fidelis</i> , as performed this evening"
	Seventh Concert (subscription); "Celebrated" <i>Stabat</i> alongside Mozart overture and misc.	<i>Oracle and Daily Advertiser</i> , 1800
	Last concert at the Théâtre Feydeau	Ritterman, 81
	Eight Concert (subscription); "(by particular desire) a short Selection of the <i>Stabat Mater</i> of Pergolesi" with syms (Mozart, Haydn), con and misc.	<i>Oracle and Daily Advertiser</i> , Apr 24, 1800
Roman (women sung)	Charity concert for the poor	Andersson, 139-41
	Théâtre Italien renewed the Concert Spirituel this year; PSM performed between Cimarosa (<i>Il Maestro di Capella & L'Avaro</i>) and Paisiello (<i>Il re Teodoro</i>); performed three times	<i>Décade philosophique</i> , 1804
	"Grand Selection of Sacred Music" by Handel, Haydn, Jommelli, Pergolesi	Reid & Pritchard, 63
	Sacred works by Handel, Croft, Pergolesi, Haydn, Jommelli, Hasse, Martini, Baretti, Feo	Reid & Pritchard, 76
	Maudy Thursday	Gosselin, 138

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1807	L'église Saint-Jacques	Douai	France	Orchestra of the Société des Amateurs, Luce-Varlet (lead)
1807.0827	Salisbury Triennial Festival/Salisbury Cathedral	Salisbury	Britain	See article for complete list for this year
1809	Real Conservatorio di Milano	Milan	Milan, Duchy of	Conservatory students
1809	Stora Riddarhussalen?	Stockholm	Sweden	
1810.09	Naples Cathedral	Naples	Naples, Kingdom of	
1811.0305	Musiksaal	Königsberg	Prussia	Herr Riel
1812	Stora Riddarhussalen?	Stockholm	Sweden	
1816	Théâtre Italien	Paris	France	
1816.1010	Derby Music Festival/Derby Cathedral	Derby	Britain	See article for complete list for this year
1817	Società del giardino	Milan	Lombardy-Venetia, Kingdom of	
1817.04	House of Charlotte Vera (née Häser)	Rome	Papal States	Marianne Marconi-Schönberger & Charlotte Vera (née Häser)
1817.04	St. Sylvester's Church	Rome	Papal States	Marconi-Schönberger & Vera
1819	Friedrichscollegio	Königsberg	Prussia	Auguste Knorre, Clara Dorn

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	During Lent	Gosselin, 137
	"Grand Selection of Sacred Music" by Handel, Haydn, Jommelli, Graun, Pergolesi	Reid & Pritchard, 64
	Conservatory established in 1807; performed Haydn's <i>The Creation</i> in 1810, <i>The Seasons</i> in 1811 and Paisiello's <i>La passione</i> in 1812	Gervasoni, 57
Roman	During Lent	"Jesu Christi Guds Sons...[1809]"
Paisiello	Celebration of the Feast of Our Lady of Sorrows	See publication (Paris, 1810-1)
	"Old masterpiece;" "...this famous music made no impression on the whole auditorium."	<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> , 1811
Roman	During Lent	"Jesu Christi Guds Sons...[1812]"
"Fac ut portem" and "Quae moerebat"	With music by Paer, Zingarelli, Haydn, etc.	Ritterman, 84
	Sacred music by Handel, Pergolesi, Marcello, Croft, Haydn (<i>The Creation</i>)	Pritchard, Reid & Matthews, 10
	During Lent; amateur society	<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> , Jul. 9, 1817
		<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> , May 14, 1817
		<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> , May 14, 1817
	Holy Wednesday; with Allegri's <i>Miserere</i> ; reviewer draws attention to the use of the original orchestration	<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> , 1819

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1819	Stora Riddarhussalen?	Stockholm	Sweden	
1820.03	Confraternity of San Luigi/Church of San Ferdinando	Naples	Two Sicilies, Kingdom of the	
1823		Copenhagen	Denmark	
1823.0926	York Festival/York Minister	York	Britain	See article for complete list for this year
1825		Berlin	Prussia	
1825.1007	Derby Music Festival/Derby Cathedral	Derby	Britain	See article for complete list for this year
1827.0413	Sankt Carlskirche	Vienna	Habsburg Empire	Weiss, Pfeiffer, Eichberger, Borschitzky
1827.0413		Berlin?	Prussia?	
1828.0924	York Festival/York Minister	York	Britain	See article for complete list for this year
1830	Braunschweig Dom	Brunswick	Brunswick, Duchy of	Herr Cantor Görges
1835.0417		Lund	Sweden	
1837	Sing-Akademie Hall	Berlin	Prussia	Marianna Sessi, Mme. Türrschmidt

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Roman	During Lent	"Jesu Christi Guds Sons...[1819]"
Paisiello	Performed with Neapolitan premiere of Rossini's <i>Messa di gloria</i> ; confraternity was 19th-century successor to the confraternity that supposedly commissioned the <i>Stabat</i>	Gossett, 331-2; see Paisiello publication (Paris, 1810-1)
	Performed with Nauman <i>Kyrie</i>	"Inhalt des Concertes...[1823]"
	Charity concert; sacred music by Vivaldi ("Spring" and "Summer"), Haydn (<i>The Seasons</i>), Handel (<i>Israel in Egypt</i> , con), Graun (<i>Te Deum</i>), Pergolesi, Beethoven	Pritchard, Reid & Matthews, 19-20
Hiller/Klopstock	Charity concert for the city's institutions; "the novelty of the occasion was Pergolesi's far-famed <i>Stabat mater</i> "	<i>The Harmonicon</i> , 1825
	Sacred music by Handel, Beethoven, Marcello, Haydn, Jommelli, Pergolesi and Mozart	Pritchard, Reid & Matthews, 11
Salieri arrangement (4 voices)		<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> , 1827
"Stabat", "O quam", "Quis;" Klopstock; SATB	Good Friday; date on MS	D-B, Mus.ms. 17155/8 (RISM No. 455028439)
	Charity concert; sacred music by Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Marcello, Pergolesi	Pritchard, Reid & Matthews, 20-21
With T soloist	Good Friday; Mozart's Requiem performed in the evening	<i>Eutonia</i> , 1830
Assar Lindblad's Swedish translation of Klopstock	Good Friday	Program cover ("Christi Död") reprinted in Luin, 19
Chorus of S & A	"Concert spirituel;" with Beethoven's <i>Coriolan</i> Overture and a "preghiera" by Zingarelli	<i>Musical World</i> , 1837

