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Dexter Edge

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The Context and Early Reception of Haydn's *Stabat mater*

by Dexter Edge

Introduction: Haydn's Marian Devotion

From the Renaissance until around the end of the reign of Maria Theresia, Marian piety was a cornerstone of the Habsburg monarchy's self-concept and a principal justification of its right to rule. The Blessed Virgin was seen as the Habsburg "generalissima"—its supreme general—whose intercession had assured the monarchy's victories over the Ottoman Turks at Lepanto in 1571, the Protestants at White Mountain in 1620, and the Turks again at the gates of Vienna in 1683.¹

Veneration of Mary in her aspect as "sorrowing mother"—the *mater dolorosa*—likewise played a prominent role in the religious life of both the Habsburg family and the Austrian public (Figure 1). The liturgy for the feast of *Septem dolorum B. M. V.* (the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary) was originally devised in the late 15th century at the Habsburg court of Philip the Fair in Burgundy, well over two hundred years before it became a standard part of the Catholic yearly cycle in 1727.² The popularity in eighteenth-century Austria of Rademin's vernacular libretto *Mater dolorum*—a dramatization of the *Stabat mater* set variously by Georg Reutter d. J., Gregor Werner, and Wagenseil—highlights the reverence for the sorrowing Mary among the common people (see the essay by Janet K. Page in this issue).

Given this background, it is not surprising that Joseph Haydn, upon taking over full duties as Esterházy Kapellmeister following the death of Werner on 3 March 1766, dedicated four of his early sacred works to the Blessed Virgin: the *Missa Cellensis*, Hob.XXII:5 in 1766, the *Stabat mater*, Hob.XXa:1 in 1767, the *Missa in honorem Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*, Hob.XXII:4 around 1768 or 1769, and the *Salve regina* in G minor, Hob.XXIIIb:2 in 1771. The very existence of these works suggests that at this stage in his life, Haydn felt a special personal connection to Mary. Although we have no direct testimony from the composer on the matter, both Griesinger and Dies relate anecdotes about

¹ Anna Coreth, *Pietas austriaca*, trans. William D. Bowman and Anna Maria Leitgeb (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2004), 50ff. My deepest thanks to Michael Lorenz and Janet K. Page for their help with this essay. All translations are by the author.

² Emily S. Thelen, "The Feast of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Piety, Politics and Plainchant at the Burgundian-Habsburg Court," *Early Music History* 35 (2016): 261–307.

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Figure 1: *Summarischer Extract Aller gepflogenen Andachten, Welche, Bey der Hoch=löblichen Bruderschaft Deren sieben vornehmsten Schmerzen Mariae ... gehalten worden* (Vienna, 1757), frontispiece. The engraving depicts Mary pierced through the heart by seven swords representing her seven principal sorrows, a common artistic trope since the Renaissance.



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Haydn’s pilgrimage, as an unemployed and hungry young musician following his dismissal from St. Stephen’s, to the Marian shrine in Mariazell.³ Both authors imply that he traveled to Mariazell mostly in search of meals and the means to pay for them. But Haydn seems unlikely to have undertaken a journey of around 150 kilometers, quite possibly on foot, merely in the uncertain hope of a few pick-up gigs. Given the centrality of Mariazell as a site of Catholic pilgrimage at that time, it seems likely that he made the journey at least in part for the same reason as any other pilgrim, from the lowliest peasant to the empress herself: to worship at the miraculous statue of the Virgin there, and to receive its blessing and absolution, and perhaps the plenary indulgence associated with the site.⁴ Regarding Haydn’s Marian devotion, we also have the report of Christian Ignatius Latrobe in 1828, based on Haydn’s own testimony, that the *Stabat mater* was composed to fulfill a vow to Mary following his recovery from a serious illness. Latrobe’s report warrants closer examination. (I will return to it below.)

Haydn scholars have long realized that his *Stabat mater* played a crucial early role in establishing his reputation as a major composer outside Austria, particularly in Germany and Paris. Foundational work on the topic was done by Marianne Helms and Fred Stoltzfus in their 1993 critical edition of the *Stabat mater* for *Joseph Haydn Werke*; in preparing the music, they took into account six printed editions and 42 manuscript sources, listing over 100 others.⁵ In their critical report Helms and Stoltzfus also transcribed several important early documents about the work. Bernard Harrison, in his Cambridge Guide to Haydn’s “Paris” symphonies, published in 1998, made an essential contribution to our understanding of the reception of Haydn’s *Stabat mater* at the *Concert spirituel* in Paris, where it was a great success with the public, despite (or perhaps because of) having been intentionally juxtaposed with Pergolesi’s beloved setting.⁶

In spite of this prior scholarship, confusion remains in the secondary literature regarding the early performances and reviews of the work. In this essay, I will re-examine the Viennese context of the *Stabat mater* during Haydn’s youth, the background of his own setting and its earliest

³ Georg August Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1810), 11–12; Albert Christoph Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn* (Vienna: Camesinische Buchhandlung, 1810), 32–33.

⁴ Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresa: The Habsburg Empress in Her Time*, trans. Robert Savage (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 569.

⁵ Joseph Haydn, *Stabat Mater 1767*, ed. Marianne Helms and Fred Stoltzfus, *Joseph Haydn Werke* XXII:1 (Munich: G. Henle, 1993).

⁶ Bernard Harrison, *Haydn: The “Paris” Symphonies* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), here esp. 9–13.

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performances, and the spread of his setting outside of Austria in the 1770s and 1780s. In the course of this re-examination I will introduce a few new documents and offer new interpretations of others that are already known.

The Stabat Mater in Vienna

The antecedents of *Septem dolorum* can be traced back to the early 15th century; the 13th-century Latin poem “*Stabat mater dolorosa*” was incorporated into its liturgy at an early date.⁷ Although *Septem dolorum* was not officially added to the standard Catholic liturgy until 1727, it was celebrated in Vienna by at least 1707, when the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows was established at the Schottenkirche. According to a pamphlet published on their 50th anniversary in 1757, the confraternity observed the feast of *Septem dolorum* on Friday of Passion Week (the Friday before Palm Sunday), which in 1727 became its permanent position in the church year.⁸ The pamphlet specifies that on Passion Friday 1756 (1 April; see Figure 2) they performed “ein ganz neues *musicalisches Stabat mater*” (“an entirely new musical *Stabat mater*”); they also performed musical *Stabat maters* on the preceding Wednesday and Thursday of that week. Not surprisingly, this confraternity was especially fond of the *Stabat mater*: they also performed it on all Fridays in Lent and every third Friday during the rest of the year. According to statistics printed at the end of the pamphlet, the confraternity had in fact given the *Stabat mater* 833 times from its founding in 1707 until the end of 1756. It is unclear how many of these performances were full musical settings, but the *Stabat mater* or *Septem dolorum* on Friday in Passion Week 1757 certainly was one.

Kilian Reinhardt’s *Rubriche Generali* of 1727 (Figure 3), which describes the yearly cycle of religious observances by the Habsburg court, specifies that upon returning from Mass at “Santa

⁷ On the history of *Septem dolorum*, see Frederick George Holweck, “Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Feasts of the Seven,” *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913), vol. 14, 151–52. On the sources of the poem, see Clemens Blume and H. M. Bannister, eds, *Die Sequenzen*, part 2, vol. 1, supplement, Liturgische Prosen.... . *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 54. Leipzig: O. S. Reisland, 1915, 312–18.

⁸ *Summarischer EXTRACT, Aller gepflogenen Andachten, Welche, Bey der Hoch=löblichen Bruderschaft Deren sieben vornehmsten Schmerzen MARLÆ, Von Zeit Dero Aufrichtung, am 15. April, Anno 1707. bis Ende des verstrichenen 1756. Jahrs In der Hoch=löblichen Pfarrherrlichen Stift= und Ordens=kirchen S. Benedicti U. L. Frauen zun [sic] Schotten genannt, Alhier in Wien gehalten worden; Anheuer aus Ursach ihres ersten SEMI-SÆCULI, oder JUBILÆI Des erreichten 50sten Jahrs, zum Druck beförderet, Und zur Nachricht aller deren, welche denen Schmerzen MARLÆ mit Andacht zugethan, ausgetheilet* (Vienna, 1757).

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Croce” (the Minoritenkirche) on the Feast of *Septem dolorum*, the court proceeded to the Hofkapelle, where the “Oratorio delli Setti Dolori della B. M. V.” (probably the setting by Emperor Leopold I) was performed, followed by a “Stabat mater solenne,” certainly a full musical setting.⁹ From the *Rubriche Generali* we also know that musical settings of the *Stabat mater* with organ and instruments were performed at court in the Kammerkapelle during Compline on the four Saturdays of Quadragesima, using an abbreviated version of the Compline service to allow time for the music. *Stabat maters* were also performed by the Hofmusikkapelle on the feast of St. Joseph (19 March) and Good Friday.

In the 1740s Johann Ziss compiled a “Repertorium” of music performed by the Hofmusikkapelle; it shows that these usages continued into the period when Haydn was living in Vienna as a boy and young man (Figure 4).¹⁰ In fact, the surviving collection of settings of the *Stabat mater* in the archive of the Hofmusikkapelle is quite large, including works by Palestrina, Emperor Leopold I, Colonna, Ziani, Draghi, Fux, Caldara, Reinhardt, Casati, Predieri, Wagenseil, and Reutter the Younger, among others. We know less about performances of musical settings of the *Stabat mater* at St. Stephen’s cathedral and other Viennese churches and chapels at this time. However, the Viennese *Andachts-Büchl* for 1715 specifies that a *Stabat mater* was performed by the Jesuits on Sundays in Lent, and it mentions performances at a few other churches.¹¹ In any case, it is likely that Haydn would have sung the *Stabat mater* as a choir boy at St. Stephen’s, even if we do not yet know exactly when or in what sorts of settings.

⁹ *RUBRICHE GENERALI Per le Funzioni Ecclesiastiche Musicali di tutto l’Anno Con un’ Appendice in fine dell’ Essenziali ad Uso, e Servizio dell’ August:ma Austriaca, ed Imp:le Capella Nell’ interrotto corse di 50. Anni raccolte, e con profonda umiltà presentate Alla Sacra Ces:ca, e Reale Catt:ca Maestà Carlo di Sesto Imperatore de Romani sempre Augusto da Kiliano Reinharth Maestro de Concerti Musicali di dett’ Aug:ma Capella In Vien[n]a d’ Austria l’ Anno MDCCXXVII.* Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 2503, 17r–17v. The work by Emperor Leopold I is “Oratorio delli Sette Maggiori dolori della B. Vergine,” Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 16904.

¹⁰ Johann Andreas Ziss, “Repertorium der von der Hofmusikkapelle ausgeführten Kirchenmusik” (1745), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Inv. I/Hofmusikkapelle/15, 8r.

¹¹ *Wienerisches Andachts-Büchl, Oder Fest-Kalender Vor das Jahr ... : Worinnen die an gewissen Tügen allhier sich ereignende Andachten, Fest und Denckwürdigkeiten angemercket, und auff vieles Verlangen in Druck gegeben : 1715 : Vor das Jahr M.D.CC.XV.,* 31–32.

