

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America

Volume 14 (2024): *Reassessing Haydn's Sacred Music*

Article 3

10-21-2024

***Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in music by Joseph Haydn**

Janet K. Page
University of Memphis

Follow this and additional works at: <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>



Part of the [Music Education Commons](#), [Musicology Commons](#), [Music Pedagogy Commons](#), [Music Performance Commons](#), [Music Practice Commons](#), and the [Music Theory Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Page, Janet K. (2024) "*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in music by Joseph Haydn," *HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America*: Vol. 14, Article 3.

Available at: <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal/vol14/iss1/3>

© Haydn Society of North America ; Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

***Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in music by Joseph Haydn**

by Janet K. Page

University of Memphis

Introduction

In the Central European tradition of *Grabmusik* or “sepulcher music” as practiced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, music was performed in aristocratic chapels, parish churches, and the churches of religious orders during Holy Week, in front of a structure representing the Holy Sepulcher.¹ The “sepulcher” (in which the consecrated host was placed on Good Friday) was brilliantly lit and elaborately decorated, often depicting a scene from the passion and sometimes even resembling a miniature theater set.² One of the tradition’s most widely known texts was Heinrich Rademin’s *Mater dolorum*.³ Rademin’s text was set by three composers of the generations before Haydn—Gregor Werner (1693–1766), Georg Reutter the Younger (1708–1772), and Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715–1777)—thus offering an opportunity to compare the reactions of Haydn’s older contemporaries to a single text. In this essay, I consider how these settings, and the attitudes displayed in them, intersected with Haydn’s world and could have influenced him, especially in his own Passiontide music: the *Stabat mater dolorosa* (1767) and *Die Sieben letzten Worte* (1785).

¹ The term “sepulchero” is commonly used for works performed at the Habsburg court in Vienna, but I prefer “sepulcher music” or *Grabmusik* here because works performed outside the court have texts in German or other languages instead of the Italian customary in the court tradition (a few works in German were, however, performed at court).

² For a survey of literature on this tradition, see Janet K. Page, introduction to Georg Reutter the Younger, *Mater dolorum*, ed. Janet K. Page (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 2024), ix–x.

³ Surviving sources, including music and libretti, are described in Reutter, *Mater dolorum*, ed. Page, 135–37. Further sources for *Mater dolorum* have recently come to light in Polish archives: see Ewa Hauptman-Fischer, “Muzyka wokalnoinstrumentalna w klasztorach cystersów prowincji śląskiej (1651–1810)” (PhD diss., University of Warsaw, 2022), 686–89.

Page, Janet. "Mater dolorum settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn."

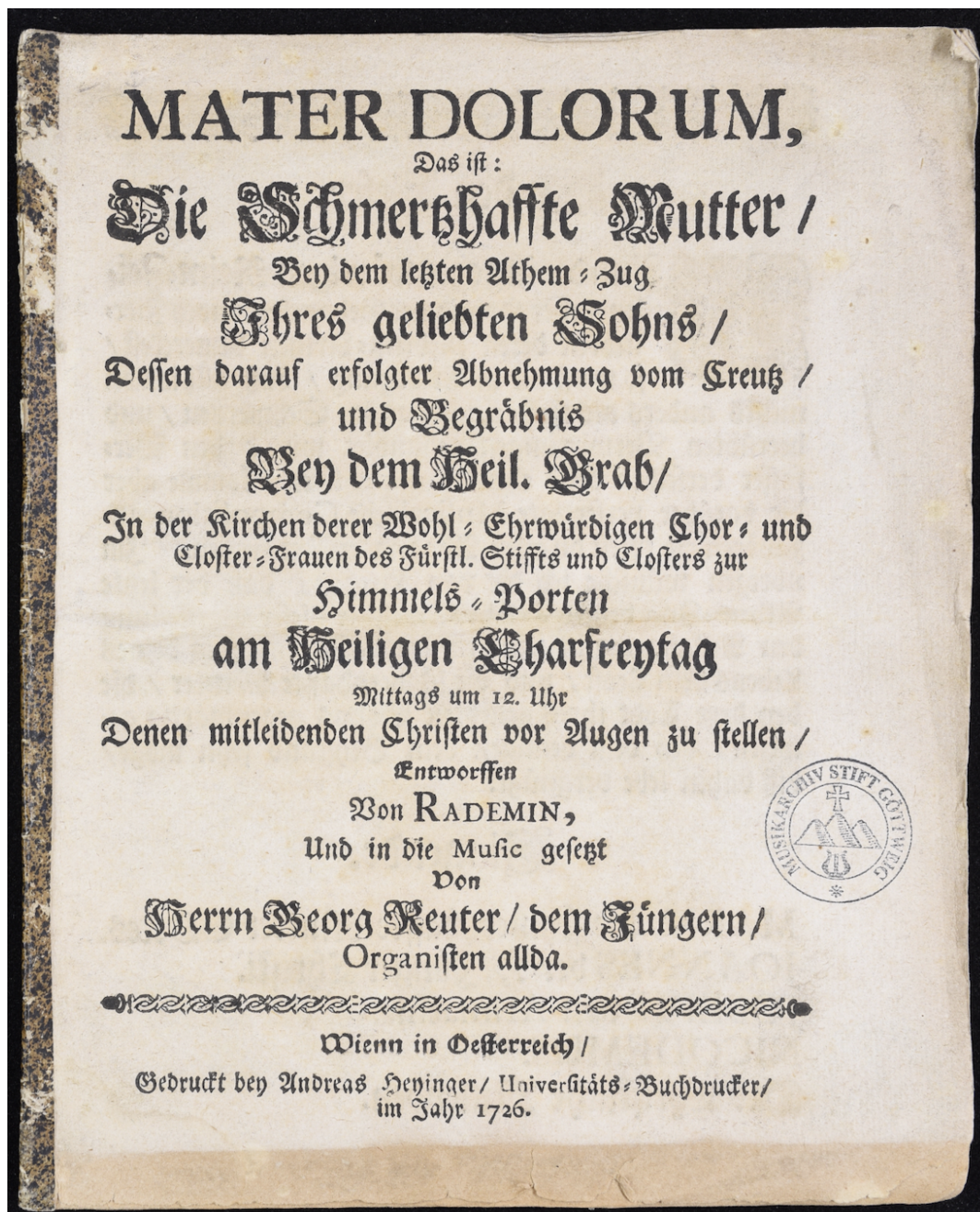
HAYDN: *Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America* 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Settings and Performances of Rademin's Mater dolorum

Figure 1. Heinrich Rademin, *Mater dolorum*, title page of the first known version of the libretto (Vienna: Andreas Heyinger, 1726).

