

Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* and the Politics of Feminine Virtue

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“Does it not cause tears to fall?”¹ Asked in 1778, the question credits the *Stabat Mater* (1736) of Giovanni Battista Pergolesi with an expressivity so powerful that listeners react as though to a text from eighteenth-century sentimental literature or drama, whose signature accomplishment was to make people cry. Modern scholars also note sentimental tendencies in the work,² but the connection has never been explored and is less direct than in other contemporaneous examples, notably in the German repertoires associated with *Empfindsamkeit*³ and the Italian operas influenced by Samuel Richardson’s sentimental novel *Pamela* (1740–41).⁴ Pergolesi had finished his setting and died before *Pamela*’s international success, and the subject of his medieval text, the sorrowing Virgin Mary at the crucifixion, seems unrelated to Richardson’s virtuous maidens tested by sexual desire.

For all the obvious differences, however, the text of the *Stabat Mater* shares several characteristics with eighteenth-century sentimentalism: an emphasis on feelings and their manifestation in bodily symptoms, a special obsession with the feelings of distraught women, and an appeal to sympathy as a means of inculcating virtue—like the reader of Richardson, the suppliant of the prayer is expected to internalize the heroine’s qualities by partaking of her tribulations. Pergolesi amplifies the emotionalism of the words by bringing to bear the expressive clarity and flexibility of his dramatic music, and he further encourages listeners to identify the Virgin’s feelings with their own by manipulating musical expectation and memory. So enthusiastic was the response that the *Stabat Mater* achieved *Pamela*-like renown; by 1800, it had been disseminated in over thirty editions and hundreds of manuscript copies, and had been performed not only across Catholic Europe but also, often with new or translated texts, in the Protestant lands.⁵

Not everyone approved. Reception histories have shown that within contemporary debate on sacred music, Pergolesi was sometimes praised for moving the faithful, but other times faulted for ignoring, in Charles Avison’s words, “the just distinction . . . between the tenderness or passion of a theatrical scene and the solemnity of devotion.”⁶ Rereading the controversy with the work’s sentimental affinities in mind demonstrates that

beyond emotionalism per se, it was the idealization of feminine emotion that caused particular discomfort. With his unapologetic exaltation of a woman, and a musical style that was itself perceived as “feminine” by both detractors and defenders, Pergolesi forced commentators to confront a paradox at the heart of eighteenth-century thinking about feminine feeling, which was valued as a sign of virtue but also denigrated as a cause of effeminacy. The resulting uneasiness about his work is evidenced not only by criticisms, but also by revisions and arrangements designed to make it more masculine. The very success of the *Stabat Mater* raised concern over the influence of the feminine virtue that it so compellingly represented.

Immediacy

The work owed its existence and at least some of its success to the continuing vigor of Marianism in the eighteenth century. Pergolesi lived in the epicenter, Naples, which had over two hundred churches dedicated to the Virgin and numerous Marian confraternities.⁷ According to an oft-repeated although unverified account, it was a confraternity, the “Cavalieri della Vergine dei dolori,” that commissioned Pergolesi’s work, seeking to replace an older setting by Alessandro Scarlatti that it used in its private services.⁸ Beyond Naples, devotion was stimulated by the papal recognition of the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows (1727), and by the publication of *The Glories of Mary* (1750) by one of the century’s leading Catholic theologians, Alphonsus de Liguori, who was later canonized. The feast provided a long-sought liturgical home for the *Stabat Mater*, and the book, a widely used justification and primer for Marian worship. As in earlier periods, the Virgin attracted a particularly intimate kind of supplication, to which devotees were encouraged by her humanity, maternity, and seeming corporeality. She survived as a physical presence in relics and animated representations—Naples alone had eleven miracle-working Madonnas—and though her Assumption did not become doctrine until the twentieth century, many already believed that she was “bodily present in heaven.”⁹ Her grace emanated not from an ineffable divinity, but from a living, tangible person.

The words of the *Stabat Mater* do not make it easy to identify with this living presence. Although the opening stanzas picture the Virgin suffering as she witnesses Jesus’s death, her agony is experienced second-hand, described by a narrator—she does not speak, as she does in the *Magnificat*. Later stanzas are more suggestive in that the narrator asks to share in her sorrows, but the plea is so fervent and self-centered that the

supplicant effectively displaces the Virgin as the subject of the text: one eighteenth-century translator marvels at “how he . . . seizes the scourge and so to speak cannot get enough of making himself bloodthirsty and tearing his flesh.”¹⁰ Distancing the Virgin further, strict meter and rhyme schemes organize the twenty stanzas of the poem into ten pairs of identical structure, *aab ccb*. The regularity of the verse tempers the intensity of her passions.

Some of Pergolesi’s predecessors in setting the prayer accepted or even emphasized the separation between protagonist and beholder. Palestrina reinforces the steadying effects of the poetic structure by using the same rhythms and, in some instances, the same or similar melodic lines to set the first two (rhyming) lines of many of the stanzas. His opening progression of chromatically related triads (A–G–F, all major), along with his predominantly homophonic textures, seemed to some nineteenth-century critics like a definitive expression of the divine otherworldliness they associated with his music in general.¹¹ Scarlatti establishes a different kind of distance with more extreme chromaticism, moving in his opening measures from a C-minor tonic to the dominant G through A major, E minor, and D minor. Harmonizing in many cases the descending half-step motions of a lament, the progression shrouds the sorrows of the text in mystery. Periodic silences enhance the effect, allowing the most startling arrivals to ring into nothingness.¹²

Still unable to speak, Pergolesi’s Virgin does not have the immediacy of an opera character, or a letter-writing heroine of an epistolary novel like *Pamela*. Nevertheless, already in the first movement, an emphasis on clarity over mystery and motion over timelessness restores the aura of presence so important to Marian worship (see Ex. 1). The initial gesture has the voices outline an arch from the tonic up to the sixth- and back down to the second-scale degree, accompanied by mainly diatonic chords that lead to a half cadence on the dominant (mm. 12–17). Despite the contrapuntal texture, the direction of the phrase is never in doubt, and its pulse remains, so to speak, in the real world: marching forth in steady eighths, the bass prevents any suspension or transcendence of time. Even the singers’ long tones, while capturing the stasis of the opening image, generate momentum by unfolding a chain of dissonances requiring resolution. The Virgin may stand frozen in sorrow, but life flows through and around her, and no harmonic or rhythmic ambiguity obscures her figure.

Pergolesi also nuances the portrait by suiting rhythm and texture more to the imagery of the text than to its stanzaic structure. The second line speaks of weeping and brings a newly lyrical descending melody sung in turn by the soprano and alto (mm. 18–21). Using solos in duet movements

12

VI. I *[dolce sempre]*

VI. II *dolce sempre*

Vla. *dolce sempre*

S. Sta - bat ma - ter do -

A. Sta - bat ma - ter do - lo -

Vc., Cb. e Org. *[dolce sempre]*
5 4 6 3 6 4 6 9 6 9 6

15

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S. - lo - ro sa *tr*

A. ro sa *tr*

Vc., Cb. e Org. (b)9 3 6 6 (b)9 3 6 7 5 4

Example 1. Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater*, first movement, mm. 12–23: “The sorrowing Mother stood/tearfully beside the cross/while her Son hung there.” Unless otherwise noted, English texts are from the translation by Stanley Applebaum, in Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater in Full Score* (New York: Dover, 1997), vii–viii.

18

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.
jux - ta cru - cem la - cri - mo - sa,

A.
jux - ta cru - cem

Vc., Cb.
e Org.

21

VI. I
dolce

VI. II
[*dolce*]

Vla.
dolce

S.
dum pen - de - bat fi - li - us,

A.
la - cri - mo - sa, dum pen - de - bat fi - li - us,

Vc., Cb.
e Org.
46 *dolce*

Example 1. continued

is another respect in which Pergolesi departs from Scarlatti (who wrote for the same forces), again with an eye toward closing the gap between subject and beholder. The separate entrances model individual reactions to the scene, in some ways more vividly than full solo arias, thanks to their relative informality. Listeners can imagine themselves speaking out from a crowd, putting a shared sentiment into their own words, much as the singers seem to do by performing variant versions of the same melody. The ensuing parallel thirds (mm. 22–23), setting the third line and coinciding with the first interruption of the underlying eighths, soften the mood further. Their sighs introduce a tone of affection directed here toward “the son” and recalled at other moments when the text evokes familial love, most especially in the reference to Mary as “mother of the only-begotten” (see “O quam tristis,” mm. 7–11).

As significant as the associations of each passage is their combination in a single movement, which results in an emotional complexity reminiscent of opera and specifically, in Pergolesi's case, of his comic intermezzi, such as *La serva padrona*. Other aspects of the *Stabat Mater* point in the same direction, including its tuneful melodies, clearly articulated phrases and forms, predominantly homophonic textures (imitative counterpoint is limited to the beginning, and to two fugal movements found midway through and at the end) and, in the faster movements, vivacious rhythms. Taken together with the avoidance of undue chromaticism and coloratura, all of this evidences a determination to make the heroine as “human” as possible, at least in the sense that Pergolesi's dramatic characters appear human: she seems without pretension, anchored in earthly rhythms, and above all subject to emotional change. *La serva padrona* may run through more moods more quickly, but the shifts between paralysis and tears, affection and physical pain in the *Stabat Mater* are no less dramatic. They anticipate the emotional mutability that would typify serious as well as comic characters in the later eighteenth century, as the stylistic diversity of the intermezzo was absorbed and multiplied. By differentiating her feelings, line by line, Pergolesi made the medieval Virgin modern.

She is also accessible. Limiting counterpoint and coloratura, signs of the “high” sacred and operatic styles, frees Pergolesi's Virgin from the forbidding glory of the *Regina coeli*. She lies closer to the middle- or servant-class protagonists of sentimental literature, who are represented as being without affectation, or to the image favored by the Marian theologian Liguori, whose *Glories of Mary* is prefaced with a frontispiece picturing her as a peasant.¹³ His text recognizes her royalty but emphasizes her humanity, especially as evidenced by her grief and maternal attachment to Jesus. She is no distant ruler, but a mother whom no one need fear to approach.