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1838.0516	Concerts of Ancient Music	London	Britain	Sig. Rubini & Sig. Lablache
1839	Sing-Akademie Hall	Berlin	Prussia	Herrn Curschmann (lead)
1839.05	Piarenkirche	Warsaw	Poland, Congress	Józef Krogulski (lead)
1840.0429	Concerts of Ancient Music	London	Britain	Ms. Birch & Ms. Masson
1841	Montpellier Rotunda	Cheltenham	Britain	Mme. & Signor Marras and Mme. Lablache
1842.04	Chiesa di Santo Spirito	Udine	Lombardy- Venetia, Kingdom of	Students of the Udine Istituto filarmonico e filodrammatico
1842.05	Kapellconcert	Weimar	Saxe-Weimar- Eisenach	Mmes. Streit & Götze
1845.03	Hanover Square Rooms	London	Britain	J. Alfred Novello
1846		Merseburg	Prussia	
1846.04		Hamburg	Hamburg, Free Imperial City of	

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
FROM THE 1740S INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

"Stabat" and two arias	With music by Handel, Cimarosa, Mozart, Haydn, Purcell, Cherubini, Morley, Paisiello, Corelli, Guglielmi and Winter; "the opening is the only part of the <i>Stabat Mater</i> now relished anywhere out of a sacred edifice"	<i>The Examiner</i> , 1838
	Charity concert	<i>Neue Zeitschrift für Musik</i> , Sept. 3 1839
	"A significant number of singers"	<i>Neue Zeitschrift für Musik</i> , Jul. 23, 1839
"Quando"	With music by Haydn, Handel, Mozart, Palestrina, Glück, Cherubini, Graun, Purcell, Mozart, Arne, Beethoven, J.S. Bach, "God Save the Queen," a glee	<i>The Examiner</i> , 1840
"Stabat," "Cujus," "Quae," "Inflamatus," "Quando" & "Amen"	"Seldom has a more magnificent subject been more magnificently handled. The notes breath almost of inspiration, and the pen of the great composer is visible from the first bar to the last.;" "little known" in Cheltenham	<i>The Musical World</i> , 1841
	Charity concert on Holy Thursday	<i>Gazzetta musicale di Milano</i> , 1842
L'vov	Reviewer claims L'vov's arrangement much better suited to public performance than original version	<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> , 1842; see L'vov publication (1833, 1840)
Barham		<i>The Musical World</i> , 1845; see Barham publication (London, 1829)
		<i>Neue Zeitschrift für Musik</i> , 1846
	<i>Stabat</i> described as "classische Musik;" with Beethoven (<i>Christus am Ölberge</i>) and "Katzenmusik"	<i>Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung</i> , 1846

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
FROM THE 1740S INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1846.0410		Berlin?	Prussia?	
1847	Concerts of Ancient Music	London	Britain	
1848.0421		Hamburg	Hamburg, Free Imperial City of	
1868.1112	Église de la Trinité	Paris	France	Christine Nilsson

APPENDIX III: PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF PERGOLESI'S *STABAT MATER*
FROM THE 1740S INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

"Stabat," "O quam," "Quis;" Klopstock; SATB	Good Friday; date on MS	D-B, Mus.ms. 17155/8 (RISM No. 455028439)
Walsh parts	Date on manuscript may not necessarily be a performance date	GB-Lcm, RCM MS 485; see Walsh publication (1749)
L'vov	Reviewer remarks that L'vov's was an "original" idea to add modern instruments to PSM, but believes that PSM was written for "voices" and that the addition of too many more instruments hampers the effect	<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> , 1848; see L'vov publication (1833, 1840)
Voice and organ probably	Rossini's funeral	Kendall, 227

APPENDIX III NOTES

GENERAL: This is a list of performances I have found with documentation that dates them to at least a year. Dates are in YYYY.MMDD format and bold dates signify a degree of uncertainty regarding the performance. Unless otherwise stated, all performances are assumed to be of Pergolesi's complete, original score or it is impossible to determine what version was actually performed. I have not included vague references to traditions of performing the piece,¹ but I have, on occasion, included vague references to performances of sacred music by Pergolesi (which may or may not have included the *Stabat* in some form) to give a sense of what performances might just be out of reach of the historical record. The chart is obviously biased towards cities (Paris, Stockholm, Florence, Danzig, etc.) where scholars have already compiled concert information from newspapers and other documents. Finally, I make absolutely no claim to this list being exhaustive.

ABBREVIATIONS:

(Performers are singers or unknown unless otherwise noted)

P = Pergolesi

SM = *Stabat mater*

Con = concerto

Sym = symphony

Lead = leader

Roman = Johan Helmich Roman's arrangement of the *Stabat*. Its most notable features include the use of interspersed, harmonized chorales (from the Swedish Psalm Book) and an anonymous Swedish translation of the text ("Skåda Jesu svåra pina"). Various music directors (Uttini, Zellbell, etc.) tinkered with it over the years, but the Swedish public developed remarkable fealty towards this version.