Stift Göttweig, Benediktinerabtei, Musikarchiv, Librettosammlung-L63-001.



Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

The earliest known setting of *Mater dolorum*, dated 1726 on the libretto, has music by Reutter. This setting was performed (according to the title page: Figure 1) at the Augustinian convent of St. Agnes zur Himmelpforte while Reutter, then just eighteen years old, was serving as organist there, his first known professional appointment. A setting by Reutter (most likely the same one) was performed again at St. Agnes in 1729 and in 1731 or 1732, in Passau in 1733, and possibly in Vienna again in the 1730s at the Augustinian convent of St. Jacob auf der Hülben. In the later eighteenth century, a truncated version of a Reutter setting was performed at Kremsmünster Abbey in Upper Austria. The setting by Gregor Werner was performed in Eisenstadt, perhaps in 1733, one of a series of sepulcher pieces by the composer heard there between 1729 and 1762.⁴ The performance location is unknown, but such works were variously performed in the court chapel, in the chapel of the Brothers of Mercy, and at the Augustinian convent of St. Joseph, all by the Esterházy court musicians.⁵ A third setting, by Georg Christoph Wagenseil, was performed at St. Jacob auf der Hülben, probably in 1739 or 1740,⁶ and also in Pressburg (Bratislava).⁷ The music of Wagenseil’s version is not known to survive.

The Text of Mater dolorum

Mater dolorum is a German-language elaboration of the *Stabat mater*, inviting “compassionate Christians”—personified by the character *Das Christliche Mitleiden*—to share the feelings of the

⁴ Werner’s setting survives in a collection of his oratorios, as A-Wgm III 17.709. This is a score copy by Johann Georg Thonner, dated 23 May 1733. A copy of Werner’s setting and a performing arrangement of the *Introductio*, both in the hand of Richard Moder (1911–1991), are held in A-Wn as F100.Moder.71 and F100.Moder.155. See also Johann Harich, “Szenische Darstellungen und Oratorien-Aufführungen im 18. Jahrhundert am Esterházy-Hof zu Eisenstadt,” *Die Burgundländische Heimatblätter* 38 (1976): 120; https://www.zobodat.at/pdf/Burgenlaendische-Heimatblaetter_38_0112-0130.pdf.

⁵ Many oratorios by Werner are listed in RISM with performance dates and locations: see RISM 530.001.911 through 530.001.922. Other performances are documented through libretti and payment records. See Harich, “Szenische Darstellungen und Oratorien-Aufführungen,” 118–28.

⁶ *Mater dolorum, Das ist: Die schmerzhaftige Mutter, Bey dem letzten Athem-Zug Ihres Geliebten Sohns, Dessen darauf erfolgter Abnehmung von dem Creutz, und Begräbnuß Bey dem heiligen Grab. Vorgestellet In der Kirchen deren Wohl-Ehrwürdigen Closter-Frauen bey St. Jacob in Wienn. Die Music componiret Von Herrn Georg Christoph Wagenseil, Ihre Kayserl. Königl. Majestät Hof- und Cammer-Compositoren. Cum licentia superiorum. Wienn, Gedruckt bey Johann Ignatz Heyinger, Universitäts-Buchdruckern.* [ca. 1739–40]. Copies survive in A-KN and D-Mbs (available online at <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10907216?page=.1>).

⁷ A copy survives in H-Bu. See Ladislav Kačic, “Schuldramen und Oratorien bei den Pressburger Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert,” *Musicologica Brunensia* 49, no. 1 (2014): 284–87.

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

“afflicted mother” and other characters immediately following the crucifixion, and incorporating the sufferings of nature (earthquake, eclipse, storms; “Does even nature suffer?” asks Nicodemus) and the Seven Sorrows of Mary. The Feast of the Seven Sorrows of Mary was not an official one in the church calendar until 1727, when it was assigned to the Friday of Passion week, preceding Palm Sunday, but it was celebrated at the Viennese court, and generally in the city, decades earlier.⁸

Rademin’s text was probably appreciated for its strong emotional characterizations and its popularized version of the crucifixion story. The work is in two parts. In Part 1 especially, much of the text is uttered by Mary (Maria) or addressed to her.⁹ Besides the grief of losing a child, other intimate topics include giving birth and breastfeeding—all perhaps intended to gain the sympathy of women in the audience; for a convent performance, women, including ordinary folk, probably made up a large part of this audience. The text’s descriptions of storms and earthquakes widen the emotional range of the work and provide opportunity for contrasting music.

Part 2 of *Mater dolorum* concerns the removal of Jesus from the cross and his entombment, and it suggests, both in text and music, some solutions to the sorrow of the first half. These include practical action (remove Jesus from the cross, prepare him for burial, and lay him to rest), assignment of blame (to the Jews, in strongly antisemitic language, with imagined punishments of floods, fire, and brimstone; these sentiments are, however, reproved by Mary, who advises people to focus on their own sins and consider the larger meaning of events), and finally, penance. There is even comic relief, illustrating the characteristic Viennese trait of blending the comic with the serious. In the opening aria of the second part, Nicodemus (alto in Reutter’s setting, bass in Werner’s), as a Hanswurstian workman, calls on bystanders to bring a ladder, ropes, and various tools to help remove the body from the cross. “Auf zum Werk!” he sings, “setz die Leiter an!” (Let’s get to work! Raise the ladder!). His exhortations are accompanied in Reutter’s setting by a mock-heroic obligato trumpet and in Werner’s by scurrying strings. This amusing episode is not unexpected from Rademin, who often added Hanswurst characters to the French and Italian operas he translated and arranged as

⁸ On the celebration of this feast in Vienna in the early eighteenth century, see Dexter Edge, “The Context and Early Reception of Haydn’s *Stabat Mater*,” in this volume, pp. 4ff.

⁹ The Marian focus of the libretto and of Reutter’s setting is explored in Maryam Haiawi, “Mary’s Grief in 18th-Century Passion Oratorios: Some Notes on Its Confessional and Interconfessional Aspects,” in *Grief, Identity, and the Arts: A Multidisciplinary Perspective on Expressions of Grief*, ed. Bram Lambrecht and Miriam Wendling (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 37–46.