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Figure 2: *Summarischer Extract ...*, title page and page 2.



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eine Predig, mit darauf folgendem musicalischen Stabat Mater, und letzten Seegen vor sich gehen.

Am Donnerstag darauf, den 31. Martii, geschiehet um 8. Uhr fruhe die Aussetzung des Hoch-heiligen Altars Sacraments, um 9. Uhr die Predig, und nach Ende derselben das Pontifical - amt mit dem zweyfachen Opfer, wie am vorigen Tag; Nachmittag wird mehrmalen um 4. Uhr die Predig, hernach abermalen das musicalische Stabat Mater gehalten, und also dieser anderte Tag mit dem heiligen Seegen beschloffen werden.

Am Frentag den 1. April, als den dritten Tag dieses feyerlichen JUBILÆI, an welchem Tag zugleich für heuriges Jahr der gewöhnliche Jahrs-tag des Titular-Festes deren 7. Schmerzen MARIÆ einfallet: wird, wie in vorigen zweyen Tagen, um 8. Uhr das Hochwürdigste Altars-geheimnuß mit dem ersten Seegen ausgesetzt, darauf folget das Choral - amt, nach Endigung dessen die Predig, und alsdann die gewöhnliche öffentliche Jahrs-procession mit dem Hochwürdigen (wann gutes Wetter ist) durch die Strauch- und Herren-gassen, folgendes wiederum das solenne Pontifical - amt mit dem Opfer, wie an denen vorigen zweyen Tagen geschehen; unter demselben Amt empfangen auch die Mitglieder dieser Hochlöbl. Bruderschaft die heilige Communion aus der Hand des Herrn Pontificanten. Nachmittag um 4. Uhr die Predig, nach dieser aber wird ein ganz neues musicalisches Stabat Mater, welches ein der Compolition wolerfahrner Herr Hüßs-mit-bruder, zu diesem Ende, ganz neu componiret, das erstemal produciret, hernach aber
auch

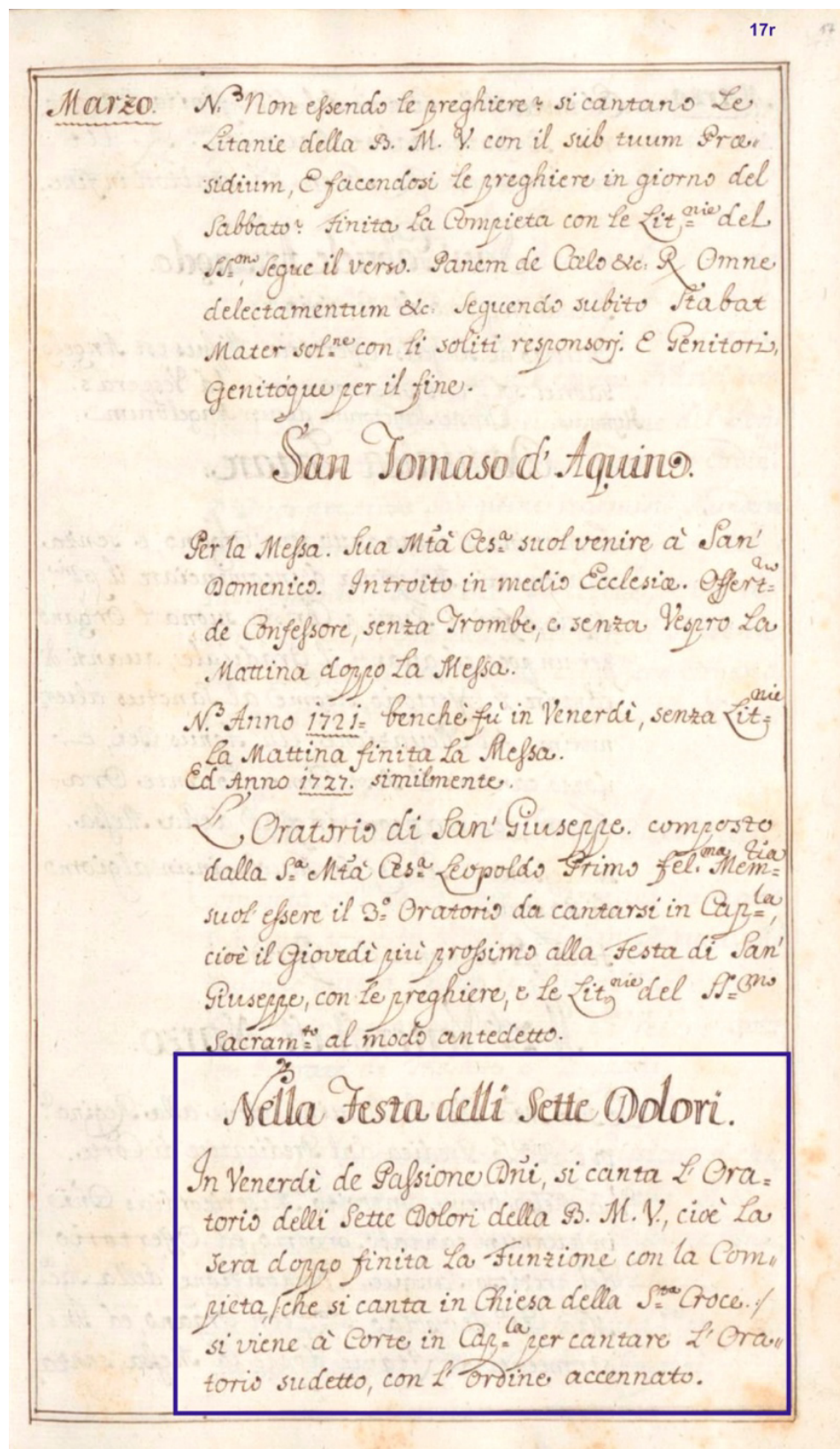
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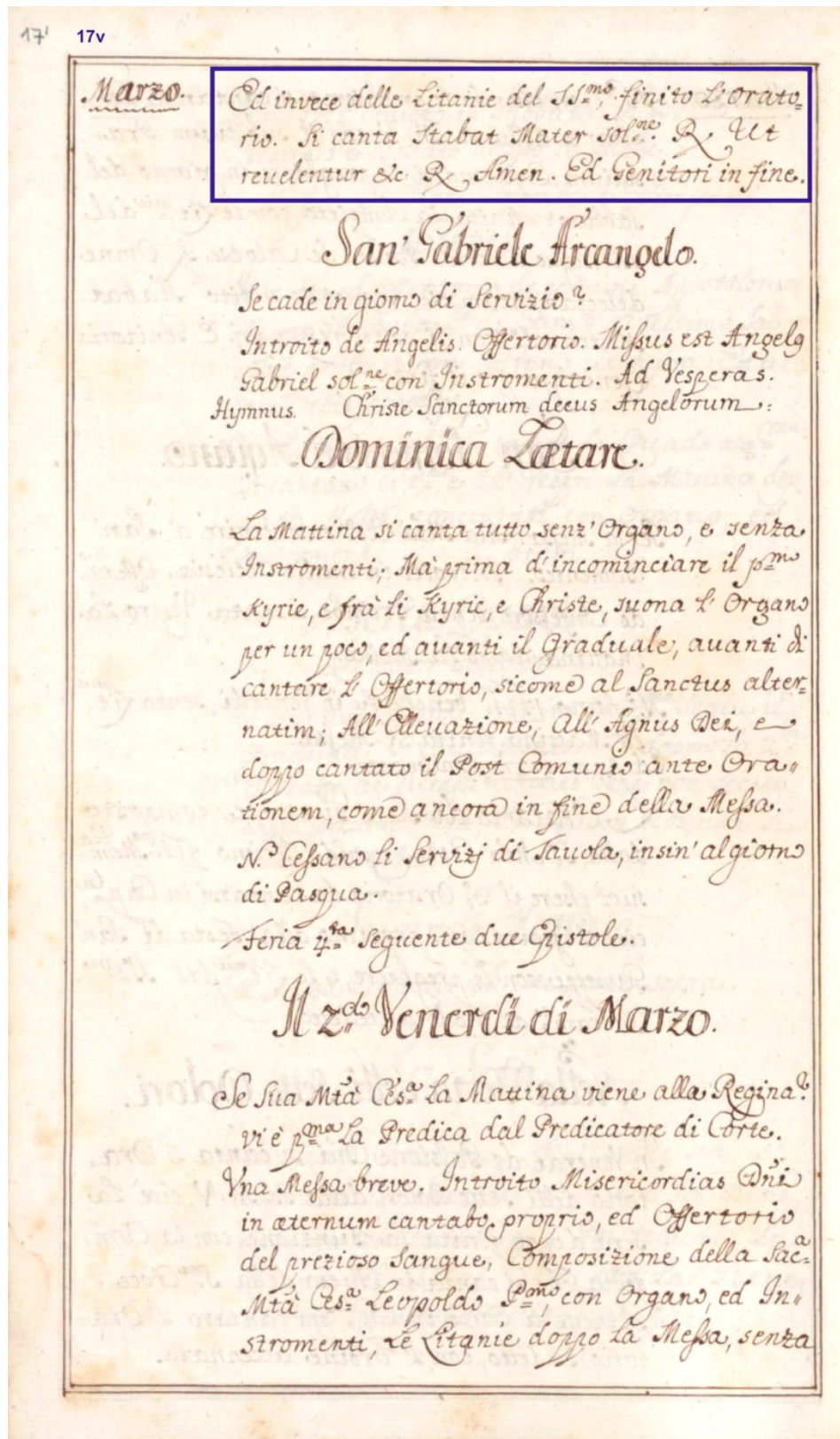
Figure 3: Kilian Reinhardt, *Rubriche Generali*, title page, the entry for *Septem dolorum* 1727, 17r–17v, and the entry for Compline on Saturdays in Quadragesima, 15r.





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15r 15

Marzo. che doppo la Compieta, si canta il Miserere sempre con Organo, e tutti l' Instrumenti sol^o

N. Per il 1^o si suol cantare quello composto dalla 1^a Ces.^a e 2^a Catt.^a Mia ai CARLO VI.

Sabbato La Sera.

Compieta in Cap.^{la} di Cam.^a Feriale senz' Org^o, e senza Instrumenti, se non è doppio, o Semi doppio. Immediatè doppo il sub tuum Præsidium, si canta Stabat Mater con Organo, e tutti l' Instrum^{ti} sol^o, in tutto deve durare un' ora buona. & Ut reuelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes, con li Amen in fine.

Così si deve osservare il servizio in tutti li Sabbati di Quadragesima, insino alli Sabbati delle s. Prediche. La Funzione in Chiesa di S. Agostino. Ma non andando: si fa il Servizio come sopra.

Dominica 1^{ma}

In Quadragesima.