Klopstock = "Jesus Christus schwebt' am Kreuze," published in Hiller's arrangements (Leipzig, 1774; 1776) and on its own several times.

Hiller = Johann Adam Hiller's orchestral arrangement (Leipzig, 1776) for SATB (soli and/or chorus), 2vln, vla, vcl, 2fl, 2ob, bc; printed with Klopstock's parody.

Ewald = Johannes Ewald's parody ("Korset, som den strænge Fader"), first performed in

¹ Thus, we may say that the *Stabat* was performed in all likelihood on a par with Paris and Stockholm in London, Copenhagen and Rome (particularly in more aristocratic, domestic settings) even though I have not been able to consistently document its performance in those cities with the same frequency. Many of the isolated performances in various cities can also be assumed to be glimpses of larger traditions that have not been documented. The *Stabat* also seems to have been popular in cities not appearing in this appendix, including Trondheim and Riga. For these, see Luin, 46 and Zane Gailíte, "Johann Gottfried Mützel, dei Bach-Familie und die 'Wahre art, das clavier zu spielen' in Riga," in *Die Verbreitung der Werke Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs in Ostmitteleuropa im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, edited by Ulrich Leisinger und Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Frankfurt an der Oder: Mess- und Veranstaltungs GmbH, 2002), 486.

1772 in Copenhagen.
Sporon = Benjamin Georg Sporon's parody ("Naglet til et Kors paa Jorden"), first performed in 1777 in Copenhagen. Also published in a keyboard-vocal reduction by Niels Schiørring (Copenhagen, 1778).

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DATE	LOCATION	AUTHOR	TITLE	ON P'S LIFE
1752	Paris	Jacques Lacombe	<i>Dictionnaire portatif des beaux-arts</i> (vii-viii)	Neapolitan; object of envy, poisoned, died at 24
1752	Berlin	Johann Joachim Quantz	<i>Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen</i> (313-4)	Italian; Capelli, Vinci and P died young about 20 years prior
1753	[Paris]	Friedrich Melchior von Grimm	<i>Le petit prophète de Boehmischbroda</i> (44)	"Divin"
1755	Paris	Jean-Baptiste Ladvocat	<i>Dictionnaire historique-portatif</i> (2nd ed, v2, 324)	Neapolitan; d. ~1733 at 22; some believe poisoned, others pleurisy
1756	Berlin	Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg	<i>Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik</i> (v2, 203-4)	Died young
1759	Paris	Lacombe	<i>Dictionnaire portatif des beaux-arts</i> (new ed, 465)	Neapolitan; died at 22, some believe poisoned, others pleurisy; object of envy
1759	Paris	Louis Moréri [Ladvocat]	<i>Le grand dictionnaire historique</i> (new ed, v8, 195)	See Ladvocat
1760	London	John Mainwaring	<i>Memoirs of the Life of the late George Frederic Handel</i> (169)	
1763	Livorno	Francesco Algarotti	<i>Saggio sopra l'opera in musica</i> (2nd ed, 39)	Vinci and P died young

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ON HIS MUSIC / WORKS CITED	ON THE <i>STABAT</i>	SOURCES / REPRINTS
P "est mis au rang des plus sçavans Musiciens de l'Italie" / SP, SM	SM "est regardée universellement comme un chef-d'oeuvre"	Revised 1759
Underdeveloped talent; P "habe zum schmeichelnden, zärtlichen und angenehmen viel Naturell gehabt, und einen guten Willen zur arbeitsamen Composition gezeiget"		Reprinted in 1780 & 1789
Natural talent, likened to Athena/Minerva		
"L'un des plus célèbres Musiciens qui ayent paru en Italie" / Songs, SP, MM, intermezzos, SR, SM	"L'on regarde comme son Chef-d'oeuvre;" died finishing it	Reprinted in 1758 & 1760
Alludes to Grimm and Quantz, sides with Quantz / SR		References Grimm and Quantz anonymously
P "est mis au nombre des plus illustres Musiciens d'Italie;" Neapolitan school; precocious talent; "sa Musique fait continuellement Tableau; elle parle à l'esprit, au coeur, aux passions" / Songs, SP, MM, intermezzos, SR, SM	"Regardé universellement comme son Chef-d'oeuvre;" died finishing it	
See Ladvocat	See Ladvocat	Quoted from Ladvocat
P and Vinci developed song to a degree not since surpassed		
Opera seria and buffa		

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1765	Neufchastel [Paris]	Louis Jaucourt	"Naples" (<i>Encyclopédie</i> , v11, 18)	See Lacombe
1767	London	Algarotti	<i>An Essay on the Opera</i> (48)	Vinci and P died young
1768	Venice	Lacombe	<i>Dizionario portatile delle belle arti</i> (284-5)	See Lacombe
1770	Hamburg	Christoph Daniel Ebeling	"Versuch einer auserlesenen musikalischen Bibliothek" (<i>Unterhaltungen</i> , X, 313-4)	Industrious; died young
1771	Berlin	Johann Christoph Stockhausen	<i>Critischer Entwurf einer auserlesenen Bibliothek</i> (2nd ed, 424-6)	Industrious; murdered, envied for <i>Stabat</i>
1772	Paris		<i>Le grand vocabulaire françois</i> (v21, 425-6)	See Lacombe
1772	Paris; Caen; Lyon	Louis-Mayeul Chaudon	<i>Nouveau dictionnaire historique</i> (v4, part 2, 935)	1706-1733, otherwise see Lacombe
1772	Paris	Pascal Boyer	"Notices sur la vie de Pergolese" (<i>Mercure de France</i> , July, v2, 185-92)	First full biography
1773	[Paris]	Nicholaas ten Hove	<i>Mémoires généalogiques de la maison de Médicis</i> (v2, 295)	Idea that Pergolesi committed murder to achieve the expression of SM is ludicrous
1773	Paris	Algarotti	<i>Essai sur l'Opéra</i> (46)	Vinci and P died young