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Singspiele for the Viennese stage.¹⁰ In the libretto of Wagenseil’s version, the text is altered to remove any suggestion of comedy.¹¹

The Music of Mater dolorum

Part 1 of Reutter’s *Mater dolorum* is structured to invoke personal and communal religious experience, an organizational concept that Haydn drew upon in several early sacred pieces, as James Webster has explained.¹² The overall structure of Reutter’s Part 1 is a set of nested arches (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Musical structure of Georg Reutter the Younger’s *Mater dolorum*, Part 1. Characters: Jos = Joseph of Arimathea, Mitl = Christliches Mitleiden, Maria, Nic = Nicodemus, Joh = Johannes

Sonata	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	Jos	Mitl	Maria	Mitl, Nic	Maria	Jos	Nic	Maria, Mitl	Joh	Maria	Chorus
sorrow	rage	sorrow	-----	sorrow (pretty)	sorrow	devotion to Mary	-----	sorrow (pretty)	why?	Sorrows of Mary	You sinners
chromatic contrapuntal						double fugue					chromatic contrapuntal
C-	Bb+	D-	C-	G+	C-	D-	C+	E-	A-	D-	C-
				duet				duet			
		ob/chalumeau			tbn					ob/chalumeau	
	B	S	S	S, A	S	B	A	S, S	T	S	SATB

¹⁰ Bärbel Rudin, “Heinrich Rademin, Hanswursts Schattenmann: Jurist, Bühnenchef, Stückeschreiber – Versuch über eine Gründerfigure des Wiener Theaters,” *Maske und Kothurn* 48, nos. 1–4 (2002): 291–93.

¹¹ Wagenseil, *Mater dolorum*, D-Mbs, fol. B2r.

¹² James Webster, “Haydn’s Sacred Vocal Music and the Aesthetics of Salvation,” in *Haydn Studies*, ed. Dean Sutcliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 55.

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

The opening sonata, in C minor, begins with a chromatic Adagio with falling lines, pulsing repeated notes, diminished chords, strong dissonances (such as the opening minor second), suspensions, and silences (Example 1). This is followed by a double fugue using the falling chromatic fourth motive (Example 2). The concluding chorus of Part 1 reverses these ideas. It begins with imitative counterpoint and concludes with a chromatic, homophonic Adagio resembling the opening of the Sonata, now giving text to the opening musical idea: “Nur ihr allein Ihr Sünder entzieht ihm Geist und Blut” (But you alone, you sinners, deprive him of spirit and life). In the middle of the arch is the longest number of the work, a da capo aria in the form of a double fugue, especially striking in being one of the few solo numbers assigned to the bass voice, the character Joseph of Arimathea, who proclaims a personal devotion to Mary.¹³

Accept the inflamed passion
of my sworn love for you,
most distressed mother!
I am content
that it happens
that the flood of pearls that are your tears
can only smother somewhat
the heated embers of zeal.¹⁴

The text recalls especially strophes 9 and 10 of the *Stabat mater*, “Eja Mater, fons amoris,” and “Fac, ut ardeat ...,” which describe both the fountain of love and the burning heart.

¹³ On the performance of vocal bass parts in Viennese convents, see Janet K. Page, *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 80–83. Such parts were performed in the bass range, either by a *Bassistin* (female bass) supported by bass instruments or by a hired male singer.

¹⁴ “Nimm die angeflamnten Triebe / meiner dir geschwornen Liebe, / höchst betrübte Mutter an. / Mich vergnüget, / was sich füget, / daß des Eifers heiße Gluth, / deiner Thränen Perlenfluth / etwas nur erdrücken kann.” Heinrich Rademin, *Mater dolorum* (libretto, 1726), fol. [A4], No. 6. Aria.

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Example 1. Georg Reutter the Younger, *Mater dolorum*, Sonata, mm. 1–4. Score based on A-KR, Musikarchiv F27/5.

Adagio

Violin 1

Violin 2

Viola

Cembalo

[b]7 6 4/2 6 6 6 5 4/4 4/2 6 7 6

Example 2. Georg Reutter the Younger, *Mater dolorum*, Sonata, mm. 15–18. Score based on A-KR, Musikarchiv F27/5.

Fuga

Vn 1

Vn 2

Va

Cemb

18

18

18

18

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Solo numbers portraying the agony of nature or the misery of Mary are interrupted by two duets with sorrowful texts but more cheerful sounding music. “Ists nicht gnug daß Gotteslamm hangt erhöht am Kreuzes-stamm” (Is it not enough that the Lamb of God hangs high on the cross) is in G major (no tempo marking, for soprano and alto) and features the two voices in thirds and passages of violin obligato writing. “Ohne zahl, folget bey dir/mir Qual auf Qual” (Without number, torment upon torment follows you/me), an Adagio in E minor, has a long instrumental introduction with violins answering each other back and forth and then delightful imitations from the two sopranos on the text “folget bey mir/folget bey dir” and undulating melismas for “Immer Fluth mit Fluthe schwellen” ([waves] ever swelling, surge upon surge). I hear these as periods of respite focused on the pleasure of hearing the intertwining and harmonious pairing of female voices, one of the attractions of convent performances.

Like Reutter’s Sonata, Werner’s “Introductio” (Example 3) is an Adagio in C minor. Werner’s angular melodic line includes two melodic tritones, and the music is filled with suspensions and dissonance. The following fugal Allegro has an unusual subject, passing material back and forth in almost canonic imitation (the intervals are not exact) and fragmented into short gestures of offbeat falling lines and groups of falling sixteenth notes—as if anxious thoughts constantly interrupt one another. It also includes chromatic lines, this time in rising form (Example 4).

Example 3. Gregor Werner, *Mater dolorum*, “Introductio,” Adagio, mm. 1–3. Score based on A-Wn, F100.Moder.71.

Adagio

[Vn 1]

[Vn 2]

[Viola]

[Basso]

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Example 4. Gregor Werner, *Mater dolorum*, “Introductio,” Allegro, mm. 1–8. Score based on A-Wn, F100.Moder.71.

Allegro

The musical score for Example 4 consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system includes staves for [Vn 1], [Vn 2], [Viola], and [Basso]. The second system includes staves for the piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs) and a bass line. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat major). The time signature is 3/4. The score shows measures 1 through 8, with measure numbers 5, 6, 7, and 8 indicated below the piano and bass staves in the second system.