La Messa senz' Organo, e senza Instrum^{ti} sine gloria. N. Si devono replicare li Kyrie, acciò finiscano due Messe basse. Doppo l' Epistola, si canta il Graduale prop^o sequendo immediate il Salmo Qui habitat pleno Choro, sine Gloria Patri.

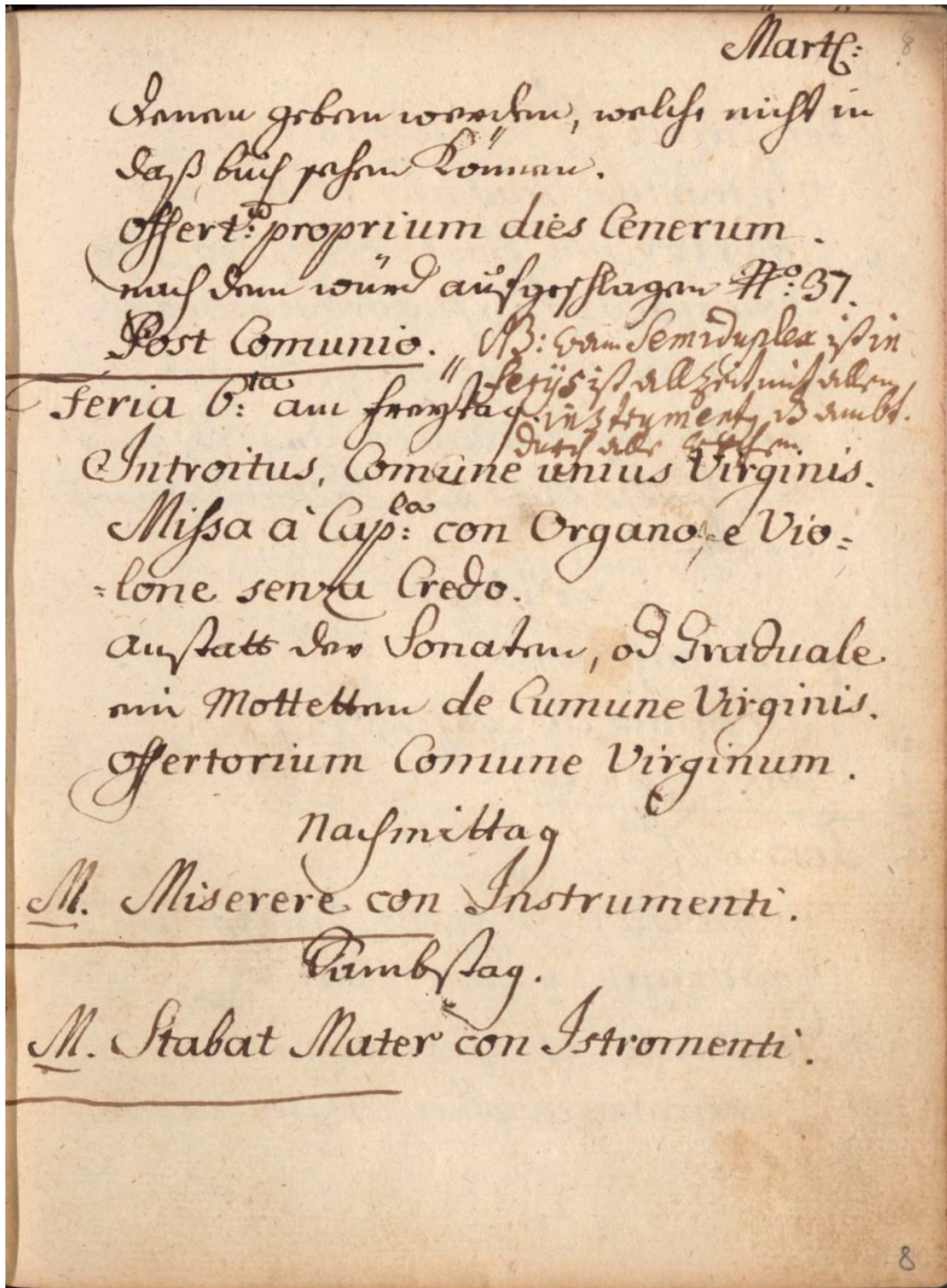
Il Vespro secondo il Calendario. Auuertendo, che quando è semidoppio, si canta con Organo,

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Figure 4: Johann Ziss, *Repertorium*, entry for Saturdays in Quadragesima.



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Haydn was paid as a supplemental chorister by the Hofmusikkapelle in the years 1754, 1755, and 1756, when Maria Theresia ordered a *cappella* settings for double choir of the *Stabat mater* and *Miserere* to be sung at court during Lent and Holy Week (Figure 5).¹² Kapellmeister Reutter knew that he did not have enough competent singers among the salaried Hofmusikkapelle to manage this, and in each of those three years he hired several supplementary singers, including Haydn, precisely for use in these performances by double choir. The entry in the Hofzählamtsbuch for 1756 reads:

Widerumen erhalten Außweis / des Kayl: Königl: Befehls
 die / jenige Musici, welche in der / Fasten beÿ denen
 Miserere, Sta,, / „bat Mater, und in den Char= /
 „wochen, wie alle Jahr gewöhnlich bestellet worden, vor
 die ver,, / „richtete Dienste, ob jeden 1 f: / die in
 nebenkom[m]end von be,, / „sagten Music: directore
 Grafen / v Losÿmthall adjustirten / Specification
 enthaltene Be,, / „träge, als [...]

dem Joseph Haiden vor 16

Dienst ùt No: 229.....16 f:

[...]

By the authority of the Imperial-Royal order once again received, those musicians who were, as is usual every year, engaged in Lent for the Misereres and Stabat maters in Holy Week, for services rendered, each at 1 gulden, as per the receipts in the accompanying adjusted specification by the above-mentioned Music Director Count von Losymthal, namely [...]

to Joseph Haiden for 16 services under no. 229 16 fl.

¹² The payments to Haydn are recorded in Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Sonderbestände, Sammlungen und Selekte (OeStA, FHKA SUS), Hofzählamtsbücher, 239–241 (1754–1756). I first reported on these payments in my paper "Haydn und die Hofmusikkapelle gegen 1755," delivered at the Haydn-Tagung of the Josef-Haydn Institut in Cologne, June 1993, then in English as "New Sources for Haydn's Early Biography," delivered at Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in November 1993. The payments were reported, without reference to my prior work, with faulty transcriptions and no contextual analysis, by Hedy Svoboda in "Joseph Haydn als 'Extra Musicus' der Wiener Hofmusikkapelle. Neue Funde zu seiner Biographie," *Musikblätter der Wiener Philharmoniker* 56 (2001): 116–23.

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Figure 5: Payment to Joseph Haydn by the Habsburg court for 16 services as a supplemental chorister for a *cappella* performance of *Misereres* and *Stabat Maters* during Lent and Holy Week 1756. Vienna, OeStA, FHKASUS, HZAB 241, 175-76.

H. No. Sol. 715. L. 2.
Lohn beuider, 15490, 15 1/2
 Widmungen unſaltan beuherid
 und künig. Hoing. beuſſel die
 jünge Maria, welche in der
 ſelben künigliche Miſerere, Sta-
 bat Mater, und in den fünf
 Wochen, wie alle Jahr gewöhnlich
 beſtellt worden, von dieſen
 unſelben Dienſten, ab jeden 16
 die in neben kommen von der
 küniglichen Music: Directorie nach
 der küniglichen gegenwärtigen
 Specification unſaltan be-
 ſtellt, als
 Der Mattheus große Sonntags dienſt
 774. mit N. 774. 15 1/2
 Der Jacobi, den 15 dienſt
 775. mit N. 775. 15 1/2
 Der Petrus, den 15 dienſt
 776. mit N. 776. 15 1/2
 Der Michael, den 14 dienſt
 777. mit N. 777. 15 1/2
 Der Ulricus, den 15 dienſt
 778. mit N. 778. 15 1/2
Lohn. L. 2.
15490, 15 1/2

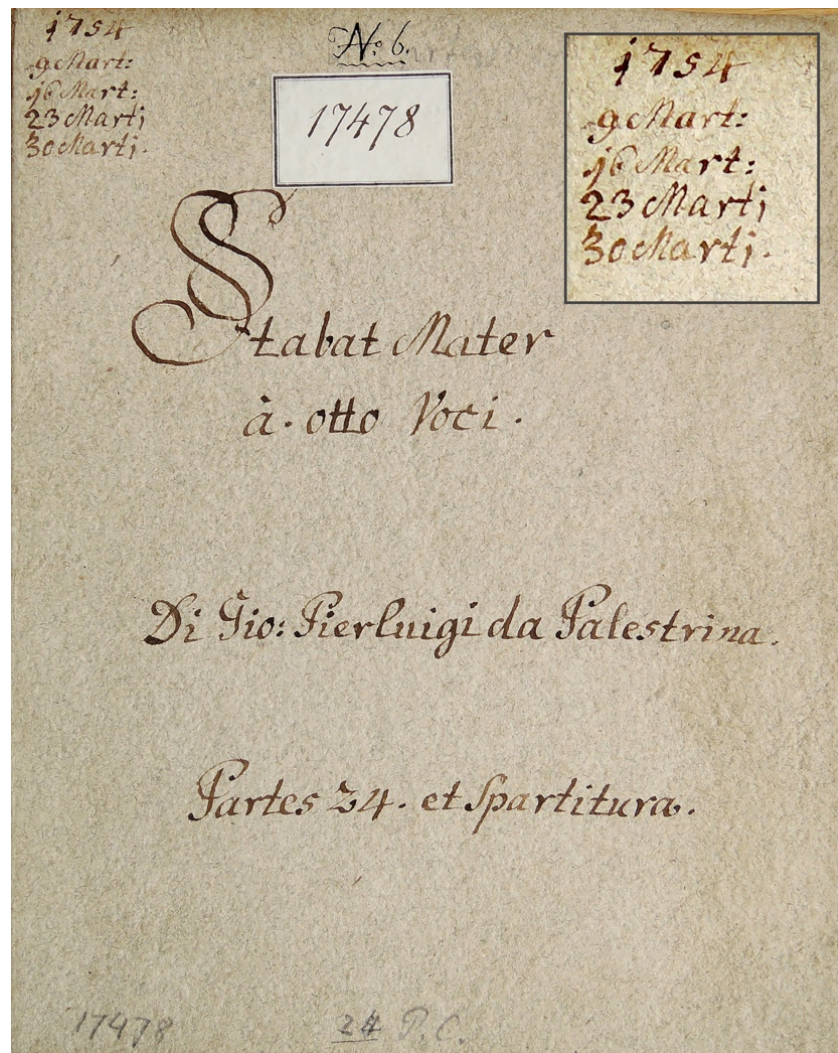
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Performance dates written on the wrappers of surviving sets of parts in the Hofkapelle archive show that among the settings of the *Stabat mater* performed during those years were the famous one for double chorus by Palestrina in 1754, and one by Reutter in the years 1755 through 1760 (Figure 6). So we can say with certainty that Haydn sang these.¹³

Figure 6: Title pages of sets of parts from the archive of the Hofmusikkapelle of settings of the *Stabat mater* for a *cappella* double choir by Palestrina and Georg Reutter d. J. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 17478 and HK 814). Both title pages carry performance dates from the years in which Haydn was paid by the Hofmusikkapelle as a supplemental chorister.