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"Un des plus grands musiciens de ce siècle;" see Lacombe / SP, MM, SR, SM	"On regarde comme son chef-d'oeuvre"	Taken from Lacombe
Opera seria and buffa		English translation
"Che vien posto nel numero de' Musici più famosi d'Italia;" see Lacombe	"Celebratissimo;" "riguardato comunemente pel suo migliore componimento"	Italian translation / Reprinted 1781
Underdeveloped talent; sometimes ignores text; "Er war aber einer der ersten, der eine leichte simple einnehmende Melodie sich zu eigen machte" / SR, SM	Famous for "gefälligen affektvollen Melodie;" mentions Klopstock's parody	
"Affectvoll und melodisch" / SM, SR, masses, Conturbat mentem meam	Compared favorably to works of Graun; "berühmtes"	Ebeling contributed
See Lacombe	See Lacombe	Copied from Lacombe
"Sa Musique est un tableau de la nature;" otherwise see Lacombe	See Lacombe	Mostly copied from Lacombe
Great composer, but more Domenichino than Raphael; "mélancholique" disposition / SM, SP, O, Mass, DD, LP, O&E, SR	Written during final illness, but not last work; French fêted it so because they do not know much other Neapolitan music	Egidio Duni, Claude-Joseph Vernet, others (claimed)
"Fameux musicien" / SM	"Le commencement est ce que la musique moderne a de plus parfait"	
Opera seria and buffa		French translation

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1774	London	François-Jean de Chastellux	<i>An Essay on Public Happiness</i> (v2, 163-4)	Born in Naples; 1706-~1733; died of pleurisy, definitely not poisoned
1774	St. Blasien	Martin Gerbert	<i>De cantu et musica sacra</i> (v2, 358)	Vinci and P died young; "il divino"
1775	Paris	Charles Palissot and others	"Éloge de Monsieur Duni" (<i>Le nécrologe des hommes célèbres de France [par la] année 1776,</i> [v11], 134)	Recounts disastrous Roman premiere of P's <i>Olimpiade</i> that Duni witnessed
1776	London	John Hawkins	<i>A General History of the Science and Practice of Music</i> (375)	Born 1718, died at 22; some believe poisoned, others pleurisy
1776	Paris	Louis-Abel de Bonafous, l'Abbé de Fontenay	<i>Dictionnaire des artistes</i> (v2, 284)	1706-1733; definitely NOT poisoned, otherwise see Lacombe
1778	Paris	Nicolas Lenglet Du Fresnoy and Jean-Louis Barbeau de La Bruyère	<i>Tablettes chronologiques de l'histoire universelle</i> (2nd ed, v2, 812)	Neapolitan; d. ~1733
1780	Paris	Jean-Benjamin de la Borde	<i>Essai sur la musique</i> (v3, 212-4)	Full biography, see Boyer

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<p>"The music of Pergolese not vibrating (as modern music too often does) unmeaningly on the ear, spoke to the understanding, and the passions. It is impossible not to admire, and difficult to avoid envying a Genius, who crowded into a life of scarcely thirty years, such a knowledge of harmony, such facility of composition, and so rich a melody" / SR, SM</p>	<p>The <i>Stabat</i> and the <i>Salve</i> "seem destined to maintain a pre-eminence amidst all the fantastical variations, to which the empire of music is perpetually subject"</p>	<p>English translation of Chastellux's <i>De la félicité publique</i> (1772), added footnote; glosses Lacombe/Ladvocat</p>
	<p>Affective, simple, "ubique celebratur"</p>	<p>References Grimm</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">O</p>		<p>Boyer / Printed simultaneously in Maastricht</p>
<p>Precocious talent; "sweetness," affective, original, "inimitable" / 4C, SP, MM, 2SR, SM, 2 masses, DA, M, CT, LP, 12 son are dubious</p>	<p>"By which he will ever be remember," "famous," died finishing it</p>	<p>Recalls Lacombe/Ladvocat</p>
<p>"Un des plus grands musiciens qu'ait produits l'Italie;" otherwise see Lacombe</p>	<p>"Regardé universellement comme son chef-d'oeuvre;" did NOT die finishing it</p>	<p>Taken from Lacombe/Chaudon</p>
<p>"l'un des plus célèbres Musiciens d'Italie" / SM</p>	<p>"La plus estimée" of P's pieces</p>	<p>Possibly Ladvocat</p>
<p>See Boyer</p>	<p>See Boyer</p>	<p>Largely from Boyer (sometimes directly quoting), but with a new long quote from Duni</p>

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1781	Paris	Jean-Claude Richard de Saint- Non	<i>Voyage pittoresque ou Description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicilie</i> (v1, 161-3)	Neapolitan; "le divin;" student of Durante at Poveri; was not famous enough to be envied or poisoned; life-long poor health worsened by "son goût pour les plaisirs;" d. 1733 at 27 in a house near Vesuvius
1783	Leipzig	Johann Nikolaus Forkel	"Nachrichten von einigen berühmten Tonsetzern. 3) Pergolese" (<i>Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1783</i> , 109-15)	Full biography, see la Borde
1784	London	Thomas Robertson	<i>An Inquiry into the Fine Arts</i> (v1, 183, 371)	
1784	Paris; Madrid	Jaucourt	"Naples" (<i>Encyclopédie méthodique. Géographie</i> , v2, 434)	See Jaucourt
1785	Venice	Stefano Arteaga	<i>Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano</i> (v1, 22-4, 234)	Died at 33; object of envy, but not murdered