Joseph Haydn and the Mater dolorum Settings of Reutter and Werner: Musical Gesture

The opening of Haydn’s *Stabat mater* (Example 5) uses musical gestures much like those of the opening numbers of Reutter’s and Werner’s *Mater dolorum* settings, common gestures that in combination generate an affect of sorrow and unease: minor key and slow tempo (both Reutter and Werner), angular lines (Werner’s Adagio), short-breathed phrases (Reutter and Werner), and offset rhythms (Werner’s Allegro). Haydn’s pulsing repeated notes and strong dynamic contrasts create an unsettled effect (Werner’s interest in dynamics will be discussed below). The tenor’s vivid description of weeping effectively conveys Mary’s sorrow: the repeated word “lacrymosa” (mm. 20–23) is set with a sobbing dotted repeated motive and a gasping utterance of falling minor thirds, followed by a

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

visceral cry of grief in 32nd notes that concludes, by way of vii^{o7} of A, on the A major chord, which is V of D minor (Example 6). The chord takes on a life of its own as it is prolonged by a unison reiteration of the progression. As the next phrase begins with quiet F major chords (as V of B-flat major), the bass merely dropping a third, the “lacrymosa” sounds as if left hanging, the sharp grief unresolved.

Example 5. Joseph Haydn, *Stabat mater*, “*Stabat mater dolorosa*,” mm. 1–4. Score based on *Joseph Haydn Werke*, Reihe 22, vol. 1, *Stabat mater 1767*, edited by Marianne Helms and Fred Stoltzfus (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1993), 1. Oboes omitted.

Largo

Vn 1

Vn 2

Va

Organo o Cembalo

p

6 b6 5 # 7 6 6 b6 6 5 # 6

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Example 6. Haydn, *Stabat mater*, “*Stabat mater dolorosa*,” mm. 20–24. Score based on *Joseph Haydn Werke, Reihe 22, vol. 1, Stabat mater 1767*, edited by Marianne Helms and Fred Stoltzfus (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1993), 4. Oboes omitted.

The image displays a musical score for three parts: Tenor, Strings, and Organ/Cembalo. The Tenor part is in G minor, 3/4 time, with lyrics: "La - cry - mo - sa, la - cry - mo - sa, la - cry - mo - sa, dum pen - de - bat". The Strings part is marked *p* and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Organ/Cembalo part is also marked *p* and includes fingering numbers: 6 7 4+ b, 6 7 4+ b, 6 7 4+ b, 6, 5, 6, 4, 5. The score continues to measure 23, where the Tenor part has lyrics: "mo - sa, dum pen - de - bat". The Strings part is marked *f* and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Organ/Cembalo part is marked *f* and includes fingering numbers: #, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, b5, b5.

Haydn’s mode of expression, while reflecting late-eighteenth-century harmonic conventions and sensibilities (the drop to the F is prepared by the prominence of the pitch F in the bass and as the highest note in the strings and of the tenor’s cry), also invokes the earlier *durus/mollis* system, seen in seventeenth-century Viennese *sepolcri*, in which contrasting pitch areas could mark strong contrasts of emotion and sharp sonorities might represent the thorns or nails of the crucifixion or other painful

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

experiences.¹⁵ The opening recitative of Reutter’s *Mater dolorum*, which expresses the emotions of the characters at the death of Christ on the cross, likewise hints at this older practice. It begins as an accompanied recitative in C minor, turns to simple recitative part way through, and ends in D minor. The recitative reaches its most distant sharp sonority, a B major chord (as V of E minor), at Joannes’s interjection “O Jammer!” (O, misery!). Following the cadence in E minor, there is a similar drop away from the “sharp” sonority, to a C major chord (Example 7).

Example 7. Georg Reutter the Younger, *Mater dolorum*, recitative preceding No. 1, mm. 10–15. Score based A-KR, Musikarchiv F27/5. “As soon as he said this, he bowed his head (O misery!) and died. How! Is our Savior, our God then ...”

JOANNES

raubt. So - bald er dieß ge - sagt, da neig - te er das Haupt, O Jam - mer!

JOSEPH

und ver - schie - de. Wie! so ist dann un - ser Hei - land, un - ser

Cembalo

Invoking old traditions, these gestures emphasize Mary’s sorrow as a mother—one of the human emotions raised each year during the Easter season in and around Vienna through sepulchers, sepulcher performances, and worship. Haydn’s depiction of Mary’s weeping and sobbing concludes with a unison gesture (m. 23), the unison idea later identified with the words “gementem ... et

¹⁵ Robert L. Kendrick, *Fruits of the Cross: Passiontide Music Theater in Habsburg Vienna* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019), 40–42, 72–74, 132–40.

dolentem” (moaning and grieving, mm. 58–60) in the choral continuation of the number; these words are sung by the lower three voices in contrast to the rest of the text in the soprano. Thus, the wordless appearance of the motive early in the number is shown to unite everyone in sorrow with Mary.

Several numbers offer musical respite in Reutter’s *Mater dolorum*, and this is also true of Haydn’s *Stabat mater*. In Reutter’s setting, this takes the form of duets to delight the ear. In Haydn’s *Stabat mater*, two numbers provide a gentler affect for Mary as blessed mother and noble virgin: “O quam tristis et afflicta” follows the dramatic opening “Stabat Mater dolorosa,” and “Virgo virginum Praeclara” precedes the dramatic Presto “Flammis orci ne succedar,” which introduces the final sequence of numbers. Both are set in the warm key of E-flat major, and are in triple meter, with the accompaniment in many sources of a pair of English horns, with their gentle and piquant sound.¹⁶ “O quam tristis est afflicta” is an alto solo, marked Affettuoso, and the music illustrates Mary’s trembling through a gesture of oscillating half-steps that interrupts the melodic phrase (mm. 63–69). The chorus “Virgo virginum praeclara” was named in a review in the *Musikalische Real-Zeitung* of 1789 as “voll Würde und einer der schönsten in diesem Werke ist,” suggesting that contemporary listeners were drawn to the music’s sonic beauty.¹⁷

Joseph Haydn and the Mater dolorum Settings of Reutter and Werner: Slow-Tempo Types

Haydn’s *Stabat mater* contains many slow movements, as several commentators have noted: H. C. Robbins Landon, for example, considered the work a “flawed masterpiece” because of its “great length and the number of slow movements one after another”—a description that is not, in fact, accurate and that places instrumental-music expectations upon it.¹⁸ Haydn’s performance indications are varied, and the slow movements fulfill different functions: some are independent movements, while others introduce multi-number structures. They differ in expression, focusing on different words and

¹⁶ Richard Will describes “O quam tristis” as pastoral in “Pergolesi’s Stabat Mater and the Politics of Feminine Virtue,” *Musical Quarterly* 87, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 594. He characterizes “Virgo virginum praeclara” as a “reward” for experiencing the musical evocation of the Virgin’s endurance in the previous movement, “Fac me vere tecum flere.”