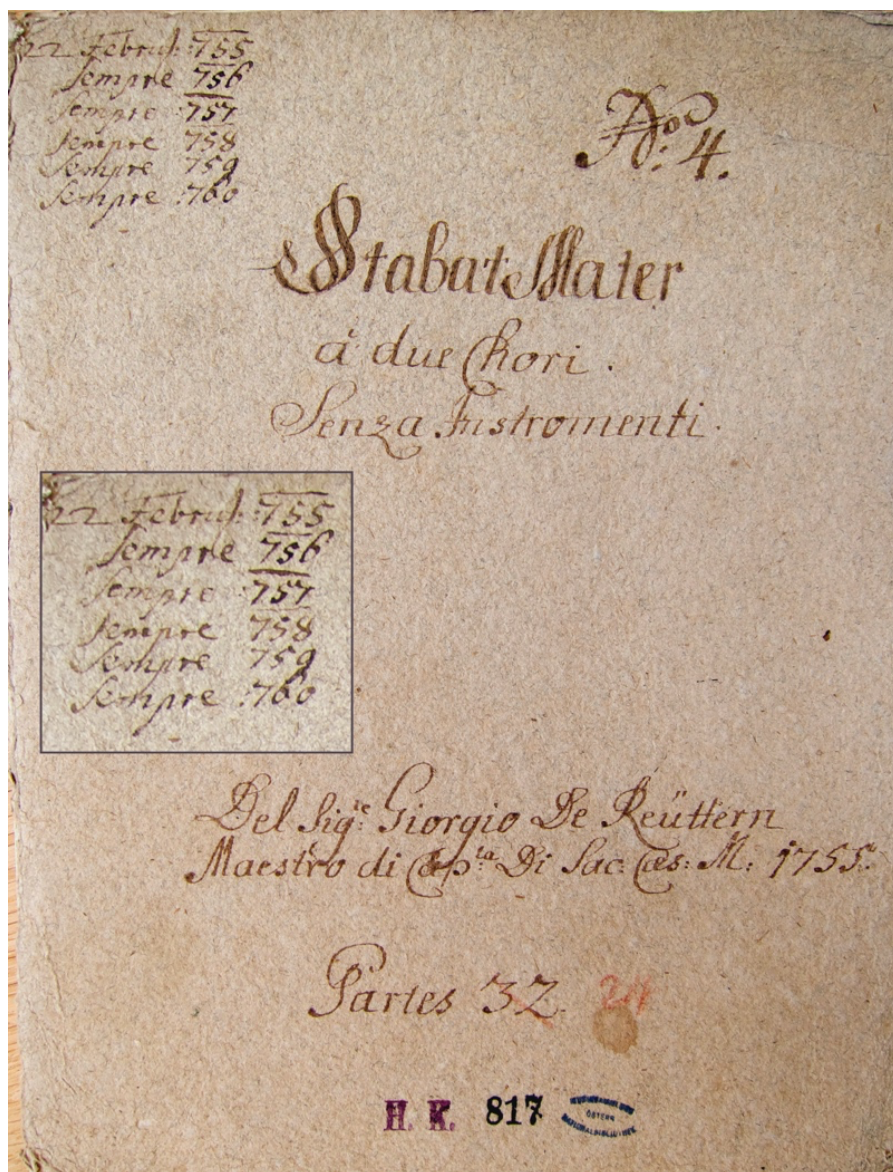


¹³ The Hofkapelle's performance parts for Palestrina's and Reutter's settings of the *Stabat mater* for a *cappella* double chorus are preserved in, respectively, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 17478 and HK 814.

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Haydn's 1767 Stabat Mater

It is generally accepted by Haydn scholars that he composed his setting of the *Stabat mater* in 1767 with a view toward a performance in Eisenstadt on Good Friday, which fell on 17 April that year. The evidence for this dating is indirect but compelling: Haydn mentioned in a letter to Prince Esterházy's secretary Anton Scheffstoss on 20 March 1768 that he had composed his setting of the *Stabat mater*

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“voriges Jahr” (“last year,” that is, in 1767).¹⁴ In that letter the composer requested permission from the Prince to travel to Vienna, along with Joseph Weigl, Weigl’s wife, and Karl Friberth, in order to perform his *Stabat mater* at the church of the Barmherzige Brüder in the Leopoldstadt, specifically so that Hasse—to whom Haydn had sent the score—could hear it.¹⁵ We currently have no documentary verification that this performance took place, but there is likewise no reason to doubt it. If it did take place, it may have been on Friday, 25 March, which happened that year to be both *Septem dolorum* and Annunciation, thus a double Marian feast. The earliest verified performance of Haydn’s *Stabat mater* was at the Piaristenkirche Maria Treu in Vienna on Good Friday, 29 March 1771, with an ensemble of 60.¹⁶

In a letter to Vincent Novello dated 22 November 1828, Christian Ignatius Latrobe related what Haydn had told him in the early 1790s about the circumstances of the *Stabat mater*’s composition.¹⁷ Latrobe was born into a Moravian community in Leeds and in 1771 began to study at the Moravian college in Niesky in Saxony, where he subsequently taught for several years before returning to England. Charles Burney introduced Latrobe to Haydn in London in 1790, and Haydn seems to have taken a liking to Latrobe, probably delighted and relieved to be able to converse freely with a fluent German speaker. Latrobe’s account in his letter to Novello is worth revisiting in full:

I once observed to [Haydn], that having in the year 1779, when a youth, obtained the parts of his *Stabat Mater* from a friend, who had found means to procure them at Dresden, I made a score, & became enchanted with its beauty. The study of it, more than of any other Work, helped to form my taste, & make me more zealous in the pursuit of this noble science. He seemed delighted to hear my remarks on a composition, which he declared to be one of his own favourites, & added, that it was no wonder, that it partook

¹⁴ Dénes Bartha, *Joseph Haydn. Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), letter from Haydn to Anton Scheffstoss, 20 March 1768, 56–58.

¹⁵ In a biographical sketch dated 6 July 1776, Haydn writes of his *Stabat mater*: “über welches ich von einen guten freund die handschrift unsres grossen Ton künstlers Hasse mit unverdienten lobsprüchen erhalten. eben diese Handschrift werde ich zeit lebens wie gold aufbehalten; nicht des Inhalts sondern eines so würdigen Mannes wegen” (“about which I received from a good friend a handwritten note with undeserved praise from our great composer Hasse. I will treasure this note like gold for the rest of my life, not because of its contents, but because of such a worthy man”); Bartha, *Briefe*, 77.

¹⁶ The entry in the chronicle of the Piarists on this performance is transcribed in Helms and Stoltzfus, viii, citing Otto Biba, who discovered the document and first published it.

¹⁷ Latrobe’s letter is transcribed in Novello’s preface to his edition, *Haydn’s Stabat Mater, for Four Voices, with an Accompaniment for The Organ or Pianoforte, Arranged from the full Score & Inscribed to his Friend The Rev.^d C. I. Latrobe ...* (London: Novello, n.d.). Hoboken gives a German translation of the passage from Latrobe’s letter on the *Stabat mater*; see Anthony von Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn. Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1957), 2:16.

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of a religious savour, for it had been composed in the performance of a religious vow. He then gave me the following account of it. Sometime about the year 1770, (but as to the particular year, I am not sure,) he was seized with a violent disorder, which threatened his life. “I was,” said he, “not prepared to die, & prayed to God to have mercy upon me & grant me recovery. I also vowed, that if I were restored to health, I would compose a *Stabat Mater* in honor of the blessed Virgin, as a token of thankfulness. My prayer was heard & I recovered. With a grateful sense of my duty, I cheerfully set about the performance of my vow, & endeavoured to do it in my best manner. When finished, I sent the score to my dear old friend Hasse, then residing at Venice.” (if I am right.) “He returned to me an answer which I shall preserve as a treasure to the end of my life. It is full of affection & truly religious feeling, for he was not only my musical, but my spiritual father. The *Stabat Mater* was performed at Vienna, both in the Imperial Chapel & at other churches with acceptance, but I dedicated it to the Electress of Saxony, who was an excellent judge in music, & at Dresden it was done justice to.” — The tears glistened in his eyes, while he gave me this account, of which I have remembered the very words.

This letter has been known for a long time, but some significant details have been overlooked or too hastily dismissed. Landon rejects the anecdote on the grounds that the date “1770” given for Haydn’s illness conflicts with 1767, the year of the *Stabat mater*’s composition.¹⁸ He suggests that perhaps Haydn was mistaken and meant to refer to his *Salve regina*, rather than the *Stabat mater*; this speculation is repeated in a footnote to the Preface of the edition of the *Stabat mater* in Joseph-Haydn Werke.¹⁹ However, it seems unlikely that either Haydn or Latrobe would have made such a mistake, given their respective emotional investments, Latrobe in Haydn’s *Stabat mater*, and Haydn in his vow to the Virgin. Landon, it should be pointed out, does not cite Latrobe’s letter directly, and thus overlooks Latrobe’s (or Haydn’s) caveat about the date: “Sometime about the year 1770, (*but as to the particular year, I am not sure*).” Given that the grounds for dating Haydn’s illness to 1770 are rather thin and he may well have been ill more than once, this discrepancy alone is insufficient reason to claim that the reference to the *Stabat mater* in Latrobe’s anecdote is mistaken.²⁰

¹⁸ H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza, 1766–1790*, vol. 2 of *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 168.

¹⁹ Helms and Stoltzfus, eds., *Haydn, Stabat mater*, xiv, note 26.

²⁰ Landon (*Haydn at Eszterháza*, 168) cites two pieces of evidence that Haydn was ill around 1770. Griesinger (*Haydn*, 27) relates an anecdote about the composer falling ill with a fever “um das Jahr 1770” (“around the year 1770”). But given that the ultimate source of Griesinger’s “1770” was Haydn’s memory, which is probably also the source of Latrobe’s equivocal “1770,” the year of Haydn’s serious illness seems anything but certain.