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<p>Percocious talent; Neapolitan school; "sombre, doux & mélancholique" / SM, "Se cerca, se dice" from O</p>	<p>"Ouvrage immortel...le plus contribué à la réputation de ce grand-Homme;" died finishing it</p>	<p>Probably read Boyer or la Borde; quotes Rousseau's <i>Dictionnaire</i> on "Genius"</p>
<p>Seems to take a middle road between P's most ardent admirers and most zealous detractors; underdeveloped talent / See Hawkins</p>	<p>The work that contributed most to P's reputation; "eine frömmelnde Heuchlerin"</p>	<p>Largely from la Borde, but footnotes Hawkins</p>
<p>P "introduc[ed] a style for Vocal Music, inimitably sweet"</p>		<p>Probably read Hawkins</p>
<p>See Jaucourt</p>	<p>See Jaucourt</p>	<p>Reformatting of original <i>Encyclopédie</i></p>
<p>"Pergolesi, il gran Pergolesi divenne inimitabile per la semplicità accoppiata alla grandezza del suo stile, per la verità dell'affetto, per la naturalezza, e vigore della espressione, per l'aggiustatezza, ed unità del disegno, onde vien meritamente chiamato il Raffaello, e il Virgilio della musica" / SM, O, O&E, SP</p>	<p>"Grave, maestoso, sublime"</p>	

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1785	Colle	Saverio Mattei	<i>Elogio di Jommelli</i> (72-5, 100-2, 105)	Born 1707 in Pergola; attended Onofrio; patronized by Stigliano & Maddaloni; went to Rome; died young in Pozzuoli; object of envy, but not murdered
1786	Caen	Chaudon	<i>Nouveau dictionnaire historique</i> (6th ed, v6, 593-4)	Born in Casoria; 1704-1737; student of Greco; patronized by Stigliano; success at Teatro Nuovo; failure of O in Rome; died of pleurisy in Naples, not poison
1786	Paris	Jérôme de la Lande	<i>Voyage en Italie</i> [1765 & 1766] (2nd ed, v7, 135, 192)	Student of Durante at Poveri (closed)
1788	Rome; Paris	Jean-Baptiste Mercier Dupaty	<i>Lettres sur l'Italie en 1785</i> (v2, 207)	Died in a house near Vesuvius at 27, "mélancoli" implicated
1788	London	Dupaty (trans J. Povoleri)	<i>Sentimental Letters on Italy</i> (v2, 330-1)	Died in a house near Vesuvius at 27, "melancholy" implicated
1788	Naples	Giuseppe Sigismondo	<i>Descrizione della città di Napoli</i> (v2, 253-4)	"Celebre" P was maestro di musica for the Maddaloni family
1788	Bologna	Vincenzo Manfredini	<i>Difesa della musica moderna</i> (esp. 56, 188, 194, 200-1)	
1789	Leipzig	Arteaga (trans Forkel)	<i>Geschichte der italiänischen Oper</i> (v2, 18-20, 202)	See Arteaga

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Natural genius; reformer, innovator / O, SM	Last work; never ages; contains "naturalezza, espressione, fantasia, ed arte;" P's genius led him "al patetico, ed al tenero;" connects it to Jommelli's <i>Miserere</i> ; Martini v. Eximeno	References Arteaga; references Martini and Eximeno
Mashes together Lacombe and Boyer	"Regardé universellement comme son chef-d'oeuvre"	Takes parts of Lacombe and Boyer
Neapolitan school		
"Mélancoli si heureuse et si fatale" / SM	Takes its character from P's "mélancoli;" "immortel"	Reprinted 1797
"Melancholy at once so happy and so fatal" / SM	Takes its character from P's "melancholy;" "immortal"	English translation / Reprinted Bath & Dublin, 1789
Works still performed annually in the church of the Maddaloni family, Santa Maria ad Ogni Bene dei Sette Dolori / DD, LP, CT, motets, SR, Mass, SM		
Innovator of new style along with various other Neapolitans/Italians / SM		Ripost to Arteaga; references Rousseau, Sigismondo <i>Descrizione</i> (1788)
See Arteaga & Forkel	See Arteaga & Forkel	German translation

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1789	London	Charles Burney	<i>General History of Music</i> (v2, 919-24, [Mercer, 1957 edition])	Full biography; P studied vln
1789	London	Thomas Williams	<i>Psalmodia Evangelica</i> (48)	"The beginning of this century many great masters appeared in Italy" = Galuppi, Pergolesi, Jommelli, etc.
1789	Paris	André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry	<i>Mémoires ou Essai sur la musique</i> (esp. 46-7, 88-91, 507-11)	Attended Neapolitan conservatory; Duni's story; died young from pleurisy in a house owned by the Duke of Maddaloni outside Naples
1790	Mainz	Dupaty (trans Georg Forster)	<i>Briefe über Italien von Jahr 1785</i> (v2, 176)	See Dupaty

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<p>Worked slowly, but music shows no "labour;" "...clearness, simplicity, truth, and sweetness of expression, justly entitle him to supremacy over all his predecessors and contemporary rivals and to a niche in the temple of Fame, among the great improvers of the art, who, if not the founder was the principal polisher of a style of composition both for the church and stage, which has been constantly cultivated by his successors" / SP, O, mass, DD, LP, O&E, SM, SR, 12 son spurious</p>	<p>Written during final illness, but not final work; Martini v. Eximeno</p>	<p>Emanuele Barbella, Charles Wiseman (claimed), Boyer; references Martini and Eximeno</p>
<p>"Oratorios, masses, services, and motets, besides operas, and other secular pieces"</p>		
<p>Naturalness, simplicity and truth of declamation, essentially; overall Grétry is keen here to demonstrate his credentials as the French Pergolesi / SM, SP, [O]</p>	<p>"Le <i>Stabat</i> du divin Pergolèze a bien plus, il réunit souvent le beau idéal de l'harmonie et de la mélodie. Je dis donc encore que tout ce qui n'est point à portée de notre compréhension, soit mystère ou révélation, nous force au respect, et exclut par cette raison toute expression directe."</p>	<p>Expanded 1796-7</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">See Dupaty</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">See Dupaty</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">German translation</p>