¹⁷ *Musikalische Real-Zeitung für das Jahr 1789*, vol. 2, no. 35 (2 September 1789), cited in Joseph Haydn, *Stabat mater 1767*, ed. Marianne Helms and Fred Stoltzfus, *Joseph Haydn Werke*, Reihe 22, vol. 1 (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1993), 197.

¹⁸ H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, *Haydn at Eszterháza 1766–1790* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), 235.

emotions, and they include a variety of musical types, some of which look back to those used by Reutter and Werner. It is certainly a compositional challenge to maintain interest and advance a narrative in an extended musical piece that deals with many sad and sorrowful emotions, and Haydn and his predecessors met this challenge with some similar strategies.

Reutter’s and Werner’s settings of *Mater dolorum*, a text likewise filled with emotions of grief and sorrow, each also contain many slow numbers. Reutter always designates his Adagio, and Haydn too referred to slow movements generically as Adagios.¹⁹ Most of the Adagios in Reutter’s *Mater dolorum* are in minor keys, but they vary greatly in character. The opening Sonata is anguished, almost a catalog of musical devices representing sorrow, and its meaning is confirmed in the following accompanied recitative, “Es ist vollbracht,” which shares musical gestures with it. Another Adagio is the gentle and melodic D minor aria No. 2 “Entsetzet euch, verstockte Felsen Herzen!” (Be seized with fear, you hardened hearts of stone!) sung by the character Christliches Mitleiden (Christian Compassion). The pastoral scoring of oboe or chalumeau obligato reflects the text’s focus on nature, although the aspects of it described here—rocks, mountains, an earthquake, an eclipse—are more forbidding than gentle (Example 8).

Example 8. Georg Reutter the Younger, *Mater dolorum*, No. 2 “Entsetzet euch,” mm. 1–5. Score based on A-KR, Musikarchiv F27/5.

Adagio

Oboe [or chalumeau]

CHRISTLICHES MITLEIDEN

Cembalo

¹⁹ See below, on *Die Sieben letzten Worte*.

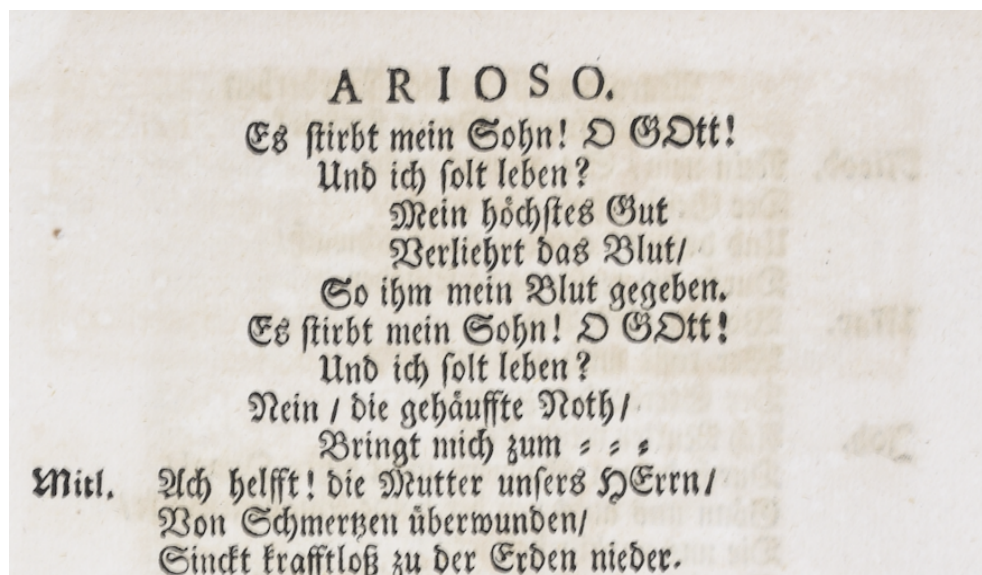
Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Reutter’s No. 3 “Es stirbt mein Sohn, O Gott!” (My son is dying, O God!) is in siciliana rhythm. The music’s halting quality, short phrases, and pauses characterize Mary’s grief, while the spare scoring—upper string parts only while she sings, the viola providing the bass—suggests the acuteness of her solitude. Mary’s fainting is vividly illustrated in music, as she repeats text, her part narrows in range to a single pitch as she grows confused, and finally she simply ceases singing. In Rademin’s libretto (Figure 3), she breaks off without completing her sentence (“bringt mich zum ...” [brings me to ...]) but Reutter or someone intent on closure has altered the final word of the text from “zum” to “um” to round out the thought.²⁰ (Example 9)

Figure 3. Heinrich Rademin, *Mater dolorum* (1726), fol. A3r. Maria, lines 8–9: “... No, the overwhelming misery, brings me to - - -”



²⁰ In fact, Mary breaks off in the middle of the second verse: the third line of verse 2 implies a continuation to the word “Todt,” rhyming with “Noth,” and a fourth line should properly follow, ending with –ben to complete the ABBA rhyme scheme, as in verse 1 (see figure 3).

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Example 9. Georg Reutter the Younger, *Mater dolorum*, No. 3 “Es stirbt mein Sohn, O Gott!,” mm. 62–end. Score based on A-KR, Musikarchiv F27/5. “no, the overwhelming misery is killing me.”

Violin 1

Violin 2

Viola

MARIA

Cembalo

le - ben? nein! nein! nein, die — ge - häuf - te Noth, —

67

67

— bring mich, — bringt mich, — bringt mich, bringt mich um

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Aria No. 5 “*Meinem Herzen bringt nicht Schmerzen*” (To my heart it brings no sorrow ...), with its trombone obligato, draws on the Austrian tradition of using that instrument in Requiem settings and other church music, a tradition to which both Reutter and Werner contributed. Aria No. 13 “*Der Gott, der Erd und Meer in seinen Händen trug*” (The God who held earth and sea in his hands) features dotted rhythms and florid violin solo interludes; the soloist’s virtuosity and flights into the high register evocative of heaven and God’s dominion, high above the mundane progress of the basso and second violin parts, which move predominantly in eighths or quarter notes, confined to the lower space of the bass clef register (Examples 10a & b).

Example 10a. Georg Reutter the Younger, *Mater dolorum*, No. 13 “*Der Gott, der Erd und Meer in seinen Händen trug*,” mm. 1–4. Score based on A-KR, Musikarchiv F27/5.