In a 1959 article about meetings between Michael and Joseph Haydn, Hans Jancik writes: “Aus dem Jahre 1771 liegt ein Bittgesuch Michaels an den Fürsterzbischof um Urlaub für sich und seine Frau zum Besuch des kranken Bruders in Wien

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Haydn told Latrobe that he sent the score of the *Stabat mater* to Hasse, and this seems certainly to be true. Also noteworthy is Haydn’s claim that the work “was performed at Vienna, both *in the Imperial Chapel* & at other churches.” We have seen that the *Stabat mater* was, indeed, performed at Maria Treu and probably at the Barmherzigen Brüder, two Viennese churches. To my knowledge, however, there is no known evidence that Haydn’s *Stabat mater* was performed by the Hofkapelle, a claim that merits further investigation.²¹

Haydn’s Stabat Mater Beyond Austria

Haydn’s statement to Latrobe that he dedicated the work to the Electress of Saxony—evidently Maria Antonia Walpurgis (1724–1780), widow of the Elector of Saxony, herself a highly accomplished composer—seems to have been rather lightly dismissed in the scholarly literature, on the grounds, apparently, that the manuscript of the *Stabat mater* in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek today is said to date from the early 1780s.²² But the existence of this later manuscript does not rule out the possibility that Haydn dedicated an earlier copy of the work to the Electress and that her copy may not survive or may not now be in that collection. And we know from Latrobe’s anecdote that Haydn’s *Stabat mater* was available in Dresden no later than 1779.²³ Haydn’s *Stabat mater* had also reached nearby Leipzig by 1779, as it was performed there in February of that year under the direction of

vor. Trotz Bewilligung der Reise unter Weiterzahlung der Besoldung ‘bis Allerheiligen’ scheint das Ehepaar nicht gefahren zu sein. Übrigens ist aus den sonstigen Quellen von einer Krankheit Josephs nichts bekannt; vielleicht ist sie nur ein Vorwand gewesen” (“From the year 1771 survives a petition from Michael to the Prince-Archbishop for leave for himself and his wife to visit his sick brother in Vienna. In spite of the approval for the trip with continued salary ‘until All Saints,’ the couple seems to not to have gone. In any case nothing is known about an illness of Joseph from other sources; perhaps this was only a pretext”); Hans Jancik, “Begegnungen zwischen Joseph und Michael Haydn,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 14 (1959): 206–12, here 208. Landon does not cite Jancik’s article, but rather the even less precise reference in Jancik, *Michael Haydn. Ein vergessener Meister* (Zurich: Amalthea Verlag, 1952), 222. There seems to be no known primary source confirming that Haydn was ill in 1770 or 1771.

²¹ The surviving parts for Haydn’s *Stabat mater* in the archive of the Hofmusikkapelle date from the 19th century (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, HK 2599). The early manuscript parts for Haydn’s *Stabat mater* in the archive of the Minoritenkirche (Sign. 387) may be of interest in regard to this aspect of Haydn’s story, if perhaps the court continued its yearly visits to the Minoritenkirche on *Septem dolorum*.

²² Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Mus. 3356-D-31 (previously Königliche Hofbibliothek, Mus.c. A 168). See Helms and Stoltzfus, eds., Haydn, *Stabat mater*, 168.

²³ Hoboken notes that Haydn’s *Stabat mater* was entered into the catalog of the royal Hofkirchenmusik in Dresden in 1772; see Hoboken, *Haydn*, 2:17.

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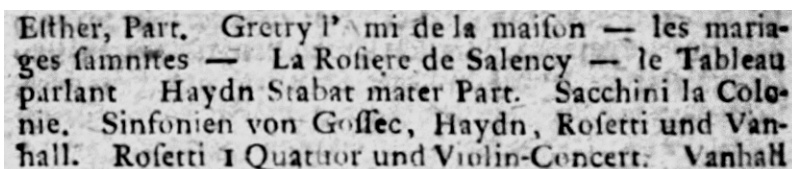
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Johann Adam Hiller, with Hiller’s German “Parodie” text (as he called it); the work was also included that year in the catalog of Leipzig dealer Christian Gottfried Thomas.²⁴

It has been thought that Thomas’s listing is the earliest evidence of Haydn’s *Stabat mater* having been offered for sale, but I have found an earlier one.

The score of Haydn’s *Stabat mater* was advertised in the *Reichs-Postreuter* in Hamburg on 8 September 1778 by Johann Christoph Westphal, at whose music shop, the Musikalische Niederlage, the work is said to be available (Figure 7). Haydn’s *Stabat mater* first appeared in Westphal’s music catalog in 1782, but this advertisement from 1778 shows that he had already acquired it a few years earlier. A report on Westphal’s Hamburg concerts, published in the *Magazin der Musik* under the date 27 March 1783, states that Haydn’s *Stabat mater* had by that point been performed at the concerts “einigemal” (“several times”).²⁵ According to the report, Westphal had been giving these concerts for around a dozen years, so it is possible that Haydn’s *Stabat mater* was performed in Hamburg before it was performed in Leipzig in 1778. Unfortunately, Westphal’s concerts are poorly documented, so it may not be possible to know. It may seem odd that Haydn’s great Catholic sacred work was advertised (and possibly performed) in distant Protestant Hamburg at such an early date. But Westphal maintained close ties with Vienna, particularly with the publisher Artaria, and in this light, his acquisition of the *Stabat mater* may be less surprising.²⁶

Figure 7: *Reichs-Postreuter* (Hamburg), no. 143, 8 September 1778, [p. 4], advertisement by Johann Christoph Westphal’s Musikalische Niederlage offering Haydn’s *Stabat mater* in score.



²⁴ On the performance of Haydn’s *Stabat mater* in Leipzig, and the parts for Hiller’s version, see Clemens Harasim, “Die deutschsprachigen Fassungen von Haydns ‘Stabat mater,’” *Studia Musicologica* 51, nos. 3–4 (September 2010): 259–75.

²⁵ Carl Friedrich Cramer, ed., *Magazin der Musik*, erster Jahrgang (1783), “Nachricht von Concerten in Hamburg,” 357–60, here 359.

²⁶ However, Haydn’s *Stabat mater* was first advertised in Vienna six years later, by Christoph Torricella, in Hiller’s German version (*Wiener Zeitung*, no. 56, Wednesday, 14 July 1784, 1625). Artaria first advertised the work, with the original Latin text, on 8 March 1786 (*Wiener Zeitung*, no. 19, Wednesday, 8 March 1786, 515).

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Joseph Le Gros introduced Haydn’s *Stabat mater* at the *Concert spirituel* in Paris in 1781 during Holy Week, juxtaposing it with Pergolesi’s famous setting and another by a Padre Vito, about whom little is known. Bernhard Harrison has shown that Pergolesi’s setting had long been a beloved staple at the *Concert spirituel*: it was performed at least 82 times in full or in part between 1753 and 1790, and nearly always on Good Friday.²⁷ Le Gros was a canny marketer, and his decision to pit two settings unknown to the Parisian audience against Pergolesi’s was bound to attract audience and provoke comment and debate.

The performances that week can be traced through announcements in the *Journal de Paris*. Haydn’s setting was first performed across two concerts, on 9 and 10 April—Monday and Tuesday in Holy Week. On 9 April, the *Journal de Paris* announced the performance of the first ten strophes (the first seven numbers) of Haydn’s setting, in a concert that also included a typical mix of arias and concertos:

M U S I Q U E.

*Aujourd’hui, Concert Spirituel au Château des
Tuileries.*

Il commencera par une nouvelle Symphonie del Signor *Dittersdorff*. — M^{lle} *Cyfollely* chantera un Air Italien. — M. *Hugot*. Eleve de M. *Ravet*, exécutera, pour la premiere fois, un Concerto de flûte. — M. *Adrien*, chantera un Air Italien del Signor *Paësiello*. — M. *de la Roche*, de la Musique du Roi, Eleve de M. *le Miere*, exécutera, pour la premiere fois, un Concerto de violon de la composition de M. *Jarnowich* — M^{lle} *du Château* chantera un Air Italien del Signor *Misliweck*. — M^{lle} *St. Huberti*, M^{rs} *Laïs*, *Cheron & Adrien* exécuteront les dix premieres strophes de *Stabat Mater*, nou-

²⁷ Harrison, *The “Paris” Symphonies*, 9–13.

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veau Motet de la composition del Sig. *Hayden*.

Il y aura Concert tous les jours.²⁸

The following day's concert included the remaining ten strophes:

*Aujourd'hui, Concert Spirituel au Château des
Tuileries.*

Il commencera par une Symphonie del Signor *Hayden*. — M^{lle} *du Chasteau* chantera un Motet del Signor ***. — M. *Pieltain* le jeune, élève de M. *Punto*, exécutera pour la premiere fois, un Concerto de cors de chasse. — M. *Adrien* chantera un Air Italien d' *Anfossi*. — M^{rs} *de la Roche*, & *Eïgen Schenck*, de la Musique du Roi, élèves de M le *Mierre*, exécuteront une Symphonie concertante de M. *Davaux*. — M^{lle} *Renaut* chantera un Air Italien. — M^{lle} *Saint-Huberti*, M^{rs} *Laïs*, *Cheron* & *Adrien* exécuteront les dix dernieres strophes de *Stabat Mater*, nouveau Motet de la composition del Signor *Hayden*.

Demain on exécutera *Stabat Mater*, nouveau Motet de la composition del Sig. *Padre Vito*, Portugais.²⁹

²⁸ *Journal de Paris*, no. 99, Monday, 9 April 1781, 402.

²⁹ *Journal de Paris*, no. 100, Tuesday, 10 April 1781, 404–5.

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The setting by Padre Vito, performed on Wednesday, was not a success.³⁰ The much greater success of Haydn’s setting is already mentioned on 12 April 1781, Maundy Thursday, in a brief notice in the *Journal de Paris*, on the same page as the announcement of the work’s reprise that same day, this time complete.

M U S I Q U E.

On a exécuté hier au Concert Spirituel le *Stabat* du P. Vito, & les deux jours précédens celui de M. *Hayden*; ce dernier a eu le plus grand succès. Nous rendrons un compte détaillé de ces deux Ouvrages, lorsque la comparaison qu’on en sera avec le *Stabat* de *Pergolese* aura fixé l’opinion Publique.³¹

M U S I C.

Yesterday at the Concert Spirituel was performed the *Stabat* of Padre Vito, & on the two preceding days that of Monsieur *Haydn*; the latter had the greatest success. We will give a detailed account of these two works when the comparison with *Pergolesi’s Stabat* has settled public opinion.

“The principal pieces” of Pergolesi’s setting were performed the following day, Good Friday.

As promised, the first review of the dueling *Stabat maters* appeared in the *Journal de Paris* on Easter, 15 April; this review is transcribed complete in the critical report of the edition in Joseph Haydn Werke.³² The anonymous reviewer acknowledges that Pergolesi’s setting, in spite of its great

³⁰ However, a setting of the *Stabat mater* by Vito, quite possibly the one performed in Paris in 1781, apparently survives. Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) lists several surviving copies of James Blundell’s full-score edition of a *Stabat mater* for vocal soloists, chorus, and orchestra by “Patre Vito” (RISM A/IV 2180 and VV 2180).

³¹ *Journal de Paris*, no. 102, Thursday, 12 April 1781, 413.