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1791	Rome	Francesco Galeazzi	<i>Elementi teorico-pratici di musica</i> (v2, 3, 117, 238)	Belong to same school as Durante & Leo; "sempre celebre Musico fiori nel 1732"
1792	Berlin	Johann Joachim Eschenburg	"Pergolesi" (<i>Musikalisches Wochenblatt</i> , XV & XVI, 113-5 & 121-3)	Full biography, see Burney
1792	Leipzig	Ernst Ludwig Gerber	<i>Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler</i> (v2, 104-8)	Full biography, see Forkel
1792	London	John Trusler	<i>Chronology; or, the Historian's Vade-Mecum</i> (14th ed, 160)	Neapolitan composer; 1706-1733
1792	Madrid	Jaucourt	"Napoles" (<i>Encyclopedie methodica. Geografia moderna</i> , v3, 242)	See Jaucourt
1792	Naples	Giuseppe Maria Galanti	<i>Breve descrizione di Napoli</i> (240-1)	Born in Pergola; student of Durante at Poveri; died in 1733 at 25 of venereal disease

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"Ed in quanto alla Musica vocale con istromenti al Pergolesi devesi l'ingegnosissima invenzione;" "a quell' uomo immortale devesi il vero modo di applicare ad una soave melodia una piena armonìa"		
Tries to find a middle road between Burney and Forkel / SP, O, DD, LP, SM, SR, 12 son spurious	Tries to walk back Forkel's invective; Klopstock's verse aids the music	Mostly a German translation of Burney, but references Forkel's judgments often and footnotes Boyer
"Dieser in allen Ländern Europens ungemein berühmte komponist;" "il divino;" appeals to "kennern" and "nichtkennern," receives praise and criticism in equal measure; criticizes harmony and repetitiveness but "leichten, gefälligen und angenehmen Gesanges" / Songs, SP, MM, SR, SM	Admired all over Europe, but Hiller's version is better	Taken mostly from Forkel, but has read Rousseau and Grétry
See Jaucourt	"Se mira como su obra maestra;" died finishing it	Spanish translation of <i>Encyclopédie méthodique</i>
Neapolitan school; "un vero genio;" "opere immortali" / SM, "Se cerca, se dice," SP	Refers to Martini, P's talent and "disposition" were towards the buffo	Refers to Martini

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1796	Åbo		"Pergolesi" (<i>Åbo Tidningar</i> 40, [1-2])	Full biography, see Gerber and Eschenburg
1796	Naples	Francesco Sacco	<i>Dizionario geografico-istorico-fisico de Napoli</i> (327)	Born in Pergola; student of Durante at Poveri
1797	Bath	Ten Hove (trans Richard Clayton)	<i>Memoirs of the House of Medici</i> (v2, 214)	See Ten Hove
1798	London	G.G. and J. Robinson, etc.	<i>A New and General Biographical Dictionary</i> (new ed, v12, 139-41)	Full biography, see Chaudon and Burney
1799	Paris	Charles de Brosses	<i>Lettres historiques et critiques sur l'Italie</i> [1739-40] (v3, esp. 257, 275-80)	Student of Vinci; died at 23 of a chest ailment during initial applause of O
1800	Leipzig	Renatus Gotthelf Löbel and Christian W. Franke	<i>Conversations-Lexikon mit vorzüglicher Rücksicht auf die gegenwärtigen Zeiten</i> (v4)	Full biography, similar to Forkel
1801	Paris	Alessandro d'Azzia	<i>Sur le rétablissement d'un théâtre bouffon italien à Paris</i> (23)	Died young

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"Den senaste efterwerld skall dock aldrig kunna bestride hans wärk den förtiensten, at med en lätt och angenäm melodie förena känsla och uttryck, som aldrig underlåta at intaga hiertat, om ock konstens reglor icke altid så noga skulle blifwit iakttagna" / SM, O, SR, church music, theater pieces, O&E, Periodic Trios	"Wackra och allmänt berömde;" not last work	Taken from Gerber & Eschenburg; references Rousseau
Neapolitan school; "opere immortali" / O, SP, masses, psalms, SM	"Famoso;" "Iodato da tutti gli Autori, che han parlato di Musica"	Possibly Galanti
"Celebrated musician" / SM	"One of the most perfect pieces of modern music"	English translation
"It expresses the passions with the very voice of nature, and speaks to the soul by the natural force of its effects. It has been thought by some, of too melancholy a cast, which might arise, perhaps, from the depression produced by infirmity of constitution" / SM, DD, LP, SR, O, SP, O&E	"Usually considered his most perfect work, and much better known than any other, in this country;" not his last work	Taken from both Chaudon and Burney (latter quoted directly)
Neapolitan school; "mon auteur de affection;" "le joli génie, simple et naturel!" / SP, O, SM, O&E, De profundis	"Le chef-d'oeuvre de la musique latine"	
Domenichino; see la Borde / SP, O, DD, LP, SM, O&E, SR	"Berühmtes"	Possibly Forkel and la Borde?
One of the "composituers célèbres qui contribuèrent le plus à l'élévation de l'art;" P "fut le plus bel ornement de la musique" / SP, SM	As long lasting as Raphael's <i>Transfiguration</i>	