Adagio

Violin 1 Solo

Violin 2 à 3 viol[ini]

Christliches Mitleiden

Cembalo

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Example 10b. Georg Reutter the Younger, *Mater dolorum*, No. 13 “Der Gott, der Erd und Meer in seinen Händen trug,” mm. 41–45. Score based on Kremsmünster Parts (A-KR, Musikarchiv F27/5).

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is for Violins (Vns), the middle for Soprano (Mit-leiden), and the bottom for Cembalo (Cemb). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The Vns part begins with a rapid sixteenth-note arpeggio in the first measure, followed by a melodic line. The Mit-leiden part has a long rest in the first two measures, then enters with a melodic line starting in the third measure. The Cemb part has a sixteenth-note arpeggio in the first measure, followed by a melodic line. The lyrics "der ja" and "Gott da" are written below the Mit-leiden staff in the third and fourth measures respectively.

Werner uses a variety of slow-tempo indications in his *Mater dolorum* setting. His slow movements include the uncompromisingly angular and contrapuntal *Introductio*, marked Adagio (see Example 3 above); a Largo, with text painting depicting the earth’s shaking and convulsing and the rending of the veil in the temple, the former in a gesture resembling seventeenth-century *stile concitato* and the latter as jagged arpeggios (No. 2, “Entsteinet euch, verstockte Felsen-Hertzen!” [Cast out your stones, you hardened hearts!], Example 11); and, for Mary’s fainting in No. 3, a “Largo sempre un poco piano” with muted strings, the melodic motion diminishing and the sound fading away at the end. The arioso stops on a diminished 7th chord as Mary faints before completing her sentence, and the continuation is delayed by a 4–3 suspension, just as bystanders might take a moment to react (Example 12).²¹

²¹ Werner’s setting omits the character Christliches Mitleiden, and the text here is reassigned to Joannes.

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Example 11. Gregor Werner, *Mater dolorum*, No. 2 “Entsteinet euch,” mm. 31–35. Score based on A-Wn, F100.Moder.71. “the mountains convulse, the curtain of the temple is rent, and you remain unmoved ...”

[Largo]

Violin 1

Violin 2

Johannes

[Basso continuo]

der Ber - ge Last er - schüt - tert des Tem - pels Vor - hang

bricht und ihr be -

The musical score consists of four staves. The top two staves are for Violin 1 and Violin 2, both in treble clef. The third staff is for the vocal part (Johannes) in treble clef. The bottom two staves are for the Basso continuo in bass clef. The music is in 3/4 time and the key signature has two flats (B-flat major). The tempo is marked [Largo]. The dynamics are marked with *[f]* (forte). The lyrics are in German: "der Ber - ge Last er - schüt - tert des Tem - pels Vor - hang" and "bricht und ihr be -". There are fermatas over the first and last notes of the vocal line. The Basso continuo part includes a 7th fret marking.

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: *Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America* 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Example 12. Gregor Werner, *Mater dolorum*, No. 3 “Es stirbt mein Sohn,” mm. 25–34. Score based on A-Wn, F100.Moder.71. “[My son dies! O God!] and I should live, No, the overwhelming misery brings me to - - - Ah Help! The mother of our [Lord ...]”

[Largo sempre un poco piano]

Vn 1

Vn 2

[con sordini]

[con sordini]

MARIA

und ich sollt le - ben, Nein die ge - häuff - te Noth

f un poco piano

Cemb

[sempre piano]

Recit

JOHANNES

bringt mich zum Ach helfft! Die Mut-ter uns-res

pp

pp

Haydn’s “special esteem for this famous master” led him to arrange for string quartet and publish six pairs of slow movements and fugues, chosen from the Introductions to twelve oratorios by Werner in his possession (Figure 4).²² The slow introductions vary in character. They include strongly contrasting voices with dramatic leaps and trill passages (No. 1, from *Esther* [1746], Example 13); a study in dynamic contrast in which the momentum stills and the dynamics diminish gradually to the end (No. 2, from *David* [1743], Example 14); and a chromatic, contrapuntal piece with a Fuxian subject, marked Grave (No. 4, from *Der verlorhne Sohn* [1747], Example 15). An Adagio non poco (No. 6, from *Job* [1748], Example 16) begins with a passage that includes some striking harmonies as a melody sounds in close imitation over a pedal; the piece continues with leaping gestures passed from instrument to instrument (mm. 3–4), silences, and contrasts in dynamics and register, giving it an unsettled, *empfindsam* quality.

The dramatic opposition of contrasting pairs of parts in Werner’s No. 1 resembles the musical concept of the opening number of Haydn’s *Stabat mater*, in which the strongly contrasting unison interjections answer the singer’s phrases. The Lento e mesto “Vidit suum” of Haydn’s *Stabat mater* makes use of dynamic changes and textural contrasts throughout, but especially in the approach to the word “moriendo” (Example 17)—a technique that recalls Werner’s No. 2 (Example 14) as well as the latter’s setting of Mary’s aria “Es stirbt mein Sohn” in his version of *Mater dolorum* (Example 12).