Embodiment

Sheer emotionalism, manifested in a character of human proportions, constitutes one affinity between the *Stabat Mater* and sentimentalism. Emphasis on the physical dimension of feeling forms another. As John Mullan has written of Richardson's heroines, "the capacity to feel and display sentiments . . . is not so much spoken as displayed. Its instrument is a massively sensitized, feminine body; its vocabulary is that of gestures and palpitations, sighs and tears."¹⁴ The Virgin suffers from loss rather than from the sexual importuning that afflicts Pamela and Clarissa, and, as described by the prayer, her self-expression depends on a stasis, a paralysis before the spectacle of the crucifixion, that limits the range of emotion she can exhibit. Still, her weeping, trembling, and even her standing fulfill the same function as the more extravagant actions of secular characters, replacing words as the signs of inner life. Grief overwhelms speech as the female body becomes at once a passive victim of its sensibility and an active agent of communication.

Pergolesi's response to the prayer's embodied affections produced some of his most controversial music, particularly in quicker movements, where he favors syncopations, trills, and dancelike rhythms and phrasing. Found also in Scarlatti's setting, by the middle of the century this lively style had lost whatever connotations of inner turmoil it held for the Neapolitan composers, and some critics wondered at a seeming lapse in Pergolesi's attention to the text.¹⁵ It would be fairer to say that he uses fast tempos to dramatize the less pleasant sides of the Virgin's physicalized distress. This is especially true of the second movement, "Cuius animam gementem," whose words recall Simeon's prophecy that she would be pierced by a "sword" of grief (Luke 2:35). Listeners were rightly taken aback, since the dolor of the opening duet gives way suddenly to clipped phrases and springing syncopations in a comparatively brisk triple meter. Even more evocative, the verb, "pertransivit," is sung first to trills and then to a jarring raised fourth-scale degree, a word-painting that becomes particularly graphic in the second half of the movement, where an altered reprise of the opening phrases rises by step to put the trills at the very top of the soprano's tessitura (see Ex. 2). Reinforced by violins, the voice descends through the raised fourth to the tonic (mm. 78–82), then climbs back to the heights to renew what may be heard as either the assault on the Virgin or her convulsive reaction (mm. 83–91ff.). Similar pictorialisms in the same or faster tempos portray her trembling (in "Quae moerebat"), the supplicant's burning ("Inflammatum et accensus"), and Jesus's scourging (the allegro section of "Quis est homo"). Far from abandoning expression, these moments

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VI. I *tr.* *[forte]* *dolce*

VI. II *[forte]* *dolce*

Vla. *[forte]* *[dolce]*

S. *tr.* *[dolce]*
per - trans - i - vit, per - trans -

Vc., Ch. e Org. *[dolce]*
3 6 b 6 3 35

80

VI. I *sotto voce*

VI. II *[sotto voce]*

Vla. *[sotto voce]*

S. *sotto voce*
i - vit gla - di - us, cu - ius a - ni - mam ge -

Vc., Ch. e Org. *tasto solo*

Example 2. Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater*, “Cuius animam gementem,” mm. 74–91: “Whose soul—moaning,/saddened and sorrowing—/a sword had pierced” (translation emended).

86

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.

Vc., Cb.
c Org.

men-tem, con - tri - sta - tem et do - len - tem per -

forte

tr.

[forte]

forte

tr.

forte

7
5

Example 2. continued

emphasize the proximity of embodied feeling to physical violence in the imagery of the prayer.

In the slower movements, Pergolesi finds musical parallels for the less threatening images of standing and weeping: witness his setting of the opening lines, discussed above. He further suggests a manifestation of grief that is not made explicit by the text, but which emerges from the frequent halting or retarding of rhythmic motion. Fermatas prolong half cadences or rests, allowing each item of suffering to be contemplated at greater length, and making it seem as if their combined weight were impeding the most basic actions—speaking, crying, even breathing—of the Virgin or her beholders (see “O quam tristis,” “Quis est homo,” “Fac ut portem”). Elsewhere, in the first movement and in the sixth (“Vidit suum dulcem natum”), motion does not cease but slows in such a way as to suggest a kind of denial. Despite the steadily marching bass in the first movement, and an arrival near the end on a dominant pedal, closure proves elusive. When first heard in the instrumental prelude, the pedal needs four attempts to reach the tonic, the first three undermined by deceptive motion in the bass, twice to the sixth- and once to the third-scale degree (see mm. 8–11). The same deceptions return at the end of the movement, only now all three move to the sixth degree, and the third is followed by a grand pause (see Ex. 3, mm. 40–42). Into the silence echo the words preceding it, “dolorosa” and “lacrimosa.” Heard here for the first time out of their usual order in the text, the two words and the pause postpone the

38

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.

A.

Vc., Ch.
c Org.

[dolce]

forte

dolce assai

tr

dum _ pen - de - bat, dum _ pen - de - bat fi - li - us,

dum _ pen - de - bat, dum _ pen - de - bat fi - li - us,

[dolce]

forte

[dolce assai]

7 6 5 6
: 4 3 4

1 4 4
6 6 6
5 5

6 4 4

[dolce assai]

41

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.

A.

Vc., Ch.
c Org.

[sotto voce]

sotto voce

[sotto voce]

sotto voce

do - lo - ro - sa, dum pen - de - bat

sotto voce

la - cri - mo - sa, dum pen - de - bat

sotto voce

Example 3. Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater*, first movement, mm. 38–47.

45

VI. I *dolce*

VI. II [*dolce*]

Vla. [*dolce*]

S. fi - li - us.

A. fi - li - us.

Vc., Cb. c Org. [*dolce*]

Example 3. continued

moment at which the ensuing line of text, with its reference to Jesus, must be linked to the symbolic finality of the cadence. Furthermore, while a reminiscence of the beginning of the movement thereafter restores the tonic (mm. 43–45), the *sotto voce* arrival sounds resigned at best, and a sense of reluctance lingers into the postlude. The instrumental cadence reaches its destination only after recalling, again, the deceptive motion that has plagued it throughout (m. 46).

In “Vidit suum dulcem natum,” in which the Virgin witnesses Jesus’s actual death, Pergolesi proceeds as in the opening movement and etches each line with characteristic music: energetic and syncopated as she looks at her “sweet child”; sustained and chromatically descending as he hangs dying; heavy and broken by rests as he breathes his last. The end of the movement then exaggerates this progressive loss of rhythmic energy (see Ex. 4). After the violins have emphasized the dominant with strongly marked arpeggios in the upper register, the voice moves toward the tonic an octave below (mm. 33–35). The bass and harmony cadence, but the melody gets only as far as a third-scale degree on a weak second beat, necessitating a second effort at closure. Now the gasping rests are filled in, and the spirit seems truly depleted following a long exhalation that ends at the tonic (mm. 36–39). Again, however, some hidden reserve postpones

33

VI. I *forte* *sotto voce sempre*

VI. II [*forte*] [*sotto voce sempre*]

Vla. *sotto voce sempre*

S. *tr.*
la - tum. dum e - mi - sit,

Vc., Ch. e Org. *sotto voce sempre*
6/4 7/5 ; 7/4 4/3 6

36

VI. I *sotto voce*

VI. II [*sotto voce*]

Vla. *dolce*

S. *sotto voce*
dum e - mi - sit spi - ri - tum.

Vc., Ch. e Org. *dolce* 6

Example 4. Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater*, “Vidit suum dulcem natum,” mm. 33–43: “As he gave up his spirit” (translation emended).

Example 4. continued

the final step, diverting the bass to the flattened sixth and the violins to the high register of their earlier arpeggios. The following instrumental cadence recalls that of the first movement, in which the violins likewise crossed between registers and countered the regular tread of the bass with offbeats. Equally significant, both passages leave hanging a third scale degree in the upper octave, a repeated A-flat that never descends to a tonic in its own register (cf. Ex. 3). Death continues to be denied, the high notes never quite capitulating to the drive toward rest.

The halting progress of these endings enacts what Julia Kristeva calls, in an essay to which we shall return, the “paranoid logic” of the text of the *Stabat Mater*, its “wrenching between desire for the masculine corpse and negation of death.”¹⁶ Delayed cadences engender a powerful longing for the motion to end, the suffering to stop, the body to come down from the cross. In Kristeva’s terms, they could be thought to imbue listeners with the mother’s wish to embrace her son, to use her body to shield his from further harm. At the same time, though, touching death would make it real, and that is a terrifying prospect even for those hopeful of redemption. The prayer ends by picturing the supplicant’s own bodily death and begging the Virgin to preserve the soul. But there is no answer, and if the music of the opening duet or “Vidit suum dulcem natum” seems reluctant to admit Jesus’s death, it is because however painful it may be to continue grieving, the alternative is worse. The weariest sighs sound better than the silence following a cadence, the blank void that Pergolesi’s

numerous pauses and extended rests anticipate all too vividly. The impulse to avoid resolution compounds love and fear, the one wanting to preserve the bonds of affection, the other to ward off oblivion.

Sympathy

Manipulating the desire for tonal closure is one of several strategies through which Pergolesi's setting seems to encourage listeners not simply to regard, but to enter into the emotions of its protagonist, to share the Virgin's sorrows. That invitation in turn represents the work's most consequential link to sentimentalism. In sentimental narratives, figures of virtue exert what influence they have primarily by arousing sympathetic response, whether in other characters in the story or in readers and audiences. They set an example described in Rousseau's *La nouvelle Héloïse* as carrying beholders beyond a mere vicarious participation in feelings or moods, to a point where they identify with the whole character of the heroine: "This is bound to happen with all souls of a certain temper; they so to speak transform others into themselves; they have a sphere of activity within which nothing can resist them; one cannot know them without wanting to imitate them, and from their sublime elevation they attract unto themselves everyone about them."¹⁷ Likewise readers and audiences, when moved by a text, feel the effects throughout their entire being. On reaching an emotional crux, writes Janet Todd, the sentimental novelist "stops the story to display this feeling in the characters and elicit it in the reader in its physical manifestations of tears and trembling. Such display is justified by the belief that a heightened sense of one's virtue through pity for another is morally improving."¹⁸ Those who wrote of weeping over Richardson and Rousseau exhibited a capacity not only to sympathize but to learn, to better themselves through the experience of another's feelings.