³² *Journal de Paris*, no. 105, Sunday, 15 April 1781, 424–25; Helms and Stoltzfus, eds., Haydn, *Stabat mater*, 194.

popularity, might have a few flaws: it occasionally sacrifices expression to "un chant agréable." The reviewer regrets that Pergolesi's version was not performed complete, which would have allowed a fuller comparison with the other two settings. Vito's setting, according to the reviewer, mirrored Pergolesi's, but was generally inferior, despite a few lovely numbers. The reviewer notes that Haydn's setting had even greater success at its second performance on 12 April, and calls special attention to the grand effect of the choruses "Cuius animam gementem" in no. 1 and "Quis est homo" (no. 3), as well as the quartet and chorus "Virgo virginum præclara" (no. 10). The reviewer sums up by saying that "en général ce *Stabat* a été regardé comme l'ouvrage d'un très-grand Maître" ("in general, this *Stabat* was regarded as the work of a very great master"). One suspects that it was in part the surprise of Haydn's stirring choruses and his orchestra with winds that made the work a success with a Parisian audience accustomed to Pergolesi's setting for soprano and tenor solo with strings.

The soloists in the performance of Haydn's *Stabat mater* at the *Concert spirituel* were Antoinette Saint-Huberty, François Lays, August-Athanase Chéron, and Martin-Joseph Adrien. Saint-Huberty had joined the company of the Paris Opera in 1777, and was well on her way to establishing herself as one of the company's leading sopranos. In the week of competing *Stabat maters*, Saint-Huberty also sang in Vito's setting and took the soprano part in Pergolesi's. François Lays (also "Laïs"), a *basse-taille*, had joined the Paris Opera in 1779. From the earliest review, we know that he sang the tenor part in Haydn's *Stabat mater*; he also sang in Vito's setting and took the tenor solo in Pergolesi's. Martin-Joseph Adrien went on to become the principal bass singer at the Paris Opera, but he was only around 15 at the time of the performance of Haydn's *Stabat mater*, so it is possible he sang the alto part; he also sang in Vito's setting. Augustin-Athanase Chéron, another *basse-taille*, joined the Paris Opera in 1779. If Adrien sang the alto solo, then Chéron must have sung the bass.

A second review of all three *Stabat maters* appeared in the weekly *Mercure de France* on Saturday, 21 April 1781. This review is not included among the documents transcribed in Joseph Haydn Werke, and it is cited only in extract in Harrison's book on the "Paris" Symphonies.³³ It seems also to have been overlooked that the review is attributed, in a footnote on the first page, to "M[onsieur] de Charnois," evidently the writer and critic Jean-Claude Le Vacher de Charnois (1749–?1792), who published several books on theater.

³³ Harrison, *The "Paris" Symphonies*, 11. The same extract (minus the opening few words) is given in a different English translation in Daniel Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart and the Viennese School, 1740–1780* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995), 309. Neither Harrison nor Hertz note Charnois's authorship.

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Charnois begins with comments on the other performers and works heard at the *Concert spirituel* between 9 and 15 April: these included a Haydn symphony on 10 April (of which Charnois speaks quite highly), and an oratorio by Henri-Joseph Rigel on Easter, *La sortie d’Égypte*. Charnois goes on to write an entire page on the debut of the young soprano Rose Renaud, who was said to have been 11 years old at the time. He then devotes the rest of the review—two and half pages—to the three *Stabats*. Charnois notes that Vito’s was performed “sans précision, sans ensemble,” and in a manner that would undermine even the best composition, thus suggesting that it may not have received a fair hearing. Of Haydn’s setting he writes:

That of Signor Haydn was a decided success. Its opening was noble and touching; there is much skill and intelligence in the easy transition by which the musician [Haydn] passes from the first strophe, which he sets as a solo, to the second, which he sets as a chorus of expression. The piece *Vidit suum dulcem natum* demonstrates the composer’s great resources, just as the quartet *Virgo virginum præclara*, interrupted from time to time by little choruses, produces the most charming effect. The accompanying parts are brilliant and solid: in a word, worthy of the excellent master of whom we speak. But what should we think now of Pergolesi’s *Stabat*? We should still admire it and agree that its author remains superior to his rivals.³⁴

Charnois then goes on for more than a page to enumerate the glories that Pergolesi was able to achieve within the much greater constraints of resource and style under which he was laboring at the time when he composed the work. Charnois ends his discussion by writing:

Moreover, let us admire Signor Haydn; but let us be just to Pergolesi, and say that after fifty years of new light acquired in the art of music, it is to the glory of his memory that he still retains the place that his talents accorded him during a time when formidable rivals were rarer than today.³⁵

³⁴ *Mercure de France*, Saturday, 21 April 1781, 129. “Celui du Signor Hayden a eu un succès décidé. Son debut est noble & touchant ; il y a beaucoup d’adresse & d’intelligence dans la transition facile par laquelle le Musicien passe de la première strophe dont il fait un *solo*, à la seconde dont il a fait un chœur d’expression. Le morceau *Vidit suum dulcem natum* annonce de grandes ressources dans le Compositeur, ainsi que le quatuor *Virgo Virginum præclara*, coupé de temps en temps par de petits chœurs qui y produisent l’effet le plus séduisant. La partie des accompagnemens est brillante & ferme, en un mot, digne de l’excellent Maître dont nous parlons. Mais que penser maintenant du *Stabat* de Pergolèze? l’admirer encore, & convenir que son Auteur est resté supérieur à ses rivaux.”

³⁵ *Mercure de France*, Saturday, 21 April 1781, 131. “Au surplus, admirons le signor Hayden; mais soyons justes avec Pergolèze, & disons qu’après cinquante ans de nouvelles lumières acquises dans l’Art Musical, il est bien glorieux pour sa mémoire de conserver encore la place que ses talents lui ont assignée dans un temps ou les rivaux redoutables étoient plus rares qu’aujourd’hui.”

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In other words, let us marvel that the beauty of Pergolesi’s setting even today withstands the challenge of such a formidable rival as Haydn.

Haydn’s *Stabat mater* was repeated at the *Concert spirituel* on 17 and 22 April 1781, and it remained a staple of those concerts, along with Pergolesi’s: it was performed at least once each year from 1781 to 1790 (the final year of the concerts), and it was included in full or in part in at least 25 concerts.³⁶ In a letter to Artaria dated 27 May 1781, Haydn writes that Le Gros had informed him of the great success of his *Stabat mater* in Paris, and that permission had been requested to engrave it.³⁷ Sieber’s edition in full score eventually appeared in Paris in 1785.

A short comment on the success of Haydn’s setting also appeared in Abbé Grosier’s *Journal de littérature, des sciences et des arts* in 1781:

The *Concert spirituel* for the fortnight did not all have equal success. The only piece that was heard with enthusiasm was the *Stabat* composed by the famous *Haydn*. It was requested to be repeated several times, and always applauded with the liveliest demonstrations of satisfaction. In a word, it earned the vote of connoisseurs and amateurs, and lost none of its merit in comparison with Pergolesi’s.³⁸

The implication here is that Le Gros programmed repeated performances of Haydn’s *Stabat mater* in response to public demand. Haydn’s *Stabat mater* was also the one piece singled out for special mention in the entry on the composer in the *Tablettes de renommée des musiciens [...] pour servir à l’Almanach-Dauphin* in 1785:

HAYDN, one of the most famous and enjoyable composers for the *Concert Spirituel*, has composed many works for concert symphony, quartets, trios, and pieces for solo keyboard. [He lives] *In Vienna*.

The works of this virtuoso, always graceful and always varied, proclaim an inexhaustible genius. None resembles another, each has its distinctive character, and seems to identify with the orchestra. But nothing compares to the superb *Stabat mater* that was performed at the *Concert Spirituel*, where its dazzling success and most

³⁶ Harrison, *The “Paris” Symphonies*, 11.

³⁷ Bartha, *Briefe*, letter from Haydn to Artaria, 27 May 1781, here 96–97.

³⁸ *Journal de Littérature, des Sciences et des Arts*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1781), 301. “Les Concerts spirituels de la quinzaine n’ont pas eu tous un égal succès. Le seul morceau qui ait été entendu avec enthousiasme, est le *Stabat* de la composition du célèbre *Hayden*. Il a été redemandé plusieurs fois, & toujours applaudi avec les démonstrations de la satisfaction la plus vive. En un mot, il a mérité le suffrage des Connoisseurs & des Amateurs, & n’a rien perdu de son mérite, mis en comparaison avec celui de Pergolèse.”

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decisive achievement led it to be judged worthy of being placed in parallel with that of Pergolesi, which up to now had been regarded as an inimitable masterpiece.³⁹

Performances of Haydn’s *Stabat mater* did not end abruptly in Paris with the demise of the *Concert spirituel*. According to an announcement in the *Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel* on 22 April 1791 (Good Friday), the work was to be performed that day at the Cirque National au Palais-Royal.⁴⁰

Pergolesi’s *Stabat mater* was also quite popular and frequently performed in Britain at this time, but Haydn’s setting did not challenge its supremacy there. According to an advertisement in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* on 6 May 1783 by Wilhelm Cramer, an upcoming benefit concert at Hanover Square was to include a performance of Haydn’s *Stabat mater*. The concert was scheduled for 19 May, and it was advertised again on 12, 13, 14, 15, and 17 May.⁴¹ But Cramer’s concert—which would have been the British premiere—seems not to have taken place. At any rate, there is no advertisement for it on the 19th, as would have been the usual practice.

Instead, the first British performance of Haydn’s *Stabat mater* seems to have been at Lord Abingdon’s Concert of the Nobility. That performance is mentioned prominently on the title page of Bland’s edition of the work in full score, apparently published in 1784, although Bland first announced the edition in *The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* on 16 April 1783 (Figure 8a).⁴² Abingdon’s concert was not advertised, and its date has remained unknown, but I have found a hitherto overlooked advertisement by Bland on 29 July 1783 (Figure 8b) that refers to Haydn’s *Stabat*

³⁹ *Tablettes de Renommé des Musiciens, Auteurs, Compositeurs, Virtuoses, Amateurs et Maitres de Musique vocale et instrumentale, les plus connus en chaque genre. Avec une Notice des Ouvrages ou autres motifs qui les ont rendus recommandables, pour servir à l’Almanach-Dauphin* (Paris, 1785), [n.p.]. “HAYDEN, un des plus célèbres & des plus agréables Compositeurs pour le Concert Spirituel, a fait plusieurs Œuvres de Simphonie concertantes à grand Orchestre. Quatuor. Trio, & pieces détachées pour le clavecin. A Vienne.

Les Ouvrages de ce Virtuose, toujours gracieux & toujours variés, annoncent un génie inépuisable, aucun ne se ressemble, chacun a son caractere distinctif & semble s’identifier avec l’orchestre ; mais rien n’est comparable au superbe *Stabat Mater* qu’il a fait exécuter au Concert Spirituel, & dont la réussite la plus éclatante & le succès le plus déterminé l’ont fait juger digne d’être mis en parallele avec celui du Pergoleze, qui, jusqu’alors, avoit été regardé comme un chef-d’œuvre inimitable.”

⁴⁰ *Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel*, no. 112, Friday, 22 April 1791, 462.

⁴¹ Cramer’s advertisements for the concert that was to include the British premiere of Haydn’s *Stabat mater* appeared in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*: no. 786, Tuesday, 6 May 1783, [1]; no. 791, Monday, 12 May 1783, [1]; no. 792, Tuesday, 13 May 1783, [1]; no. 794, Thursday, 15 May 1783, [1]; and no. 795, Saturday, 17 May 1783, [1].