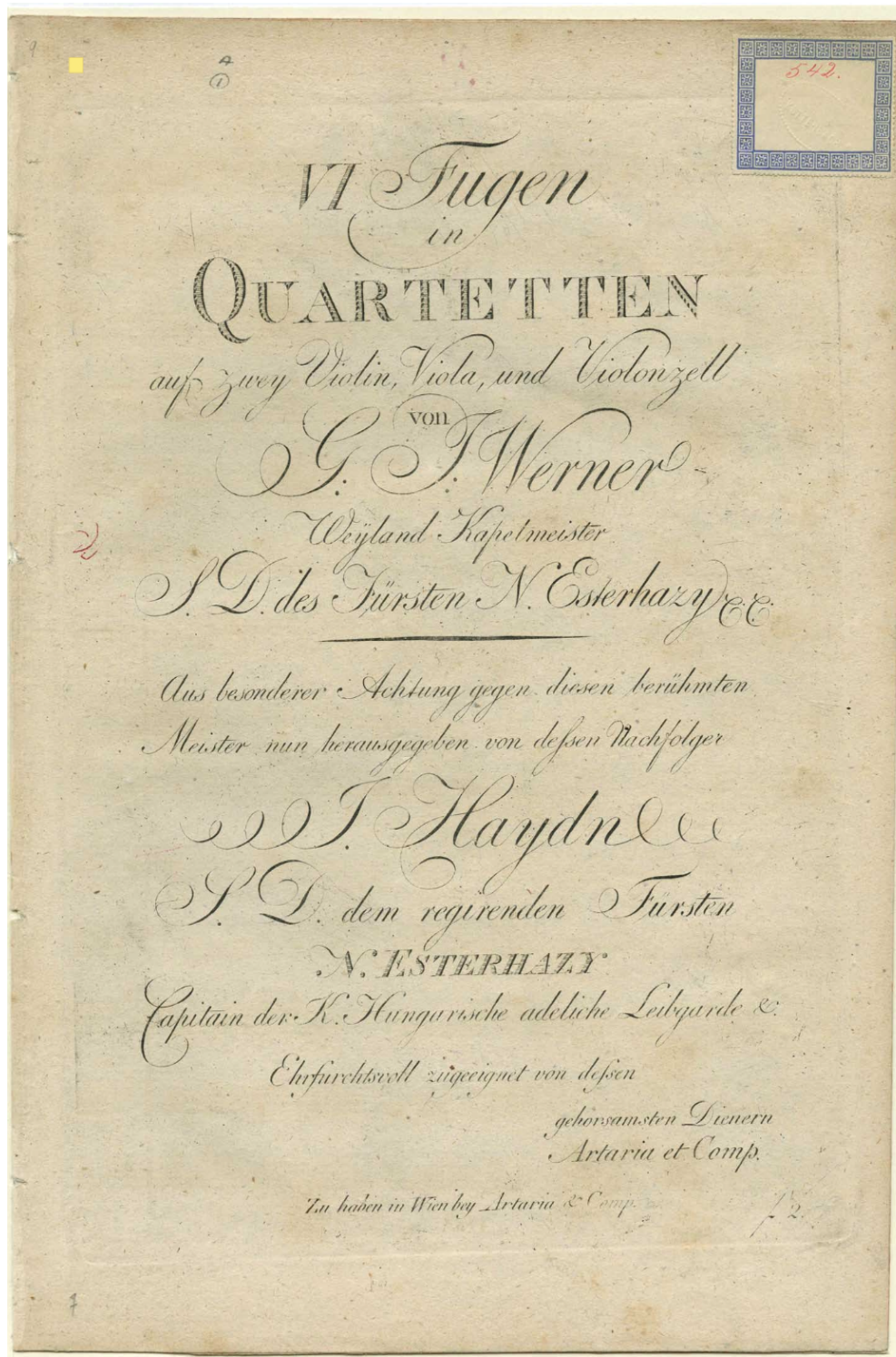
²² On these oratorios, see Harich, “Szenische Darstellungen,” 121–23. *Mater dolorum* was not among them.

Page, Janet. "Mater dolorum settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn."

HAYDN: *Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America* 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Figure 4. Gregor Werner, *VI Fugen in Quartetten*, arranged by Joseph Haydn (Vienna, Artaria, [1804]), US-DMu, IMSLP38233-PMLP84401-werner.pdf, title page.



Page, Janet. "Mater dolorum settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn."

HAYDN: *Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America* 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Example 13. Gregor Werner, *VI Fugen in Quartetten*, arranged by Joseph Haydn, No. 1. (*Esther*), mm. 1–5.

Larghetto

Example 14. Gregor Werner, *VI Fugen in Quartetten*, arranged by Joseph Haydn, No. 2 (*David*), mm. 1–25.

Largo

Page, Janet. "Mater dolorum settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn."

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

(Example 14 cont'd.)

The musical score for Example 14, continuing from the previous page, is presented in two systems. The first system covers measures 15 through 21, and the second system covers measures 22 through 24. The score is written for four staves: two for the right hand (treble clef) and two for the left hand (bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The first system begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic in measure 15, followed by a forte (*f*) dynamic in measure 16. Measures 17 and 18 return to piano (*p*), and measure 19 is marked *piu p*. The system concludes with a piano (*p*) dynamic in measure 21. The second system begins in measure 22 with a pianissimo (*pp*) dynamic, which continues through measures 23 and 24. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as quarter notes, eighth notes, and rests, along with dynamic markings and articulation marks like accents.

Page, Janet. "Mater dolorum settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn."

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Example 15. Gregor Werner, *VI Fugen in Quartetten*, arranged by Joseph Haydn, No. 4 (*Der verlorhne Sohn*), mm. 1–5.

Grave

Example 16. Gregor Werner, *VI Fugen in Quartetten*, arranged by Joseph Haydn, No. 6 (*Job*), mm. 1–4. Editorial note: the *f* in Vn 1, m. 3 appears at note 3 in the part.

Adagio ma poco

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Example 17. Joseph Haydn, *Stabat mater*, “*Vidit suum*,” mm. 12–17. Score based on *Joseph Haydn Werke*, Reihe 22, vol. 1, *Stabat mater* 1767, edited by Marianne Helms and Fred Stoltzfus (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1993), 37–38.

Obs -----]

Vns,
Va

Tenor

Org e
cemb

[*p*] *poco f* *f* *p*

vi - dit su - um dul - cem na - tum,

pp *pp*

14 14 14

dul - cem na - tum mo - ri - en - do de - so - la - tum, mo - ri - en - do
senza organo

pp

Werner’s and Reutter’s slow movements are recalled in another work by Haydn, *Die Sieben letzten Worte*, a commission that prompted Haydn to contemplate the difficulty of writing a series of “Adagios” that would keep listeners’ attention.²³ The introductory section of Sonata II “*Hodie mecum, eris in Paradiso*” recalls the tragic type of Werner’s *Introductio* to *Mater dolorum* and Reutter’s opening Sonata, with which it shares the key of C minor, the mood here intensified by dark and

²³ Letter from Haydn published in the Breitkopf & Härtel edition of 1801. Cited in Vorwort to Joseph Haydn, *Die Sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze, Orchesterfassung* (1785), ed. Hubert Unverricht, *Joseph Haydn Werke*, Reihe 4 (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1959), vii.

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Example 19. Joseph Haydn, *Die Sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze*, *Orchesterfassung*, Sonata II “*Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso*,” 16–20. Score based on *Joseph Haydn Werke*, Reihe 4, edited by Hubert Unverricht (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1959), 16.

The musical score is arranged in six staves. The top two staves are for 2 Corni in Eb and 2 Corni in C basso. The next two staves are for Violins and Viola. The fifth staff is for Violoncello com sordino, marked [solo]. The bottom staff is for Contrabasso. The score is in 3/4 time and features dynamic markings of *p* (piano) and *fz* (forzando). The key signature has two flats (Bb and Eb).