The supplicant of the *Stabat Mater* wants so badly to share the Virgin's grief that after only eight of the twenty stanzas, the prayer turns from describing her sufferings to asking that she inflict them on the speaker. The request is quite specific, calling up images and vocabulary from earlier: where the Virgin stood sorrowing and crying by the cross (stanza 1), now the supplicant wants to stand, weep, and feel sorrow (stanzas 9, 13–14); where her soul was transfixed by the sword (stanza 2), the heart wants to be pierced by the wounds of the crucifixion (stanza 11); where Jesus was whipped (stanza 7), the body wants to bear his pain (stanzas 16–17). As noted above, the pleading is so egoistic that the object of sympathy, the Virgin herself, all but disappears behind the overbearing presence of her devotee. Yet Pergolesi's setting once again cuts the distance

between protagonist and beholder, in this instance by connecting the earlier and later stanzas musically. Where the variability and physicality of feeling in the opening movements gave the Virgin a tangible human presence, now reminiscences of that music keep her image before the eyes—and in the ears—throughout the act of identification. It is as if supplicants sing themselves into the Virgin’s character through the medium of the performers’ voices.

Pergolesi begins by bridging the change from descriptive to supplicatory text with echoes of the first two movements. His setting of the eighth stanza, “Vidit suum dulcem natum,” recalls the opening duet in its line-by-line dramatization of the textual imagery and its protracted cadence (see above); it is also in the same key, the tonic of the piece, F minor. For the ninth stanza, the beginning of the supplication, the composer proceeds as if he were going to reprise each successive step of the earlier description. As at the opening, a 3/8 *andante* in C minor follows a slower duple-meter movement in F minor, and while the new movement, “Eia mater, fons amoris,” is gentler than its counterpart, “Cuius animam gementem,” it has similar syncopations (e.g., in the second and fourth measures of the principal theme) and what sounds like a transformed version of the earlier pictorial trills (cf. Ex. 2 and 5).¹⁹ The alto reiterates the fifth-scale degree, much as the soprano had, but an octave lower and to an accompaniment of ominous unisons. The reference puts flesh on a

50

VI. I
dolce

VI. II
[dolce]

Vla.
dolce

A.
fac, ut te - cum lu - ge - am,

Vc., Cb.
c Org.
dolce

Example 5. Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater*, “Eia Mater, fons amoris,” mm. 50–56: “Make . . . that I may mourn with you.”

generic request to grieve, recalling the specific bodily agony caused by the second stanza's sword. At the same time, the lower register of the vocal line and its entwining by the unisons put the voice seemingly at the mercy of the orchestra, promoting an image of the supplicant as passive sufferer.

The following movement breaks new ground in response to a rare glimmer of light in the text, which speaks of being consumed by love for Christ ("Fac ut ardeat cor meum"). Vigorous and sometimes playful lines pursue one another in a fugue, the work's most substantial essay in imitative counterpoint. Were the setting performed at the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows, where the *Stabat Mater* is divided at this point between first and second vespers, the fugue would have provided a suitable point of interim closure.²⁰ But its joy is short-lived. Whether heard immediately or after the pause separating the two offices, the ensuing "Sancta Mater, istud agas" turns the attention back to earlier sorrows. A long movement setting five stanzas, it begins with one of the most striking textual reminiscences of previous imagery, a plea that the heart of the supplicant be transfixed by the wounds of Jesus. Pergolesi strengthens the echo with vocal trills and a raised fourth scale degree, the same means with which the Virgin was transfixed in "Cuius animam gementem": as before, the sting of the dissonance comes twice and moves down chromatically to the tonic (cf. Ex. 2 and 6a). The movement's other principal idea draws a connection that is not explicit in the text, setting a request to cry with the Virgin to parallel sighing thirds that hearken back to the opening duet (cf. Ex. 1, mm. 22–23, and Ex. 6b). Although a dialogue between upper and lower registers adds fresh poignancy to the figure, its rhythm and appoggiaturas remain the same, and, as in the beginning, it appears first in F minor. Fulfilling their own wish, the voices reenact the Virgin's weeping for Jesus.

A further resemblance between the penultimate movement ("Inflammatum et accensum") and the earlier "Quae moerebat et dolebat" (duple-meter, major-key allegros with syncopated themes) prepares the most significant connection of all, between the finale, "Quando corpus morietur," and the first movement. The finale begins with a brief imitative duet, a sort of reprise in miniature of the very first vocal entrance: again the voices skip up to pitches that become dissonant and resolve downward by step, like spirits oscillating between hope and despair (see Ex. 7a, mm. 8–9). In what follows, moreover, they track the first movement closely, moving from the same tonic of F minor to a dominant half cadence (mm. 9–10), then to solo turns on a lyrical melody with which the soprano descends from the dominant to the subdominant, and the alto down another step to the relative major (mm. 10–14; cf. Ex. 1, mm. 17–21).

17

VI. I *tr* *tr*

VI. II *tr* *tr*

Vla.

S. *tr* *tr*
cor - di me - o, cor - di me - o, cor - di

Vc., Cb. c Org. 5 43 6 [b]7

20

VI. I *tr*

VI. II *tr* *dolce*

Vla. *dolce*

S. *tr* *tr* *dolce*
me - o - va - li - de, cor - di me - o, cor - di

Vc., Cb. c Org. 2 *dolce* 57

Example 6a. Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater*, “Sancta Mater, istud agas,” mm.17–24: “transfix my heart.”

23

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.

Vc., Cb.
e Org.

me - o - va - li - de.

[forte]

[f]

forte

6/4

5/3

Example 6a. continued

42

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.

A.

Vc., Cb.
e Org.

Fac me ve - re te - cum fle - re, te - cum fle - re,

Fac me ve - re te - cum fle - re, te - cum fle - re,

[f]

[ff]

6/4

5/4

Example 6b. Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater*, “Sancta Mater, istud agas,” mm. 42–44: “Make me truly weep with you.”

12

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.
ne - tur pa -

A.
fac ut a - ni - mac do - ne - tur

Vc., Cb.
e Org.
2 6 b5 6 6/5

Example 7a. continued

Similarities extend to the bass, whose regular punctuations march unwavering through these new sorrows much as the original continuous eighths did through suspensions and solo outbursts. The second half of the finale recalls other aspects of the first movement, including its dominant pedal, its final solos (here given only to the soprano), and its difficulty reaching closure (see Ex. 7b). Deceptive motions and a dramatic pause forestall the first two attempts at a cadence (mm. 24 and 26), and the third (m. 28), although successful, shares the subdued lower register and *sotto voce* dynamic of the endings of both the first movement and “Vidit suum dulcem natum.”

The meaning of the reminiscences is complex, for by this time the prayer has again changed direction and no longer refers directly to sorrow. Its identification with the Virgin apparently complete, the soul now pleads for redemption. Yet Pergolesi continues to recall her suffering, and makes emulation of her still easier by radically simplifying the accompaniment. Reduced to two parts that play an invariant pattern of separated downbeats answered by sixteenth-note arpeggios, the instruments no longer respond to the words with commentary or new textures, as they so often have. In their absence the voices acquire one of the sentimental heroine’s

22

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.

A.

Vc., Cb.
e Org.

pa - ra - di - si glo - ri -

24

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.

A.

Vc., Cb.
e Org.

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

pa - ra - di - si glo - ri -

Example 7b. Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater*, “Quando corpus morietur,” mm. 22–29. “When my body dies/ make my soul be given/the glory of paradise.”

26

VI. I *[sotto voce]*

VI. II *[sotto voce]*

Vla. *sotto voce*

S. *dolce assai*
a, pa - ra - di - si

A. *dolce assai*
a, pa - ra - di - si

Vc., Cb. e Org. *sotto voce*

28

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S. glo - ri - a.

A. glo - ri - a.

Vc., Cb. e Org.

Example 7b. continued

most sympathy-inducing qualities, absorption: seemingly untouched by anything beyond themselves, they invite the listener to take the place of the strings and engage them in dialogue, much as Diderot was inspired to do by the introspection of Jean-Baptiste Greuze's sorrowing girls.²¹ The spareness of the accompaniment leaves a void into which listeners can project themselves, coming ever closer to the singers and to the Virgin whom their music recalls.

The sorrowing mother remains foremost even through the final line, which envisions paradise. Pergolesi's setting has encouraged such tangible sympathy for her that by this point one might expect some reward, some foretaste of the Virgin's mercy. Instead, the concluding image is of a Marian virtue that the theologian Liguori considered even greater than mercy, perseverance.²² The supplicant faces death with neither fear nor hope, but with a patient conviction symbolized musically by the unchanging accompaniment and especially by the plodding regularity of the bass. The latter persists right through the grand pause near the end, which could easily have been answered, like the parallel silence in the first movement, by a change of idea and harmony (cf. Ex. 7b, m. 26 and Ex. 3, m. 42). But the bass picks up where it left off, and the voices repeat the foregoing cadence in the lower octave, finding resolution where the initial attempt, with the soprano hovering on high F, did not. It is not the vocal forcefulness of the first cadence that brings closure, but the endurance represented by the second, a message reinforced by the ensuing fugal "Amen." Brief and filled with leaping string figures similar to those used earlier to represent Jesus's scourging, the fugue does not realize the "glories of paradise" any more than "Quando corpus morietur" does. On the contrary, it recalls the agonies of earth yet again. Pergolesi is as reluctant to transcend the Virgin's pain as she is to accept the death of her son. In his reading, her embrace nurtures the fortitude of a believer who must still face suffering and temptation.