⁴² Bland’s announcement appeared in *The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, No. 769, 16 April 1783, [4].

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mater as having been "performed with the greatest applause in June last." So the London premiere of Haydn's *Stabat mater* seems to have taken place at the Concert of the Nobility in June 1783.

Figure 8a: *The Celebrated STABAT-MATER as performed at the NOBILITY'S CONCERT; Composed by Giuseppe Haydn* (London: John Bland).

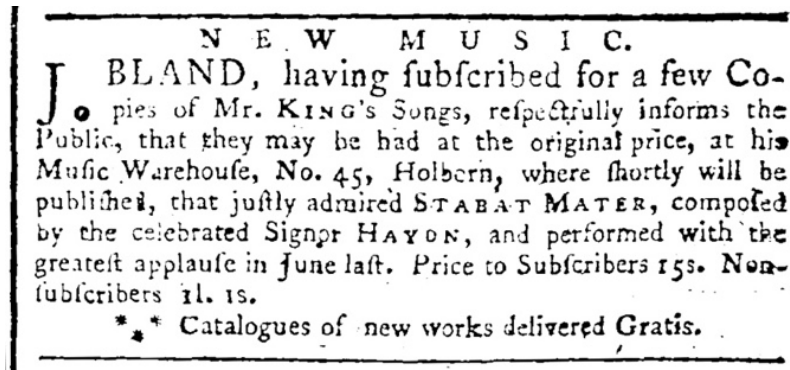


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Figure 8b: Bland's advertisement of Haydn's *Stabat mater*, *The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, No. 858, 29 July 1783, [4].



An odd and unflattering anecdote about Haydn's *Stabat mater* in London appears in the article "Genie" (Genius) in the *Deutsche Encyclopädie* in 1786:

Haydn should never have set vocal music, much less the *Stabat*; the final fugue in that work would be unworthy of the most insignificant student. (It is reminiscent of the Frenchman, who so loved to speak German—to the detriment of his mother tongue—speaking it extremely daintily, always boring society with his German *patois*: *il veut parler la langue, qu'il ne fait pas*) ["he wants to speak the language that he cannot"]. Haydn's reputation led Cramer in London to program the work at his benefit concert, but after Handel's oratorios, Haydn's choruses did not suit the English; everyone shook their heads, and had not Kapellmeister Vogler, who was in attendance, assured the Duke of Cumberland that he had seen Haydn's letter in German to Herr Le Gros, the director of the Concert spirituel in Paris, and had he not himself translated it for the latter, then all public newspapers in England would have declared it a spurious work.⁴³

It is unclear how seriously we should take this anecdote. But it is plausible that Haydn's choruses, which had so impressed the Parisian audience, might have failed to impress an English

⁴³ *Deutsche Encyclopädie oder Allgemeines Real=Wörterbuch aller Künste und Wissenschaften*, vol. 11 (Frankfurt am Main, 1786), 726–27. "Haydn hätte nie Singmusik, vielweniger *Stabat* setzen sollen; die letzte Fuge hierinn wäre des geringsten Schülers unwürdig, (ihm giengs, wie dem Franzosen, der so gerne deutsch sprach, und zum Nachtheile seiner Muttersprache, die er äusserst zierlich redete, immer die Gesellschaft mit seinem deutschen Patois ennuirte, *il veut parler la langue, qu'il ne fait pas*). Haydns Ruf veranlaßte Cramern in London, in seinem Benefizkonzert es aufzuführen, aber Haydns Chöre nach Händels Oratorien wollten den Engländern nicht behagen, alles schüttelte den Kopf, und wenn der dabey gegenwärtige Kapellmeister Vogler dem Herzogen von Cumberland nicht versichert hätte, den diesfalls von Haydn deutsch an den Directeur vom Concert spirituel in Paris an Hr. *Le Gros* geschriebenen Brief gesehen, und ihn für letzteren selbst übersetzt zu haben, worinn er ganz deutlich davon sprach, so wäre in allen öffentlichen Blättern in England das *Stabat* für ein unterschobenes Werk erklärt worden."

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audience accustomed to Handel. One wonders if there is a connection between this anecdote and the apparent cancellation of Cramer's concert on 19 May 1783.

In any case, Haydn's *Stabat mater* did not catch on in Britain as it had in France. The only other performances I have been able to trace in Britain in the 18th century are at a concert given in Bath by a Miss Guest on 7 January 1784, and another in Winchester Cathedral in 1789. Miss Guest's advertisement specifies that hers will be only the second performance of Haydn's *Stabat mater* "in this kingdom."

NEW ASSEMBLY-ROOMS.

MISS GUEST'S CONCERT

Is fixed for Wednesday January the 7th.

In which will be introduced the celebrated STABAT MATER
of Haydn, which has been performed but once in this kingdom.—

Particulars will be given in due time.⁴⁴

On 8 October 1789, Haydn's *Stabat mater* was performed in Winchester Cathedral as part of the Hampshire Music Meeting, with a distinguished orchestra led by Salomon (Figure 9).⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *The Bath Chronicle*, vol. 24, no. 1208, 18 December 1783. Miss Guest's concert was advertised again, naming the vocal soloists and some of the instrumentalists, in *The Bath Chronicle*, 1 January 1784, [1].

⁴⁵ The festival is announced in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, 5 October 1789, [2].

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Figure 9: Announcement of the performance of Haydn's *Stabat mater* at Winchester Cathedral.
Hampshire Chronicle, 5 October 1789, [2].

Hampshire Music Meeting, 1789,

WILL be held at Winchester, on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of October, for which the most eminent performers are engaged. Principal Vocal Performers, Mrs. BILLINGTON, Miss POOLE, Mr. NORRIS from Oxford, &c. &c. The Band to be led by Mr. SALOMON.

First Hautboy, Mr. FISCHER, Principal Violoncello, Mr. REYNAGLE, Principal Double Bass, Mr. BILLINGTON, Messrs. W. MAHON, ROGERS, SIBLY, LAVENU, J. MAHON, HARDY, ATTWOOD, GOSS, GRANT, CANTELO, SMITH, CHRISTIANA. &c. &c. &c.

The other parts of the Band, by approved Performers.

On Wednesday Evening the 7th will be performed,

ALEXANDER'S FEAST,
An ODE, set to Music by HANDEL.

(Part the Third)

Concerto Violin, Mr. SALOMON, Song Mr. NORRIS, New Concerto Hautboy, Mr. FISCHER, Song Mrs. BILLINGTON, Sonata, Grand Piano Forte Miss POOLE, Full Piece.

On THURSDAY and FRIDAY Evenings, the 8th and 9th will be Grand

MISCELLANEOUS CONCERTS.

Each evening after the MUSIC, will be a BALL.

On THURSDAY morning the 8th, will be performed, in the

CHOIR of the CATHEDRAL,
The SACRED ORATORIO of

J E P H T H A,
Contracted into two Parts, with the CELEBRATED

S T A B A T M A T E R,
Composed by

GIUSEPPE HAYDN, of VIENNA.

This morning's Performance will conclude with HANDEL's
GRAND CORONATION ANTHEM.

On FRIDAY morning the 9th, will be performed in the

C A T H E D R A L,
The **M E S S I A H,**
(A SACRED ORATORIO.)

The Performances in the Cathedral, will begin each morning at eleven o'clock. The evening Performances at seven.

Tickets to be had of Mr. Fuffell, in the High-street.

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All other works across the three days were by Handel. *Alexander's Feast* was performed on 7 October and *Messiah* on 9 October. The portion of the announcement for 8 October reads:

On THURSDAY morning the 8th, will be performed in the

CHOIR of the CATHEDRAL,

The SACRED ORATORIO of

J E P H T H A,

Contracted into two parts, with the CELEBRATED

S T A B A T M A T E R,

Composed by

GIUSEPPE HAYDN, of VIENNA.

This morning's Performance will conclude with HANDEL's

GRAND CORONATION ANTHEM.

Thus by 1789, Haydn's *Stabat mater* was considered worthy enough by at least some prominent musicians in Britain to be sandwiched into an otherwise all-Handel program. But at present, no other performances of the work in Britain are known during Haydn's lifetime.

In spite of the somewhat tepid reception of the work in Britain, in 1784 Bland's edition of Haydn's *Stabat mater* received a long, detailed, and warmly positive, if somewhat plodding review in *The European Magazine*. Although unsigned, the review is almost certainly by Thomas Busby, whose reviews typically consisted of blow-by-blow analyses of works from beginning to end, as is the case here.⁴⁶ Busby's review has something of the character of an overly long program note written by a diligent but unimaginative undergraduate. His description of the opening movement is representative:

⁴⁶ On Busby's reviews, see Carrol Grabo, "The Practical Aesthetics of Thomas Busby's Music Reviews," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 25, no. 1 (1966): 37–45.

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The work commences with a *solo*, which, after impressing the mind with a solemn and dignified grief, breaks into a short chorus. The solo is then returned, and again relieved by a second chorus, whose combinations are masterly, and whose accompaniments, as well as those to the *solo* and first chorus, are highly beautiful and significant.⁴⁷

The review continues in this vein, movement by movement, with positive but mostly rather generic descriptions, before closing with a brief discussion of the history of settings by other composers. Busby does, however, make a few interesting observations about specific musical details, such as this description of the opening of the second movement (Figure 10):

The words “*O quam tristis et afflicta*” could not surely [*sic*] be more forcibly given, than in the melody here allotted them. The introduction of the minor third, at the fifth bar [Busby means the G-flat in the fifth bar of the vocal solo], is a rare stroke of art and genius, and the flat fourth in the sixteenth bar, after the sharp second on the fifteenth, is equally great.⁴⁸

We might be inclined to take such borrowings from the minor for granted, but to Busby—and perhaps to the British audiences at the time—they may have been a novelty.

A more nuanced and detailed review of Bland’s edition appeared in the *Musikalische-Realzeitung* on 2 September 1789.⁴⁹ That review is transcribed in full in the critical report of the edition in Joseph Haydn Werke, so I will not consider it further here.

⁴⁷ *European Magazine, and London Review*, October 1784, 304–6, here 304. This is the same issue that includes “An Account of Joseph Haydn, A Celebrated Composer of Music.” Busby’s review of Bland’s edition was reprinted in 1789 across two issues of *The Analytical Review*, in vol. 3, 363–64, and vol. 4, 102–4.

⁴⁸ *European Magazine, and London Review*, October 1784, 304. Busby counts measures from the vocal entrance, not from the beginning of the movement.

⁴⁹ *Musikalische Real=Zeitung*, no. 35, Wednesday, 2 September 1789, cols. 272–77; transcribed in Helms and Stoltzfus, eds., Haydn, *Stabat mater*, 197–99.

Figure 10: Haydn, *Stabat mater*, no. 2, "O quam trista et afflicta," vocal entry (Bland edition).