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1801	Paris	Pierre-Louie Ginguené	<i>Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Nicolas Piccinni</i> (7, 13, 17)	Part of the first group of Durante's students
1804	Lyon	Chaudon and Antoine François Delandine	<i>Nouveau dictionnaire historique</i> (8th ed, v9, 410)	See Chaudon
1804	Paris		<i>Encyclopédie méthodique. Histoire supplément</i> (v6, 262)	Born in Casoria, died in Naples; 1704-1737; poison or pleurisy, but latter is more likely; did not commit any rumored crimes
1804	Paris	[La Borde]	"Notice sur Pergolèse" (<i>Nouvel esprit de journaux</i> , Mar., 1804, 209-13)	See la Borde
1805	Lyon	Chaudon and Delandine	<i>Nouveau dictionnaire historique... Supplément</i> (7th ed, v12, 206)	See Chaudon
1806	Vienna	Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart	<i>Ideen zur ein Ästhetik der Tonkunst</i> (49-51)	Died young, age 36
1807	Paris	Germaine de Staël	<i>Corinne, ou l'Italie</i> (111-2 [Appleton edition, 1881])	"Pergolèse a été assassiné pour son <i>Stabat</i> "

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His works sound like new, still produce their effects; "l'ordre, la clarté, la bonne disposition des parties, l'élégance même y étaient" / SP, SM, O		
See Chaudon	See Chaudon	Taken from Chaudon
Domenichino; "un des plus célèbres musiciens de l'Italie" / SP, SM	"Regardé comme son chef-d'oeuvre"	Blends Boyer, Lacombe/Ladvocat, rumor
See la Borde	See la Borde	Reformatting of la Borde
See Chaudon	See Chaudon	Taken from Chaudon
P "eines der grössten musikalischen Genies, das die Welschen aufzuweisen haben!;" "äusserste Einfachheit" / SM, operas, masses, psalms, Te Deum, "Se cerca, se dice"	"Sein Stabat-Mater wird unter die ersten Meisterstücke der Kunst gezählt;" "die Modulationen sind so natürlich, als hätte die Kunst gar nichts dabey zu thun gehabt; und der Ausdruck der Empfindung ist voll Wahrheit;" public did not appreciate Vogler's corrections	
SM		

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1811	Paris	Alexandre-Étienne Choron and François-Joseph-Marie Fayolle	<i>Dictionnaire historique des musiciens</i> (v2, 132-4)	Full biography, see Boyer
1811	Venice	Giovanni Agostino Perotti	<i>Dissertazione</i> (23, 25-6, 47, 83-4)	
1812	Berlin	Ludwig Tieck	<i>Phantasia</i> (v1 & v2, 471-2 & 438-46)	Rumor that a jealous composer stabbed P outside the church where the <i>Stabat</i> premiered is false
1812	Parma	Carlo Gervasoni	<i>Nuova teoria di musica</i> (35, 39, 57, 163)	Born in Casoria; 1704-1737; attended Poveri, taught by Greco and Durante
1813	Leipzig	Gerber	<i>Neues historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler</i> (v3, 677-9)	Corrected with Mattei; died in 1739
1813	London	John Aikin, Thomas Morgan and William Johnston	<i>General Biography</i> (v8, 47-8)	Full biography, see Burney

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See Boyer / 2 masses, SR, DA, CT, LP, M, SM, SP, SR, SG, MM, GS, O, 4C, 12 son, Periodical trios	Last work is SR; "admiré dans toute l'Europe, comme un chef d'oeuvre d'expression et de sentiment;" references judgments of Martini, Eximeno and Chateaubriand	Taken from Boyer, references Martini, Eximeno and Chateaubriand's <i>Génie du christianisme</i>
P, Leo, Feo, Durante and Porpora started developing new music; "la semplicità...[and] la nobilità dello stile" / O, O&E, SP, SM	"Lo stupendo Stabat Mater, che tanti applausi riscosse dall'Italia, e dall'altre più colte Nazioni d'Europa"	
Essentially, childlike, "smiling through tears;" P belongs to the third era of spiritual music / mass, SM	"Berühmtes;" implies a certain divine inspiration	
"Il più grande Eroe riformatore del buon gusto musicale;" "la invenzione d'una più regolare melodia;" "il Divino;" percocious talent / O, SP, MM, GS, 4C, instrumental music, an oratorio, 2 masses, a vespers, 2 SR, M, SM	"Il suo capo d'opera"	Quotes Chastellux' <i>De la félicité publique</i>
Refers reader to Eschenburg / Mass, SM	Summarizes protacted argument between Kirnberger, Marpurg, Dittersdorf and Schulz over the syncopations in "Cujus animam;" still performed to acclaim	Revised with information from Mattei, references Eschenburg and spends the majority of the entry on Kirnberger, Marpurg, Dittersdorf and Schulz
"Celebrated composer;" see Burney / O, O&E, SM, SR	"Famous"	Distillation of Burney

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1813	Naples	Napoli-Signorelli	<i>Storia critica de' teatri antichi e moderni</i> (v10, part 2, 120, 227-8)	<i>Lo frate 'nnamorato</i> (1732) won the admiration of the "intelligenti"
1815	Palermo	Giuseppe Bertini	<i>Dizionario storico-critico degli scrittori di musica</i> (v3, 160-2)	Born 1707 in Pergola; at 14 attended Onofrio; studied under Greco; repudiated his conservative style; died in Pozzuoli at 33, from consumption, not poison
1816	Naples	Andrea Mazarella	<i>Biografia degli uomini illustri del Regno di Napoli</i> (v3, [323-329])	Born in Casoria, died in Naples; 1704-1737; attended Poveri, studied under Greco, Durante; worked for Teatro Nuovo and Bartolomeo; failure of O in Rome; died of venereal disease, not poisoning
1819	London	Abraham Rees [Burney]	<i>Cyclopaedia</i> (v26)	See Burney
1820	Naples	Giovanni Battista Gennaro Grossi	<i>Le belle arti</i> (v1, 9-10, 13, 38, 157, 165)	Born in Casoria, parents from Pergola; 1707-1740; student of Greco