Salvation

Much of the controversy surrounding Pergolesi's setting stemmed from its failure to conclude more affirmatively. With a taste for infinite vistas and distant goals, the Romantic Ludwig Tieck could appreciate its representation of paradise as an ideal not yet reached: "How meaningful that after everything is already finished, the Amen in itself still sounds and plays, and can find no end in heartfelt emotion; it shrinks, so to speak, from the drying of tears, and wants to languish in sobbing."²³ A widely used German adaptation of the text, written by the poet Friedrich Gottlieb

Klopstock in 1767, also preserves the melancholic ending, even while making radical changes elsewhere. Not a translation but a parody designed to fit Pergolesi's music, it incorporates new references to paradise in its early stanzas, along with other imagery not found in the prayer. The end, however, makes no suggestion that glory is actually attained, expressing only the hope "that when we pass into death, we will together one day see our brothers above."²⁴ In his 1776 arrangement of the work using Klopstock's words, Johann Adam Hiller followed their lead by altering nothing in Pergolesi's finale beyond the scoring.²⁵ Adding choral forces to the "Amen" strengthens its sound but does not change its character as a short, sharp reminder that the supplicant's trials are not yet over.

The pedagogue Georg Joseph Vogler was less willing to accept such a conclusion. "We do not wish to investigate whether it is to be condoned that the expression of death, 'Quando corpus morietur,' continues unaltered on the same course to heavenly joy, 'paradisi gloria.'"²⁶ His own revisions do not greatly affect "Quando corpus morietur," but he replaces the "Amen" with an entirely new, four-voice fugue of his own.²⁷ Still in the minor, the fugue subject nevertheless takes the rhythmic and melodic contour of a midpoint episode in Pergolesi's finale (mm. 52–73) as the basis for a conjunct line marked *sempre legato*. Rhythmic incisiveness gives way to flowing lyricism, resulting, thanks also to the frequent movement in parallel thirds and sixths, in a finale that recalls not earlier agonies but the sighs that have conjured up "the son" and other familial images (i.e., Ex. 1, mm. 22–23). Vogler still does not evoke paradise, but he concludes with the warmest, most comforting face of sorrow.

Other revisions aim for still greater optimism. At least one manuscript source as well as a contemporary report indicate that Pergolesi's "Amen" was sometimes repeated, so that it might at least provide a stronger sense of closure (likewise, Vogler's fugue is twice the length of the original).²⁸ J. S. Bach also repeats the "Amen" in his adaptation of the work to a German paraphrase of Psalm 51, adding a key change that puts the *da capo* in the parallel major. By also reordering the preceding movements, he creates a double progression from minor to major that suits the psalm, which like the *Stabat Mater* caps off a long series of pessimistic verses (on the unworthiness of the sinner) with reference to a more hopeful topic (God's pleasure at the praise and sacrifice of the supplicant).²⁹ The anonymous adaptation of Pergolesi's music to Alexander Pope's "A Dying Christian to His Soul" goes further, omitting four of the slow movements altogether (including "Quando corpus morietur") and tucking the remainder into the middle as interludes ("Stabat Mater" and "Vidit suum dulcem natum").³⁰ Their somberness is overshadowed by the vivacity of the surrounding andantes and allegros, and by the tenderness of the

concluding “Sancta Mater,” which sets “O Death, where is thy sting?” Grief is transformed into contentedness, uncertainty into confidence.

What the alternative was to Pergolesi’s melancholy is still more dramatically illustrated by the *Stabat Mater* (1767) of Joseph Haydn, the only other eighteenth-century setting to have achieved widespread renown. It too was performed widely both in Latin and in German adaptations, and at the *Concert spirituel* in Paris it was heard side by side with Pergolesi’s version in 1781. Commentators immediately recognized a “much greater and more energetic” conception of the text, the result, most obviously, of expanded forms and of a dramatic intensity made possible by a larger ensemble (including four soloists and a chorus) and more virtuosic writing for both voices and instruments.³¹ Yet in a work that remains predominantly somber, the most striking departure from Pergolesi comes in the finale, where grief and foreboding dissolve into joy. Haydn prepares the moment by oscillating repeatedly between darkness and light, beginning four movements earlier in an alto aria, “Fac me vere tecum flere,” which comes closest of all Haydn’s movements to paying homage to his predecessor. The words echo the opening stanza and led Pergolesi to recall his opening movement (see Ex. 6b). Haydn draws even stronger connections to his own first movement, reprising its key, Neapolitan sixths (m. 2 of both movements, and elsewhere), and the upward-leaping, downward-stepping contour of its initial motto. As with Pergolesi, the reminiscences facilitate sympathy, calling the opening tableau to mind just as the supplicant seeks to experience what it portrayed. Furthermore, in its second half the aria increasingly resembles Pergolesi’s “Quando corpus morietur,” the apex of the earlier work’s effort to encourage identification (cf. Exx. 7 and 8).³² Haydn uses the same spare accompaniment of separated downbeats and sixteenth-note arpeggios, and the same strategy of delaying closure with deceptive cadences (mm. 41–45). Notwithstanding the increased elaboration of the vocal part, the steady pulse, simple accompaniment, and endurance through deception offer a familiar invitation to experience the Virgin’s perseverance.

A reward follows, in a duet that uses English horns and soothing pastoral music in E-flat major to suggest tenderness and affection (“Virgo virginum praeclara”; cf. the earlier “O quam tristis”). The passage from darkness to light is then newly traversed in a pair of arias for bass and tenor, the first a C-minor evocation of the day of judgment, the second a C-major portrait of the believer “fortified” by the crucifixion. In the apt description of an eighteenth-century commentator, the second aria “makes such a striking contrast to the preceding movement that one believes oneself to have been suddenly shifted out of Orcus into

38

Ob. I
Ob. II
VI. I
VI. II
Vla.
A.
Org. o Cemb.

et me ti - bi so - ci - a - re in plan - ctu de - si - de -

6 5 6 5 6 4 #

41

Ob. I
Ob. II
VI. I
VI. II
Vla.
A.
Org. o Cemb.

ro, in plan - ctu, in plan - ctu, in

6 6 6 6 4

Example 8. Haydn, *Stabat Mater*, “Fac me vere tecum flere,” mm. 38–45: “and I desire to join with you in lament” (author’s translation).

43

Ob. I

Ob. II

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

A.

Org. o Cemb.

6 — 5 $\frac{7}{5}$ 6 4

plan - ctu, in plan - ctu de - si - de - ro.

Example 8. continued

Elysium.”³³ The reference point is the scene change midway through act 2 of Gluck’s *Orfeo* (1762), where minor-key inferno likewise gives way to major-key paradise.

Haydn’s finale effects a third and definitive transformation. Back in G minor, the key of the first movement and of “Fac me vere tecum flere,” the soloists lament the death of the body in descending chromatic lines (“Quando corpus morietur”). They are followed by a chorus that pleads for salvation over diminished sevenths (“fac ut animae donetur/paradisi gloria”). The supplicant is on course to end like Pergolesi’s, hopeful of paradise but too despondent to see its splendor. A shift to G major, however, brings a second setting of the plea for redemption, to a springing theme that becomes the subject of an ecstatic fugue. The soul begins to part ways with the body, and achieves full flight in a pair of episodes for soprano solo that prolong the first syllable of “Amen” (see Ex. 9). Effectively wordless, these elaborate melismas free the supplicant from not only the sorrow of the prayer, but also its corporeality as a verbal

The image displays two systems of musical notation for Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, measures 74-93. The first system covers measures 74-77, and the second system covers measures 78-81. The score is arranged in a grand staff format with the following parts:

- VI. I:** Violin I, treble clef, G major key signature. Measures 74-77 feature a melodic line with slurs and a dynamic marking of *p*. Measures 78-81 continue the melodic line.
- VI. II:** Violin II, treble clef, G major key signature. Measures 74-77 feature a rhythmic accompaniment with slurs and a dynamic marking of *p*. Measures 78-81 continue the accompaniment.
- Vla.:** Viola, alto clef, G major key signature. This part is silent throughout the entire passage.
- S.:** Soloist, treble clef, G major key signature. Measures 74-77 feature a melodic line with slurs and a dynamic marking of *p*. Measures 78-81 continue the melodic line.
- Org.:** Organ, bass clef, G major key signature. Measures 74-77 feature a rhythmic accompaniment with slurs and a dynamic marking of *p*. Measures 78-81 continue the accompaniment.

The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, dynamic markings (*p*), and fingerings (6, (5), 6).

Example 9. Haydn, *Stabat Mater*, finale, mm. 74-93.

82

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.

Org.

7 7# 4/2 6

86

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.

Org.

4+/2 6 6 b5 (9) (8) [6]

Example 9. continued

90

VI. I

VI. II

Vla.

S.

Org.

men, a - men.

tr

6 6 # f

4 4

Example 9. continued

utterance: rhyme, meter, and syntax all fall away. The foretaste of heaven that Pergolesi denies, Haydn delivers in the form of a joy that transcends the very language of supplication.

The difference has both practical and theological consequences. The settings reflect the varying demands of private and public contexts; whatever the exact circumstances of Pergolesi's commission, his work is clearly meant for small-scale devotions or chamber concerts, whereas Haydn's is designed for performances such as the one he led in Vienna in 1771, with an ensemble of sixty.³⁴ Under the latter conditions, audiences expected powerful choruses, elaborate solos, and evocations of joys to come, especially at conclusions; large-scale religious works of the second half of the eighteenth century seldom end with anything less than full-throated celebration. Haydn's finale and the revisions that brighten Pergolesi's satisfy these expectations of public religious music, whose influence is felt even in Klopstock's and Hiller's more somber arrangements. They may preserve the dark tone of Pergolesi's original ending, but they offer brighter prospects elsewhere, in the quick, major-key, syncopated aria "Quae moerebat et dolebat," whose subject Klopstock changes from the trembling Virgin to rejoicing angels; and in the midpoint fugue "Fac ut ardeat," whose new choral scoring goes along with a new text that places listeners "In the joy of paradise, above, where the crown gleams."³⁵ Salvation remains provisional, but its radiance is visible.