The subject of the Passion, and especially the role of the Virgin Mary in it, drew on the ingenuity of composers in and around Vienna, including Haydn and his older contemporaries, in creating music to evoke the range of emotions of this yearly religious experience. As this event came around every year, retrospective elements that had been particularly effective or meaningful reappeared in newly composed works. Some musical expressions of sadness, sorrow, and agony endured, as part of the long memory of musical expression, and Haydn joined this thread of memory, which reached back into the seventeenth century, in his settings of the *Stabat mater* and *Die Sieben letzten Worte*.

Abstract

Mater dolorum, a text by Heinrich Rademin (1674–1731), is a German-language oratorio intended for performance before a model of the Holy Sepulcher on Good Friday. Such works, amalgamating court sepulcro and popular traditions, were performed in churches throughout Central Europe during Holy Week. *Mater dolorum*, one of the most popular texts, was set by three of Haydn’s older contemporaries: Georg Reutter Jr. (1726), Gregor Werner (ca. 1733), and Georg Christoph Wagenseil (ca. 1739). In this essay, I consider how these settings, and the attitudes displayed in them, intersected with Haydn’s world and could have influenced him, especially in his own Passiontide music, the *Stabat mater dolorosa* (1767) and *Die Sieben letzten Worte* (1785). Points of resemblance include reminiscences of older musical practices, text painting, structural organization, and treatment of slow movements.

Works Cited

Literature

Edge, Dexter. “The Context and Early Reception of Haydn’s *Stabat Mater*.” *HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America*, Vol. 14 (2024).

Haiawi, Maryam. “Mary’s Grief in 18th-Century Passion Oratorios: Some Notes on Its Confessional and Interconfessional Aspects.” In *Grief, Identity, and the Arts: A Multidisciplinary Perspective on Expressions of Grief*, edited by Bram Lambrecht and Miriam Wendling, 33–60. Leiden: Brill, 2022.

Harich, Johann. “Szenische Darstellungen und Oratorien-Aufführungen im 18. Jahrhundert am Esterházy-Hof zu Eisenstadt.” *Die Burgundländische Heimatblätter* 38 (1976): 112–30. https://www.zobodat.at/pdf/Burgenlaendische-Heimatblaetter_38_0112-0130.pdf.

Hauptman-Fischer, Ewa. “Muzyka wokarno-instrumentalna w klasztorach cystersów prowincji śląskiej (1651–1810).” PhD diss., University of Warsaw, 2022.

Kačič, Ladislav. “Schuldramen und Oratorien bei den Pressburger Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert.” *Musicologica Brunensia* 49, no. 1 (2014): 275–90.

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Kendrick, Robert L. *Fruits of the Cross: Passiontide Music Theater in Habsburg Vienna*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2019.

Landon, H. C. Robbins. *Haydn Chronicle and Works, vol. 2, Haydn at Eszterháza 1766–1790*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1978.

Page, Janet K. *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Rudin, Bärbel. “Heinrich Rademin, Hanswursts Schattenmann: Jurist, Bühnenchef, Stückeschreiber – Versuch über eine Gründerfigure des Wiener Theaters.” *Maske und Kothurn* 48, nos. 1–4 (2002): 271–301.

Webster, James. “Haydn’s Sacred Vocal Music and the Aesthetics of Salvation.” In *Haydn Studies*, ed. Dean Sutcliffe, 35–69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Will, Richard. “Pergolesi’s *Stabat Mater* and the Politics of Feminine Virtue,” *Musical Quarterly* 87, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 570–614.

Editions of Music

Haydn, Joseph. *Die Sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze, Orchesterfassung (1785)*, edited by Hubert Unverricht. *Joseph Haydn Werke, Reihe 4*. Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1959.

Haydn, Joseph. *Stabat mater 1767*, edited by Marianne Helms and Fred Stoltzfus. *Joseph Haydn Werke, Reihe 22, vol. 1*. Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1993.

Reutter, Georg, the Younger. *Mater dolorum*, edited by Janet K. Page. Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 2024.

Page, Janet. “*Mater dolorum* settings by Georg Reutter the Younger and Gregor Werner, as reflected in the music by Joseph Haydn.”

HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America 14 (2024), <https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal>

© Haydn Society of North America, and Boston: Berklee Library, 2024. Duplication without the express permission of the author and/or the Haydn Society of North America is prohibited.

Primary Sources

Rademin, Heinrich. *Mater dolorum, Das ist: Die Schmerzhaftte Mutter, Bey dem letzten Athem-Zug Ihres geliebten Sohns, Dessen darauf erfolgter Abnehmung vom Creutz, und Begräbnis[,] Bey dem Heil. Grab, In der Kirchen derer Wohl-Ehrwürdigen Chor- und Closter-Frauen des Fürstl. Stiffts und Closters zur Himmels-Porten am Heiligen Charfreytag Mittags um 12. Uhr[,] Denen mitleidenden Christen vor Augen zu stellen, Entworffen Von Rademin, Und in die Music gesetzt Von Herrn Georg Reuter, dem Jüngern, Organisten allda. Wienn in Oesterreich, Gedruckt bey Andreas Heyinger, Universitäts-Buchdrucker, im Jahr 1726.* Stift Göttweig, Benediktinerabtei, Musikarchiv, Librettosammlung-L63-001.

[Rademin, Heinrich], and Anonymous. *Mater dolorum, Das ist: Die schmerzhaftte Mutter, Bey dem letzten Athem-Zug Ihres Geliebten Sohns, Dessen darauf erfolgter Abnehmung von dem Creutz, und Begräbnuß Bey dem heiligen Grab. Vorgestellet In der Kirchen deren Wohl-Ehrwürdigen Closter-Frauen bey St. Jacob in Wienn. Die Music componiret Von Herrn Georg Christoph Wagenseil, Ihro Kayserl. Königl. Majestät Hof- und Cammer-Compositoren. Cum licentia superiorum. Wienn, Gedruckt bey Johann Ignatz Heyinger, Universitäts-Buchdruckern* [ca. 1739–40]. D-Mbs. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10907216?page=,1>.

Werner, Gregor. *Mater dolorum*. Copy by Johann Georg Thonner. A-Wgm III 17.709.

Werner, Gregor. *Mater dolorum*. Copy by Richard Moder. A-Wn F100.Moder.71.

Werner, Gregor. *Mater dolorum*. “Introductio.” Copy by Richard Moder. A-Wn F100.Moder.155.

Werner, Gregor. *VI Fugen in Quartetten*, arranged by Joseph Haydn. Vienna: Artaria, [1804]. US-DMu, IMSLP38233-PMLP84401-werner.pdf