The image shows a page of a musical score, page 11, for Haydn's *Stabat Mater*, no. 2. The score is in G minor and 3/4 time. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "O - - - - - quam tristis et af - flic - ta". The piano accompaniment consists of a right-hand part with a melodic line and a left-hand part with a rhythmic accompaniment. There are two red arrows pointing to specific notes in the vocal line: one pointing to the note 'a' in "af - flic - ta" and another pointing to the note 'a' in "Fuit il - la".

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A long report on music in Italy published in the *Magazin der Musik* under the date 24 January 1783, but with the dateline "Livorno 1780," mentions performances of Haydn's *Stabat mater* at private concerts in Rome:

Viel Aufsehens macht jetzt auch Haydens Meisterstück, sein *Stabat Mater*, welches verschiedenemal in Rom in Privatconcerten, unter andern auch beym Fürsten Rezzonico ist aufgeführt worden.⁵⁰

Also now making a great sensation is Haydn's masterpiece, his *Stabat mater*, which has been performed several times in Rome in private concerts, among them at Prince Rezzonico's.

The reference here is apparently to Prince Abbondio (or Abondio) Rezzonico (1742–1810), Roman senator, patron of the arts, and nephew of Pope Clement XIII. If the dateline is correct and these concert performances took place in (or perhaps before) 1780, then Haydn's *Stabat mater* was performed in Rome before it was performed in Paris.⁵¹

In Modena, Haydn's *Stabat mater* was performed in 1784 along with his *Il ritorno di Tobia*, Hob.XXI:1 by the Accademia Filarmonica Ducale, of which Haydn had been a member since 1780; the same two works were repeated in 1786 by the Accademia, along with Haydn's *Salve regina*.⁵² In both cases, the reports of the performances in *Il messaggere di Modena* were published on Wednesday of Holy Week, 7 April 1784 and 12 April 1786 respectively. Thus the association of Haydn's *Stabat mater* with Christ's Passion was preserved, even though, as in Paris, the performances were not liturgical.

The *Gazzetta toscana* reported a performance of Haydn's *Stabat mater* in Florence on Friday, 16 March 1787 (the third Friday in Lent):

⁵⁰ *Magazin der Musik*, 1:168.

⁵¹ Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 215, mentions the report in *Magazin der Musik*, but overlooks the early dateline. On Rezzonico's concerts, see Bianca Maria Antolini, "La vita musicale a Roma nella seconda metà del Settecento. Nuove acquisizioni e prospettive di ricerca," *Analecta musicologica* 45 (2011): 328–60; also Friedrich Noack, *Das Deutschtum in Rom seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt Stuttgart, 1927), 1:308.

⁵² *Il messaggere di Modena*, 7 April 1784 and 12 April 1786, cited in Federico Gon, "Le influenze su Rossini della musica di Haydn" (Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi di Padova, 2013), 12.

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Venerdì della sorsa [*sic*] settimana i Sigg. Accademici Armonici dettero nella loro sala un' altra sontuosa festa con maggiore intervento di Nobiltà, a scelta Cittadinanza dell' uno, e dell' altro sesso. [...]

In seguito fu udito l' Inno *Stabat Mater* di composizione di Hayden, eseguito dai Sigg. Francesco Porri suddetto, Adriana Ferraresi, Giuseppe Bertelli, e Gherardi.⁵³

Friday of last week the Signori Accademici Armonici gave in their hall another sumptuous celebration with considerable attendance by the nobility and select citizenry of one or sex or the other. [...]

Then the hymn *Stabat mater* composed by Haydn was heard, performed by the above-mentioned Signori Francesco Porri, Adriana Ferrarese, Giuseppe Bertelli, and Gherardi.

Of particular interest here is the participation of soprano Adriana Ferrarese, soon to join the company of the court theater in Vienna, where she sang, among other things, the role of Susanna in the revival of Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* in the years 1789 to 1791.

The earliest known performance of Haydn's *Stabat mater* in the United States took place in Charleston, South Carolina on 6 July 1796.⁵⁴ In 1797, the work was first performed by the Collegium Musicum in Nazareth, Pennsylvania, in two parts on successive Fridays, 10 and 17 February; the group performed the work again in 1801, 1802, and 1806.

A noteworthy early performance of Haydn's *Stabat mater* took place on 21 March 1790, when it was performed with a German text at a memorial for emperor Joseph II in the Evangelische Kirche in Frankfurt am Main (Figure 11).

⁵³ *Gazzetta toscana*, no. 12 (1787), 47.

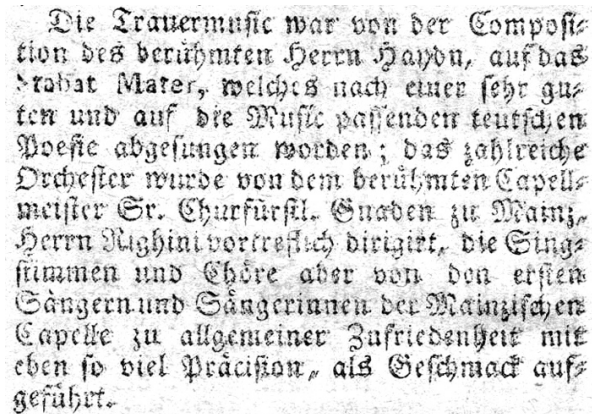
⁵⁴ Irving Lowens, *Haydn in America*, with Otto E. Albrecht, *Haydn Autographs in the United States* (Detroit: published for the College Music Society by Information Coordinators, 1979), 68.

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Figure 11: Report of the performance of Haydn's *Stabat mater* in Frankfurt am Main on 21 March 1790. *Frankfurter Staats-Ristretto*, no. 47, Monday, 22 March 1790, 206.



Die Trauermusic war von der Composition des berühmten Herrn Haydn, auf das *Stabat Mater*, welches nach einer sehr guten und auf die Music passenden teutschen Poesie abgesungen worden; das zahlreiche Orchester wurde von dem berühmten Capellmeister Sr. Churfürstl. Gnaden zu Mainz, Herrn Righini vortreflich dirigirt, die Singstimmen und Chöre aber von den ersten Sängern und Sängerninnen der Mainzischen Capelle zu allgemeiner Zufriedenheit mit eben so viel Präcision, als Geschmack aufgeführt.

The emperor had died the previous month, on 20 February. Frankfurt, a free imperial city subject only to the emperor, was devotionally mixed, but predominantly Lutheran. The performance in Frankfurt was directed by Vincenzo Righini, and the soloists and chorus were drawn from the Kapelle of the Elector of Mainz:

Der Trauermusic war von der Composition des berühmten Herrn Haydn, auf das *Stabat Mater*, welches nach einer sehr guten und auf die Music passenden teutschen Poesie abgesungen worden; das zahlreiche Orchester wurde von dem berühmten Capellmeister Sr. Churfürstl. Gnaden zu Mainz, Herrn Righini vortreflich dirigirt, die Singstimmen und Chöre aber von den ersten Sängern und Sängerninnen der Mainzischen Capelle zu allgemeiner Zufriedenheit mit eben so viel Präcision, als Geschmack aufgeführt.⁵⁵

The funeral music was composed by the famous Herr Haydn on the *Stabat mater*, which was sung with a very good German poem well suited to the music; the numerous orchestra was admirably directed by Herr Righini, the famous Kapellmeister of His Electoral Grace in Mainz, and the choruses were performed to general satisfaction by the first male and female singers of the Mainz Kapelle with just as much precision as taste.

⁵⁵ *Frankfurter Staats-Ristretto*, no. 47, Monday, 22 March 1790, 206. This performance of Haydn's *Stabat mater* is also described in *Vollständiges Diarium der Römisch-Königlichen Wahl und Kaiserlichen Krönung Ihro nunmehr allerglorwürdigest regierenden Kaiserlichen Majestät Leopold des Zweiten* (Frankfurt, 1791), 24. The first sentence of the report in the *Frankfurter Staats-Ristretto* is transcribed, through the semicolon, in Hoboken, *Haydn*, 2:17.

The choice of Haydn's *Stabat mater* for this memorial highlights the esteem in which the work was held at that time in Germany.

The *Stabat mater* was probably Haydn's most famous and widely performed vocal work during the last two decades of the 18th century, and its fame helped set the stage for the reception of his late oratorios and masses. Although the work grew out of a Viennese context of musical settings of the *Stabat mater* for liturgical use, Haydn's oratorio-like setting was from the outset performed nearly always as a concert work, albeit one still closely tied to Lent and Holy Week. The large number of surviving early manuscript copies of the work suggest that its popularity may have been even greater than currently known documents indicate, and further research will likely bring more early performances to light.

Abstract

Haydn spent his formative musical years in Vienna, a city with a strong Marian cult that was expressed musically through such works in German as Heinrich Rademin's *Mater dolorum* (set by Werner, Reutter the Younger, and Wagenseil), and by innumerable settings of the Latin sequence *Stabat mater*. In Vienna, musical settings of the *Stabat mater* were traditionally performed not only on the feast of *Septem Dolorum B. V. M.*, but also on Saturdays in Lent and during Holy Week. In fact, we now know that Haydn sang *a cappella* settings of the *Stabat mater* by Palestrina and Reutter in the mid 1750s when he was hired as a supplementary chorister by the Hofmusikkapelle for performances in Holy Week. Thus it is not surprising that Haydn chose to set the *Stabat mater* as one of his first major sacred vocal works after succeeding Werner as Kapellmeister for Prince Esterhazy in 1766.

This paper traces the history and reception of Haydn's *Stabat mater*, beginning with his own early experiences performing and hearing settings by other composers (particularly those of Palestrina and Reutter), through the earliest performances of Haydn's own setting, and its gradual spread into France, England, Italy, Protestant Germany, and North America. By the 1780s, it was one of Haydn's best known works, and certainly his best known vocal work, often considered a rival to Pergolesi's perennially popular setting. My paper gathers together well known, poorly known, and

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new documents on the reception and early performances of Haydn's *Stabat mater*, including previously unknown performances of the work in England and Germany.

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Summarischer EXTRACT, Aller gepflogenen Andachten, Welche, Bey der Hoch=löblichen Bruderschaft Deren sieben vornehmsten Schmerzen MARLÆ, Von Zeit Dero Aufrichtung, am 15. April, Anno 1707. bis Ende des verstrichenen 1756. Jahrs In der Hoch=löblichen Pfarrherrlichen Stift= und Ordens=kirchen S. Benedicti U. L. Frauen zun [sic] Schotten genannt, Alhier in Wien gehalten worden; Anheuer aus Ursach ihres ersten SEMI-SÆCULI, oder JUBILÆI Des erreichten 50sten Jahrs, zum Druck beförderet, Und zur Nachricht aller deren, welche denen Schmerzen MARLÆ mit Andacht zugethan, ausgetheilet. Vienna, 1757.

Tablettes de Renommé des Musiciens, Auteurs, Compositeurs, Virtuoses, Amateurs et Maitres de Musique vocale et instrumentale, les plus connus en chaque genre. Avec une Notice des Ouvrages ou autres motifs qui les ont rendus recommandables, pour servir à l'Almanach-Dauphin. Paris, 1785.

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