Beyond the demands of context, the differing degrees of optimism in the settings and arrangements engage the question of efficacy raised by the *Stabat Mater* and other artifacts of Marian devotion. The middle of the eighteenth century witnessed a sharp debate over the power of the Virgin and the utility of seeking her intercession. Liguori's *Glories of Mary* builds on an abiding theme of Marian worship, that Jesus cannot say no to his mother, by arguing that she likewise cannot overcome her maternal compassion for the penitent: "when we go to this good Mother for the oil of her mercy, we cannot fear that she will deny it to us."³⁶ This amounts to an extreme version of what Marina Warner calls "invest[ing] in Mary's gilt-edged stock with God," one in which the return is guaranteed—and in fact granted to the many redeemed sinners whose stories Liguori tells.³⁷ Yet the very thoroughness with which he defends his system, citing thousands of "proofs" from the literature of Marian visions, testifies to the threat of opposing views and specifically to the critique of Marianism in the *Della regolata divozione de' Cristiani* (1747) of Ludovico Antonio Muratori, whose influence in Catholic theology rivaled Liguori's. His text stresses the Virgin's subordinate position in the divine hierarchy and urges believers not to confuse advocacy with judgment: "The office of Mary is to pray for us to God, to intercede for us, and never to command."³⁸ Currying her favor does not ensure forgiveness, and devotees would do better to practice the "imitation of her notable virtues . . . her humility, her purity, her patience, her charity toward all, and her ardent love of God."³⁹ Following the Virgin's example makes one worthier of a grace that she herself cannot administer.

To say that the emphasis on sympathizing with the Virgin in Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* represents Muratori's view, while the more optimistic conception of Haydn represents Liguori's, is tempting but too simple. It is difficult to imagine Muratori approving of any work that channels so much devotion toward the Virgin rather than toward Jesus or God, however much it encourages the "imitation of her notable virtues" that he recommends. Conversely, the most transported listener would be hard-pressed to find assurance in Haydn's evocation of paradise; brilliant but temporary, it suggests only what might be, inspiring as much as rewarding devotion. Still, there are undeniable kinships between the opposing theological positions and the impressions of Marian prayer left by the musical works. The supplicant led by Pergolesi's music to inhabit or at least to imagine the Virgin's experience must be content with the resulting sense of intimacy. No catharsis awaits, only further opportunity to persevere through embodied sorrow, in hopes the soul will be sufficiently purified to survive death. Auditors of Haydn endure equally intense emotions, but for their

effort glimpse a world in which neither they nor the Virgin remain confined to suffering. Their devotion and her compassion, the cornerstones of Liguori's Marian faith, grant them knowledge of what lies beyond death.

Femininity

The difference in what the two settings promise the devotee contributes to a broader distinction between their perceived genders. The publisher Heinrich Philipp Böbler advertised his vocal score of Haydn's work as evidencing "what the German can do, when he wants to; how, once the giant strength of his genius awakens, he enters the road to glory with firm steps next to the proud foreigner and disputes his victory on the battlefield of honor."⁴⁰ Chauvinism aside, the claim has much in common with the French commentaries quoted above that associate the work with energy and grandeur. Haydn's *Stabat Mater* inspires masculine imagery, thanks in no small part to its powerful finale. Another German writer cites the shift to major for the concluding fugue as proof of the composer's "manly powers of decision,"⁴¹ and more generally, the movement's summoning of something larger than the human emotions and events that otherwise preoccupy the work evokes the sublime, itself characterized as masculine by Edmund Burke and other eighteenth-century writers.⁴² The fugue does not strike like a thunderbolt or a storm, the classic instances of sublimity, but its passage beyond an established frame of reference incarnates one of the chief characteristics attributed to sublime expression. With this, as well as with the scale and elaboration of all his choruses and solos, Haydn convinced at least some of his contemporaries that Marian music could speak in a masculine voice.

Not so Pergolesi, whose setting was characterized by both defenders and detractors as feminine. In France, where it earned considerable praise, the encomiums nevertheless avoid the language of power and mastery applied to Haydn. Reiterating terms like "dolorous," "touching," and "pathetic," commentators emphasize instead the expressivity that made listeners weep, and even when they use the word "sublime," they refer to a depth or intensity of feeling rather than a Burkean grandeur or terror.⁴³ German writers similarly limit the work's purview to emotion, and indeed to types of emotion that they characterize as feminine more explicitly than do their French counterparts. This is evident from Jacob de Ruiter's history of the German reception, although Ruiter himself, whose main concern is the role of the *Stabat Mater* in debates on church music, does not address its gendering beyond noting the recurring complaint that it was

too “weichlich”—i.e., weak, with the possible connotation of effeminate. This is but one element of a systematic feminization. When the novelist Wilhelm Heinse, for example, writes “It is no great style, but an exceedingly representational one down to the smallest detail . . . his genius . . . was of limited scope and not of great power or strength,” he identifies Pergolesi’s music not only with weakness, but also with attention to detail, a quality that later eighteenth-century aesthetics associated with femininity.⁴⁴ Moreover, he puts these pronouncements in the mouth of Lockmann, the male music expert in Heinse’s *Hildegard von Hohenthal*, while the character who chafes at the critique is a woman, Hildegard’s mother. Rüter notes the latter point, but not the extent to which the mother’s reaction to Pergolesi, and specifically to a performance of “Quando corpus morietur,” endorses Lockmann’s assumptions. She weeps, and not because she hears a sublimity that Lockmann missed: “‘Good country, Italy,’ she said; ‘much beautiful human sentiment has proceeded from you into other regions.’”⁴⁵ The *Stabat Mater* is beautiful rather than sublime, the expression of a mundane, emotional realm where women feel most at home.

Others, harsher than Heinse, associate the work with a seductive femininity that undermines worship and good taste. “The religious, devout face that [Pergolesi] knew how to give this piece,” writes Johann Nikolaus Forkel, “deceives the inexperienced music-lover like a pious hypocrite, and through that earns itself the reward of an inner worth and expression of religiosity that it does not have.”⁴⁶ Both the image of the hypocrite, who is female [*eine frömmelnde Heuchlerin*], and the charge of deceit feminize the work further, evoking an eighteenth-century stereotype according to which women were uniquely skilled at dissimulation.⁴⁷ Endorsing Forkel’s verdict at the end of the century, Karl Spazier adds his own gendered critique and also magnifies the earlier writer’s worries about the effect on audiences: “Everything in [Pergolesi] is weak [*weichlich*], and beyond that not free from mistakes in the harmony and part-writing (as concerns the working-out of the voices). However, that which is weak, sweet, melting, or melodious is precisely that which excites uneducated ears most easily, and wins female [*weibliche*] hearts especially (one can no doubt also say, effeminate [*weibische*] male hearts).”⁴⁸ The *Stabat Mater* degrades taste not simply by being feminine, but by pandering to feminine sensibilities, encouraging men and women to indulge in a purely affective, unthinking, womanly response to music. To these criticisms should be added that of the Italian pedagogue Padre Martini, whose assertion regarding the *Stabat Mater*—that its style, so similar to that of *La serva padrona*, cannot possibly convey “pious, devout, and contrite sentiments”—Rüter cites as a potential antecedent to Forkel’s accusation of false piety.⁴⁹ The context for the judgment is a polemic in which, as Gino

Stefani points out, Martini uses gendered terms to oppose appropriate and inappropriate forms of sacred music.⁵⁰ He writes that the church, “having introduced since the first centuries a serious, simple song [*Canto*] worthy of praising the majesty of the Father, cannot tolerate a weak, effeminate, and flattering song, which is that of our modern music.”⁵¹ Into which category he puts the *Stabat Mater* becomes clear when he characterizes it as “delicate and gracious,” feminizing adjectives he applies elsewhere to “modern” music.⁵²

As Martini's comments suggest, the varying reactions to the *Stabat Mater* reflect disagreement about the purpose of religious music. Not surprisingly, supporters of the work viewed emotional engagement as the means through which worshippers gain access to the sacred. What matters to Heinse, in Ruiters's words, is “that the listener as individual is so strongly moved by a composition that the way to metaphysical experience is opened to him.”⁵³ The music's failure to represent the metaphysical poses no difficulty, for its goal is to move rather than to awe. Similar assumptions underpin the praise offered by French commentators and the pedagogue Antonio Eximeno, who celebrate the *Stabat Mater* entirely for its emotional effectiveness. Yet it was Eximeno's enthusiasm that provoked Martini, who insisted that music evoke the “majesty” of God.⁵⁴ This view finds echo elsewhere, for example in Johann Friedrich Reichardt, who argues that music can have no higher aim than “to paint in a lively and soul-penetrating manner the greatness, majesty, and all-powerfulness of God and his magnificent living nature around us; and then the wondering, stunned, sinking soul cries out with sweet force, ‘God is love!’”⁵⁵ Rather than lead emotionally enthralled listeners toward the divine, music confronts them with its magnificence and inspires submission. The task is best accomplished through a “simplicity” that Martini associates with chant and its contrapuntal elaboration, and Reichardt with homophonic and polyphonic choral writing as well as “song-like” solos and duets.⁵⁶ The *Stabat Mater* cannot satisfy their expectations. While it avoids, for the most part, the “luxuriant aria-like” style that Reichardt criticizes, its intimacy and operatic sentimentality do not measure up to a demand for simple grandeur.