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<p>"Raffaele dell'armonia;" "l'impareggiabile" / <i>Lo frate 'nnamorato</i></p>		<p>Quotes Rousseau's <i>Dictionnaire</i> on "Genius"</p>
<p>Mostly quoting Arteaga and Mattei, also a little of Choron and Fayolle / SM, O, O&E, SP</p>	<p>See Arteaga; "il suo SM, ammirato in tutta l'Europa come un capo d'opera di espressione e di sentimento, non invecchia mai, e finché vi sarà musica sarà sempre immortale"</p>	<p>Mostly taken from Arteaga and Mattei, with a little Choron and Fayolle</p>
<p>Mostly a gloss of Arteaga; P combines modern and ancient; "il passo di sì rinomato autore, che noi qui rapportiamo, dee confermarci esser l'Italia tra le moderne nazioni (tra le quali niuna ve ne ha che possa con essa gareggiare) la maestra del vero bello nelle arti" / Arias and motets, SP, "Maestro di Cappella[?]," SM, SR, O&E, O</p>	<p>See Arteaga; "celebre;" "componimento che non mai è stato agguagliato da alcuno de più valenti maestri;" dismisses Martini on SM and those who find "il suo stile come secco e tronco"</p>	<p>Takes from Arteaga; quotes Rousseau's <i>Dictionnaire</i> on "Genius;" references Martini</p>
<p>See Burney</p>	<p>See Burney</p>	<p>Burney contributed the music articles for the <i>Cyclopaedia</i></p>
<p>Quotes Arteaga; simplicity / SM, SP, O, O&E, "Achille in Sciro [Adriano in Siria?]"</p>	<p>Quotes Arteaga; "la musica sacra contiene il vero carattere di un linguaggio più adattato;" mentions Gaveaux' encounter with SM and performance tradition at the Concert Spirituel</p>	<p>Borrows from Arteaga and Choron/Fayolle (Gaveaux); quotes Rousseau's <i>Dictionnaire</i> on "Genius"</p>

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1822	Paris	Grigorii Orlov	<i>Essai sur l'histoire de la musique en Italie</i> (esp. v1, 110-2, 128, 146, 181, 293-303; v2, 2-6)	Student at Loretto and/or(?) Poveri; taught by Greco & Durante; born in "Basoria" [sic], died Torre del Greco; 1704-1737; made rapid progress in studies; professional setbacks; Stigliano; SP a success; O's failure; died of pleurisy, aggravated by his "trop grande sensibilité" and love of women
1826	London	Michael Kelly	<i>Reminiscences of Michael Kelly</i> (v1, 32-3)	"Indulged his fatal tendency to melancholy" in a "favorite retreat" at the foot of Vesuvius; died at 27, poisoned by a jealous "brother composer"
1831	Naples	Carlo Antonio de Rosa, Marchese di Villarosa [Giuseppe Sigismondo]	<i>Lettera biografica intorno alla patria ed alla vita di Gio: Battista Pergolese</i>	Full biography

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<p>P belongs to 4th period of music history ("de l'expression et de la verité"); sweet, pure, simple, classic; "Tout le peuple courut entendre des compositions qui excitaient jusqu'aux larmes la sensibilité. L'émotion se reproduisait toutes les fois qu'elles étaient exécutées;" touching, true / SP, SM, O&E, Ricimiero, O, mass, DD, LP, SR</p>	<p>Mentions Gaveaux' encounter; notes people compared with Cafaro's SM; "fameux;" atonement for earthly transgressions; not last work</p>	<p>Borrows from Choron/Fayolle (Gaveaux)</p>
<p>"Melancholy;" "transcendent" / SM, SP</p>	<p>"Celebrated"</p>	<p>Suspiciously similar to Dupaty's anecdote / Reprinted that year</p>
<p>Quotes many other authors on Pergolesi's music / numerous works in print and in manuscript</p>	<p>"Ma se la sua vita fu così presto troncata, il suo nome rimarrà immortale pe' sublimi armoniosi lavori che ha lasciati, e specialmente per lo <i>Stabat Mater</i>, del quale non potè gustare neanche il prodigioso effetto, che tuttavia ascoltasi con commovimento, malgrado il gusto tutto diverso, non so se migliore...;" SM was P's "canto del Cigno;" contains the full story of its commissioning and P's death</p>	<p>Largely copied from Sigismondo's MS "Apoteosi dell'arte musicale del Regno di Napoli;" quotes many earlier authors on P and Neapolitan music</p>

APPENDIX IV NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS FOR PERGOLESI'S WORKS:

SM = *Stabat mater*

SP = *La serva padrona*

SR = *Salve regina* (two were known during the time, one is now considered spurious)

MM = *Il maestro di musica* (pasticcio, largely spurious)

O = *L'Olimpiade*

DD = *Dixit dominus*

LP = *Laudate pueri*

O&E = *Orfeo & Euridice* or *Orfeo* ("Nel chiuso centro," last of four cantatas, 1738)

4C = Four cantatas (Naples, 1738)

DA = *Domine ad adjuvandum*

M = *Miserere*

CT = *Confitebor tibi*

12 son = Twelve Sonatas for two violins and a bass (published by Bremner in London, now considered spurious)

SG = *La conversione e morte di San Guglielmo*

GS = *Il geloso schernito* (spurious)

Periodical trios = two trio sonatas published by Bremner in London (misattributed)