Yet differing conceptions of church music did not by themselves polarize the *Stabat Mater*'s reception. The feminizing rhetoric of both positive and negative evaluations points toward broader concerns regarding the moral and social influence of women. Eighteenth-century debate on this issue is complex, but even an outline helps clarify why the ostensible gender of Pergolesi's music would have triggered so much comment. A large literature of conduct books and other writings urged women to become “custodians of religion and morality,” guiding the behavior of

others with their example of chastity and other virtues.⁵⁷ In Richardson's hands the sentimental novel conveyed a similar message, identifying women with a moral righteousness that in Pamela's case actually succeeds in reforming her importunate antagonist, "Mr. B." Yet Pamela's influence, significantly, extends only to the domestic realm, which the conduct literature likewise defined as the proper domain of women. Men ruled the arenas of government, commerce, and public discourse, and women who trespassed provoked controversy, among them salonnières and the women who were executed during the French Revolution for (among other things) being thought to have too much political power.⁵⁸ Public women upset the social order, and by so doing undermined masculinity. As Todd summarizes Rousseau, the most influential proponent of separate realms for the sexes, "In one formulation the female qualities posited are highly valued and they must act on male society to make all form an orderly, harmonious community. In another, however, they are to be feared and avoided by men; male dominance is enjoined and women are regarded as simply contingent beings whose qualities, if allowed influence, would emasculate, cripple, and effeminately socialize men."⁵⁹ Rousseau's *Emile* (1762) inveighs equally against women who seek public agency, and men who assume feminine characteristics, especially "those little flatterers" who in seeking to ingratiate themselves with women "dishonor both their own sex and the one they imitate." Too much affinity for feminine coquetry or emotionalism obstructs the male imperative to "will and be able," to please "by the sole fact of his strength."⁶⁰

Pergolesi's critics seem to have viewed the *Stabat Mater* as analogous to a public woman, endangering masculinity by inducing large numbers of listeners to identify with beauty and emotion rather than sublimity and action. Forkel and Spazier betray the greatest concern with their complaints about the work's deception of the inexperienced and appeal to "effeminate male hearts." They join a chorus of disapproval with which North German writers greeted the homophony and melodiousness of the galant style that Pergolesi represents, which they accused of contributing to an "effeminate turn" in later eighteenth-century music generally.⁶¹ Other reactions to the *Stabat Mater* evince similar if less bluntly expressed worries about the feminization of listeners, including Martini's pronouncements against "effeminate song" and the efforts of revisers and arrangers to inject the work with new sublimity. Whether by making the ending more emphatic, or by introducing new images of salvation as Klopstock does, they bring the *Stabat Mater* closer to the ideal of church music favored by Martini and Reichardt, for whom it was to conjure a powerful and majestic Father.

Most of the revisions, in fact, tend to masculinize the work in one way or another. In addition to heightening the sublimity of the text, for example, Klopstock also reduces the role of the Virgin Mary; he uses the opening duet to describe Jesus on the cross rather than the mother beside it,⁶² and thereafter treats her as an important bystander rather than as a focus for identification and supplication. He could hardly have done otherwise, given his desire to create a text suitable for Protestant use, but the result turns attention away from female sainthood and toward male divinity. The Catholic Vogler makes subtler but no less significant changes to the music, not only replacing both fugal movements (“*Fac ut ardeat*” and “*Amen*”) with larger, more imposing four-voice structures, but also “updating” other movements to conform with a “modern” compositional ideal emphasizing regularity and order. As Floyd K. Grave describes, in matters of rhythm and phrasing “Vogler rejects all manner of displacement and nonregular patterning in favor of a stable, predictable, and periodic organization of movement,” while in harmony he clarifies tonal goals, criticizes the use of keys too far removed from the tonic, and in some instances reduces the dissonances resulting from Pergolesi’s frequent suspensions and pedal points.⁶³ Among the passages affected are several that contribute centrally to the emotional intensity of the original work, which Vogler in each case diminishes. Thus in the opening duet, he replaces the last limping cadence of the orchestra, so evocative of the expressive tonal deceptions of earlier, with a louder, rhythmically livelier, deception-free, and in his words “much more decisive” ending adapted from the orchestral ritornello (see Ex. 3; the new cadence is based on mm. 9–10 of Pergolesi).⁶⁴ To similar effect, he reverses the short-long rhythms of “*Cujus animam gementem*” so as to eliminate the unsettling syncopations; exchanges the ominous and, to his ear, “offensive” chromatic unisons surrounding the voice in “*Eia mater*” (see Ex. 5) for a decidedly inoffensive dialogue on the main theme; and alters the deceptive submediant near the end of “*Quando corpus morietur*” (see Ex. 7b, m. 26) to a less disorienting tonic in first inversion.⁶⁵ Taken together with the enrichment of the texture through newly animated inner parts,⁶⁶ this “modernizing” of the work makes it seem fuller, more active, more focused on long-range tonal goals than on details of the text. By the same token, the Virgin and her supplicants appear less agonized, less tentative, less subject to emotional buffeting—in short, less feminine.

Power

Given the discomfort it caused critics and arrangers, the “femininity” of the *Stabat Mater* might be thought to have made a progressive contribution to

eighteenth-century discourse on gender. No amount of criticism ever checked its popularity, and thus the work encouraged generations of listeners to associate femininity with compassion, devotion, and perseverance in the face of trial. It did so, moreover, in public and in sacred spaces, lifting the veil of domesticity behind which feminine virtue normally labored. No longer relegated to the home, the virtuous woman garnered broad social respect through Pergolesi's idealization of her qualities.

Praise of feminine virtue, however, seems invariably to cut two ways. For some eighteenth-century women, Rousseau's definition of their responsibilities "seemed to offer a new power and dignity," granting them a tangible if limited sphere of influence and validating the devotion, obedience, and patience they were expected to show as mothers and wives.⁶⁷ But by the end of the century Mary Wollstonecraft would refer to these same qualities as "negative virtues," instruments of a sex that would benefit more from acquiring the masculine capacities for reason and action.⁶⁸ Without specifically addressing the Virgin Mary, she is particularly critical of the one feminine quality that most appealed to Marian devotees, the capacity for forgiveness. "No representation of [God's] goodness so strongly fastens on the human affections as those that represent him abundant in mercy," but a woman's mercy represents only "the submissive demeanor of dependence . . . smiling under the lash at which it dare not snarl."⁶⁹ The words are too strong for the Virgin, whom all believed to possess real influence in heaven. Still, how much agency can she truly have if, as Liguori claimed, she cannot deny any prayer? Destined always to forgive, she obeys the supplicant as dutifully as the ideal eighteenth-century wife obeys her husband. The text of the *Stabat Mater* disempowers her further, trapping her in the gaze of the narrator and limiting her self-expression to gestures of weeping and trembling. And if Pergolesi's setting provides some liberation, diminishing the narrator's presence by enhancing the emotional immediacy of the subject, it also introduces new constraints by inviting such intimate identification with the physical aspects of emotion. Praying to the Virgin becomes a matter of marching with her steps, shuddering to her pain, pausing in her denial—in other words, inhabiting her body, and thus breaching a fundamental boundary of identity. For all that sympathetic listeners fell under the sway of her feminine emotion, they did so knowing that its power would not punish them, and that its source would not exceed the visual, vocal, and bodily parameters set by the narrator and by the listeners themselves.

Other representations of femininity pose similar contradictions, among them, not surprisingly, the sentimental novels that helped promulgate eighteenth-century feminine ideals. For Terry Eagleton, Richardson's *Clarissa* captures the paradoxical result of contemporaneous English

efforts both to privilege and to control “‘womanly’ qualities” like tenderness and pity, so that Clarissa, despite exemplifying “free affections” and virtue, falls victim to “a still vigorous patriarchal tyranny” represented by her unbending father and the rapist Lovelace.⁷⁰ Historically further afield but no less relevant, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century laments seem also to have sent mixed messages as they negotiated what Tim Carter describes, following Wendy Heller, as a “need to admire and respond to female eloquence coexisting with an exhortation in favor of female silence.”⁷¹ Suzanne G. Cusick emphasizes the latter in her compelling interpretation of Monteverdi’s *Lamento d’Arianna* as a “self-chastening” in which the heroine masters her eloquently rendered passions in order to acquiesce quietly to “filial piety and conventional morality.”⁷² Yet Carter and others find evidence in the dramatic, performative, and musical contexts of the work that lamenting may not have subdued Arianna and other women quite so completely.⁷³ Most provocatively, Jeanice Brooks argues that in widows’ laments of sixteenth-century France, the emphasis on the familiar feminine virtue of constancy allowed the subjects to assume some of the male power of those they mourned. “The lament, through its public unfolding of ostensibly private grief, provided a real and representational arena for women to assume a species of narrative control. The power accorded to women in such contexts can be gauged by the palpable distrust with which some contemporaries approached the subject.”⁷⁴ This is the same distrust, one suspects, that motivated critics of the *Stabat Mater*. However “weak” they deemed Pergolesi’s music to be, and however constrained its heroine, still the public praise of womanly virtue, broadcast in what they heard as a feminine musical voice, constituted a threat.

The passage of time has not diminished the political ambiguity of Pergolesi’s work. What it means today, as a perennial subject for recordings and Lenten performance, would require a separate reception history to understand, but the Kristeva essay quoted above runs into some familiar problems when the author links the work to a new feminine ethics. In a trenchant analysis of the Virgin Mary and her power, Kristeva identifies paradoxes similar to those discussed above: the Virgin gives birth to God but owes fealty to him; reigns as Queen of Heaven but kneels before her son; enjoys the privilege of being without sin but renounces her body to remain so.⁷⁵ Yet such contradictions are not what Kristeva hears in Pergolesi. Critical of the Christian reduction of femininity to maternity, she nevertheless seeks to defend motherhood against feminist attacks and so envisions a “herethics” based on qualities she associates with the maternal, “that which in life makes bonds, thoughts, and therefore the thought of death, bearable: herethics is undeath, love” (263). Faced with his own mortality, Pergolesi reached for the mother and enabled himself to live on by

creating an enduring expression of her love: “the young Pergolesi . . . was dying of tuberculosis when he wrote his immortal *Stabat Mater* . . . Man overcomes the unthinkable of death by postulating maternal love in its place” (252).⁷⁶ Of special importance is that his expressive media, the tones and rhythms of music, belong to “the subtle gamut of sound, touch, and visual traces” through which mothers communicate, “older than language and newly worked out” (253). In other words, the *Stabat Mater* belongs to Kristeva’s category of the “semiotic,” associated elsewhere in her work with poetic language,⁷⁷ but in this essay with “the extralinguistic regions of the unnamable . . . the tremendous territory on this and that side of the parenthesis of language” (250; see also 249). Pergolesi’s music sounds forth from this domain to represent the power of herethics, countering, in Kristeva’s exhilarating final sentence, an earlier lamented tendency of Freud to objectify maternity by collecting statuettes of mother goddesses. “*Eia mater, fons amoris*. . . . So let us again listen to the *Stabat Mater*, and the music, all the music . . . it swallows up the goddesses and removes their necessity” (263; ellipses in the original). Her ellipses encourage readers literally to hear Pergolesi, to imagine the silences in the text being filled by the sounds of the *Stabat Mater*. As language breaks down, music swells forth to enfold the reader/listener in the wordless and timeless embrace of the mother.

Like eighteenth-century resentment of Pergolesi’s “femininity,” this celebration of maternal warmth in the *Stabat Mater* may suggest that its political import is feminist. After all, Kristeva sees the “semiotic” opposing and subverting the “symbolic,” the paternal world of law and language, and her interpretation gives the *Stabat Mater* an important role in the contest between domains. Yet again there are complications, most importantly the echoes of traditional gendered binarisms in Kristeva’s categories. Despite her valorization of motherhood, identifying it with the embodied expression of unconditional love opens the way to the same kind of coercion that Liguori practiced on the Virgin Mary. How much agency can a mother have when, lacking the critical faculty of language, she can respond to pleas for immortality only with a physical embrace? As Judith Butler notes, effective power remains in the hands of the symbolic, whose linguistic certainties define even the loving bonds and nonverbal communications that ostensibly undermine them: “The law that is said to repress the semiotic may well be the governing principle of the semiotic itself, with the result that what passes as ‘maternal instinct’ may well be a culturally constructed desire which is interpreted through a naturalistic vocabulary.”⁷⁸

Pergolesi does not escape this conundrum; he does not exalt maternity so far as to shift the terms of debate. If he did, the *Stabat Mater* could

never have become one of Western culture's most beloved representations of feminine virtue, whose strength and weakness it captures with equal fidelity. Its beauty, melancholy, and unabashed sentimentality exert undeniable power, drawing listeners into a world where compassion and endurance matter more than judgment or redemption. And at the same time, by giving listeners such an active role, allowing them to sympathize with feeling rather than tremble before sublimity, the inviting strains of Pergolesi's music let the power of virtue pass from she who embodies it to those who would use it.

Notes

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1. "Ne fait-il pas rouler les larmes?" Jean François Marmontel, *Mercur de France* (Sep. 1778); quoted in Sylvie Mamy, "Le *Stabat Mater* au Concert spirituel," in *Studi Pergolesiani* 3, ed. Francesco Degrada (Scandicci: Nuova Italia, 1999), 241.
2. Helmut Hucke, "Vivaldis *Stabat Mater*," in *Vivaldi Veneziano Europeo*, ed. Francesco Degrada (Firenze: Olschki, 1980), 52; Degrada, "Lo *Stabat Mater* di Pergolesi e la parafrasi *Tilge Höchster meine Sünden* di Johann Sebastian Bach," in *Studi Pergolesiani* 2, ed. Francesco Degrada (Firenze: Nuova Italia, 1988), 174.
3. Recent studies include Keiichi Kubota, "Über die musikalische 'Empfindsamkeit,'" *Die Musikforschung* 39 (1986): 139–48; Gerhard Sauder, "Die empfindsamen Tendenzen in der Musikkultur nach 1750," in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und die europäische Musikkultur des mittleren 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1990), 41–64; and Darrell M. Berg, "C. Ph. E. Bach und die 'empfindsame Weise,'" in the same volume, 93–105.
4. Mary Hunter, "Pamela: The Offspring of Richardson's Heroine in Eighteenth-Century Opera," *Mosaic* 18, no. 4 (1985): 61–76; Edmund J. Goehring, "The Sentimental Muse of *opera buffa*," in *Opera buffa in Mozart's Vienna*, ed. Mary Hunter and James Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 115–45; Jessica Waldoff, "Sentiment and Sensibility in *La vera costanza*," in *Haydn Studies*, ed. W. Dean Sutcliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 70–119.
5. For sources, see the edition by Jürgen Neubacher (Mainz: Eulenburg, 1992), as well as *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, Ser. A/I, *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, vol. 6 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), 439–40, and Ser. A/II, *Music Manuscripts after 1600* (Baltimore: National Information Services Corporation, online resource accessed 8 Dec. 2003). On performances, Protestant adaptations, and other evidence of the work's fame, see Mamy, "Le *Stabat Mater* au Concert spirituel," 234–37; Degrada, "Lo *Stabat Mater* di Pergolesi," 155–56; Hucke, "Pergolesi in der Musikgeschichte oder: Wie groß war Pergolesi?" in *Studi Pergolesiani* 2, 16–18; and Jacob de Ruiter, "Wahre Kirchenmusik oder Heuchelei? Zur Rezeption des 'Stabat Mater' von Pergolesi in Deutschland bis 1820," *Die Musikforschung* 43 (1990): 1–2.

6. Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression*, 2nd ed. (London, 1753), 94nt. Reception histories of the *Stabat Mater* are discussed below.
7. Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 27; on Marianism generally, see W. Reginald Ward, *Christianity under the Ancien Régime, 1648–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 51–52, 232–35.
8. The earliest documentation regarding the commission is Carlo Antonio de Rosa, Marchese di Villarosa, *Lettera biografica intorno alla patria ed alla vita di Gio: Battista Pergolesi celebre Compositore di Musica* (Naples: Fibreno, 1831), 25–27. The parallel passage from the 2nd ed. (1843, with slight differences in wording) is quoted and discussed in Degrada, “Lo *Stabat Mater* di Pergolesi,” 179–80nt.
9. Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 103.
10. “wie er . . . die Geißel ergreift, und gleichsam nicht satt werden kann, sich blutrünstig zu machen und zu zerfleischen”; Christoph Martin Wieland, “Der alte Kirchengesang, *Stabat Mater*, zur bekannten Komposition des Pergolesi, in gleichartige Reimen übertragen” (1781), *Wielands gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 12, ed. Wilhelm Kurrelmeyer (Berlin: Weidmann, 1935), 397.
11. Winfried Kirsch, *Palestrina und die Kirchenmusik im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2, *Das Palestrina-Bild und die Idee der “Wahren Kirchenmusik” im Schrifttum von ca. 1750 bis um 1900: Eine kommentierte Dokumentation* (Kassel: Bosse, 1999), 222–24.
12. On the relationship between Scarlatti’s and Pergolesi’s works, see Hermine H. Williams, “The *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*: A Comparison of Settings by Alessandro Scarlatti and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi,” in *Studi Pergolesiani* 2, 144–54.
13. Alphonsus de Liguori, *Selected Writings*, ed. Frederick M. Jones (New York: Paulist Press, 1999), 243.
14. John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 61; see also 74–75, 112–13.
15. Mamy, “Le *Stabat Mater* au Concert spirituel,” 238.
16. Julia Kristeva, “*Stabat Mater*,” in *Tales of Love*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 251.
17. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie, or the New Heloise*, trans. Philip Stewart and Jean Vaché (Hanover: Dartmouth College and University Press of New England, 1997), 167.
18. Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986), 8.
19. As Daniel Hertz notes, beginning with “Vidit suum dulcem natum” Pergolesi reprises the key sequence of his first four movements (F minor–C minor–G minor–E-flat major); *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style 1720–1780* (New York: Norton, 2003), 122. The respective movements in G and E-flat do not share the musical and affective similarities that those in F and C do, but the parallel nevertheless draws a further connection between the descriptive and supplicatory halves of the text.
20. Hucke, “Vivaldis *Stabat Mater*,” 52.

21. Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 58–59; Mary Hunter, “Rousseau, the Countess, and the Female Domain,” in *Mozart Studies 2*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 16–18; Stefano Castelvocchi, “Sentimental and Anti-Sentimental in *Le nozze di Figaro*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 16–19.
22. Alfonso Mariade' Liguori, *The Glories of Mary*, ed. Robert A. Coffin (London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1868; repr. Rockford, IL: Tan, 1977), 62–68.
23. “Wie sinnvoll, daß das Amen, nach dem alles schon beschlossen ist, noch in sich selbst klingt und spielt, und in herzlicher Rührung kein Ende finden kann; sich gleichsam vor dem Trocknen der Tränen fürchtet, und sich im Schluchzen noch fühlen will”; Ludwig Tieck, *Phantastus* (1812–16), *Schriften in zwölf Bänden*, vol. 6, ed. Manfred Frank (Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1985), 696.
24. “Daß dereinst wir, wenn im Tode/Wir entschlafen, dann zusammen,/Droben unsere Brüder sehn.” Klopstock's text is reprinted and discussed in Magda Marx-Weber, “Parodie als Beispiel dichterischer Anpassung an Musik: Klopstocks deutscher Text zu Pergolesis *Stabat Mater*,” in *Studien zum deutschen weltlichen Kunstlied des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Gudrun Busch and Anthony J. Harper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), 269–86.
25. *Johann Baptist Pergolese vollständige Passionsmusik zum Stabat Mater, mit der Klopstockischen Parodie; in der Harmonie verbessert, mit Oboen und Flöten verstärkt, und auf vier Singstimmen gebracht von Johann Adam Hiller* (Leipzig: Dykische Buchhandlung, 1776). On Hiller's setting and its influence, see Ruiters, “Zur Rezeption des ‘Stabat Mater’ von Pergolesi,” 11–12.
26. “Ob der Ausdruck, welcher vom Sterben *quando corpus morietur*, im nämlichen Gelaise zur himmlischen Freude, *paradisi gloria*, unverändert fortschreitet, zu billigen ist, wollen wir nicht untersuchen”; Georg Joseph Vogler, *Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule*, 3 vols. (Mannheim, 1778–81; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1974, with vol. 4, *Gegenstände der Betrachtungen*), 3:237–38. All references are to the new pagination in the reprint edition.
27. *Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule*, 4:509–11.
28. Pergolesi, *Stabat Mater*, ed. Neubacher, xi.
29. In Pergolesi, “Quando corpus morietur” and the “Amen” counter the quick tempo, syncopated rhythms, and major key of the preceding movement, “Inflammatum et accensum.” Bach's reordering produces a quite different sequence of affects: “Quando corpus morietur” (F minor)—“Inflammatum et accensum” (B-flat major)—“Amen” (F minor)—“Amen” (F major). See the edition by Andreas Glöckner, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe I/41* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000).
30. *An Ode of Mr. Pope's Adapted to the Principal Airs of the Hymn Stabat Mater, Compos'd by Signor Pergolesi* (London: Walsh, n.d.).
31. “beaucoup plus grand et plus énergique”; *Journal de Paris* (15 Apr. 1781); the entire review is reprinted in Haydn, *Stabat Mater*, ed. Marianne Helms and Fred Stoltzfus, *Joseph Haydn: Werke XXII/1* (Munich: Henle, 1993), 194.
32. G. G. Brunetti also considered the music of Pergolesi's “Quando corpus morietur” to be appropriate for this moment in the *Stabat Mater*, adopting its key, melodic incipit, and accompanimental texture for his aria “Fac me tecum pie flere”; see Paolo Peretti, “Due *Stabat Mater* di Giovanni Gualberto Brunetti (1764) e di Antonio Brunetti

- (1825) 'ad imitazione dell'esimio Sig. Pergolesi,'” *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 29 (1994): 423.
33. “macht gegen den vorhergehenden Satz einen so auffallenden Kontrast, daß man sich aus dem Orkus plötzlich ins Elysium versetzt zu sein glaubt”; *Musikalische Realzeitung* (2 Sep. 1789): col. 276; reprinted in *Haydn Werke* XXII/1, 198.
34. Reported in the chronicle of the Piarist Church of Maria Treu, in the Josephstadt; see *Haydn Werke* XXII/1, viii.
35. “In der Wonne Paradiese,/Droben, wo die Krone strahlt”; Marx-Weber, “Klopstocks deutscher Text zu Pergolesis *Stabat Mater*,” 285.
36. Liguori, *The Glories of Mary*, 223.
37. Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Knopf, 1976), 316.
38. “Ufizio di Maria è il pregar Dio per noi, l'interdecere per noi e non già il comandare”; *Opere di Lodovico Antonio Muratori*, ed. Giorgio Falco and Fiorenzo Forti (Milan: Ricciardi, 1964), 949.
39. “imitazione delle sue insigni virtù . . . la sua umiltà, la sua purità, la sua pazienza, la carità verso tutti e l'ardente suo amore di Dio”; *Opere di Lodovico Antonio Muratori*, 947. On the Liguori-Muratori debate, see Frederick M. Jones, *Alphonsus de Liguori, The Saint of Bourbon Naples 1696–1787* (Goldenbridge, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1992), 266–74.
40. “was der Deutsche kann, wenn er will; wie er, wenn die Riesenkraft seines Genius einmal in ihm erwacht, festen Trittes auf der Bahn des Ruhms neben dem stolzen Ausländer einhergeht und auf dem Kampfplatz der Ehre ihm den Sieg streitig macht”; *Musikalische Realzeitung* (24 June 1789), col. 200; reprinted in *Haydn Werke* XXII/1, 197.
41. *Musikalische Realzeitung* (2 Sep. 1789), col. 277; reprinted in *Haydn Werke* XXII/1, 199.
42. Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 74–75.
43. See the many commentaries excerpted in Mamy, “Le *Stabat Mater* au Concert spirituel,” 240–42.
44. “Es ist kein großer Styl, aber ein äußerst darstellender bis ins Feinste. . . . Sein Genie . . . war von geringem Umfang, und nicht von großer Kraft und Stärke”; Wilhelm Heinse, *Hildegard von Hohenthal* (1795–96), in *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Carl Schüddekopf, vol. 5 (Leipzig: Insel, 1903), 87, 192; quoted in Ruiters, “Zur Rezeption des ‘*Stabat Mater*’ von Pergolesi,” 7. See also Naomi Schor, *Reading in Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine* (New York: Methuen, 1987), 11–22.
45. “‘Gutes Land, Italien,’ sagte sie, ‘aus dir ist doch viel schönes menschliches Gefühl in die andern Erdstriche ausgegangen!’”; Heinse, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 5, 193–94. Heinse’s association of femininity, Italy, and the beautiful has precedent in an early text by Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (1763), trans. John T. Goldthwait (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 76–98.
46. “Die fromme, andächtige Miene, die er diesem Stück zu geben gewußt hat, hintergieng die unerfahrenen Liebhaber wie eine frömmelnde Heuchlerin, und erwarb sich dadurch, ohne innere Würde und Ausdruck der Frömmigkeit zu haben, doch den Lohn derselben”; trans., Johann Nikolaus Forkel, Esteban de Arteaga, *Geschichte der italiänischen*

Oper von ihrem ersten Ursprung an bis auf gegenwärtige Zeiten, trans. Johann Nikolaus Forkel, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1789; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), 2: 18nt.; Ruiter, "Zur Rezeption des 'Stabat Mater,'" 3.

47. Lynn Hunt, "The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution," in *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 112–13.

48. "Alles ist weichlich an ihm, und überdem nicht von harmonischen und Partiturfehlern (was Ausarbeitung der Stimmen betrifft) frey. Das Weichliche, Süße, Schmelzende, Melodieuse ist aber grade das, was ungebildete Ohren am leichtesten anreizt, und insonderheit weibliche (man kann auch wohl sagen, weibische Männer-) Herzen gewinnt"; *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2 (1799–1800), col. 557nt.; Ruiter, "Zur Rezeption des 'Stabat Mater,'" 6. Just prior to this passage, Spazier elaborates on Pergolesi's feminine shortcomings by quoting an anecdote in which the composer Egidio Duni contrasts the "beautiful details" of Pergolesi's opera *L'Olimpiade* with the "grand style" necessary for the stage.

49. Giovanni Battista Martini, *Esemplare, o sia saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto sopra Il canto fermo*, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1774–76; repr. Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press, 1965), 1: viii; Ruiter, "Zur Rezeption des 'Stabat Mater,'" 3.

50. Gino Stefani, "Padre Martini e l'Eximeno: bilancio di una celebre polemica sulla musica di chiesa," *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 3 (1970): 477.

51. "fino da' primi Secoli avendo introdotto un Canto serio, semplice, e degno di lodare la Maestà del Signore, non può tollerare un Canto molle, effeminato, e lusinghiero, qual'è quello della nostra Musica moderna"; Martini, *Esemplare*, 1:vi.

52. Martini, *Esemplare*, 1: vii–viii.

53. Ruiter, "Zur Rezeption des 'Stabat Mater,'" 7.

54. Antonio Eximeno y Pujades, *Dell' origine e delle regole della musica: colla storia del suo progresso, decadenza, e rinnovazione* (Rome, 1774), 263–66; see also Stefani, "Padre Martini e l'Eximeno"; Renate Groth, "La vera musica sarà affatto perduta": Über Kirchenmusik und Kirchenstil in der Italienischen Musiktheorie des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Das musikalische Kunstwerk: Geschichte, Ästhetik, Theorie, Festschrift Carl Dahlhaus zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Hermann Danuser et al. (Laaber: Laaber, 1988), 403–12.

55. "die Größe, Majestät, Allgewalt Gottes und seine herrliche lebende Natur um uns herum lebendiger und seeldurchdringender zu mahlen; und dann der staunenden, betäubten, versinkenden Seele mit süßer Macht zuruft: Gott ist die Liebe!"; Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* 1 (1782): 179.

56. Ruiter, "Zur Rezeption des 'Stabat Mater,'" 4–5.

57. Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 81; see also Todd, *Sensibility*, 18; and, for excerpts from relevant texts, Vivien Jones, ed., *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of Femininity* (London: Routledge, 1990), 14–53.

58. Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 23–28; Mary Seidmann Trouille, *Sexual Politics in the Enlightenment: Women Writers Read Rousseau* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 182–87.

59. Todd, *Sensibility*, 20.

60. Rousseau, *Emile, or On Education*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979), 365, 358. In "Rousseau, the Countess, and the Female Domain," Mary Hunter offers illuminating readings of Rousseau's *La nouvelle Héloïse* and Mozart's *Figaro* within the context of the eighteenth-century ideology of separate spheres.
61. Matthew Head, "'Like Beauty Spots on the Face of a Man': Gender in 18th-Century North-German Discourse on Genre," *Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995): 145–46.
62. "Jesus Christus schwebt' am Kreuze!/Blutig sank sein Haupt herunter,/Blutig in des Todes Nacht" ("Jesus Christ hangs on the cross!/His bloody head sank down,/bloody in the night of death"); Marx-Weber, "Klopstocks deutscher Text zu Pergolesis *Stabat Mater*," 284.
63. Floyd K. Grave, "Abbé Vogler's Revision of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30, no. 1 (Spring 1977): 49, 60–69.
64. Vogler, *Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule*, 1:32, 4:11.
65. Vogler, *Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule*, 3:209, 4:15, 313–15, 501.
66. Grave, "Abbé Vogler's Revision of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*," 50–51.
67. Trouille, *Sexual Politics in the Enlightenment*, 165; see also Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 66–89.
68. Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindications of the Rights of Men; and A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, ed. D. L. MacDonald and Kathleen Scherf (Peterborough, Ontario: Orchard Park, 1997), 174.
69. Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication*, 143.
70. Terry Eagleton, *The Rape of Clarissa: Writing, Sexuality and Class Struggle in Samuel Richardson* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), 15–16. See the still more pessimistic view in Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability*, 67–68.
71. Tim Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?" *Early Music* 27, no. 3 (1999): 402.
72. Suzanne G. Cusick, "'There Was Not One Lady Who Failed To Shed a Tear': Arianna's Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," *Early Music* 22, no. 1 (1994): 26, 36.
73. Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?"; Anne MacNeil, "Weeping at the Water's Edge," *Early Music* 27, no. 3 (1999): 407–17; Jeanice Brooks, "Catherine de Médicis, *nouvelle Artémise*: Women's Laments and the Virtue of Grief," *Early Music* 27, no. 3 (1999): 419–48. The debate is also discussed in Suzanne Aspden, "Ariadne's Clew: Politics, Allegory, and Opera in London (1734)," *Musical Quarterly* 85, no. 4 (2001): 735–36.
74. Brooks, "Women's Laments and the Virtue of Grief," 431.
75. Kristeva, "Stabat Mater," 257–59. Further page references in the text.
76. The tradition that Pergolesi composed the *Stabat Mater* as his "swan-song" also comes from Villarosa (see note 8 above).
77. Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, trans. Margaret Walker (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); see also the critique in Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1999), 101–19.
78. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 116.