

# Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* in Sweden, 1747–1809

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## Abstract

The first performances of G. B. Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* in Sweden—among the earliest instances north of the Alps—took place in the late 1740s. The work was then adapted in a distinctively Lutheran way, with the Latin sequence replaced by a Swedish Christological text as well as the incorporation of pronouncedly Lutheran hymns as integral parts of the work. Some movements were also arranged for a four-part chorus. This adapted *Stabat mater* was then performed annually well into the nineteenth century. The article provides details of the performances of *Stabat mater* in Sweden, with a focus on Stockholm, with its dominant musical position in the eighteenth century. In addition to printed programs and newspaper advertisements, information drawn from the substantial number of surviving music manuscripts has been considered. The article discusses the remarkable longevity of performances of *Stabat mater* in Sweden. Besides the more often-discussed context of the emerging public concert, it highlights the role of other institutions—such as the Freemasons—in maintaining the tradition of *Stabat mater* performances on Good Friday, despite growing opposition and demands for renewal.

**Keywords:** Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, eighteenth-century music, Freemasons, concert life, Lutheran music

## Introduction

Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* held a prominent place in the concert repertoire of eighteenth-century Stockholm, as it did in many cities north of the Alps.<sup>1</sup> *Stabat mater*'s role in Swedish musical life, however, can be distinguished from that of other parts of Europe by the longevity of its popularity and frequency of performance. The work was also adapted in a distinctively Lutheran way. The Latin text was replaced by a Swedish Christological text, and a number of pronouncedly Lutheran hymns were incorporated as integral parts of the work.

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1 See list of preserved manuscripts in European libraries in Meci 2019, pp. 180–244.

In Sweden, as in other parts of Europe, *Stabat mater* was predominantly performed within the context of the emerging public concert.<sup>2</sup> In Stockholm, the first public concerts in the early 1730s were concentrated within the Lenten periods when no other public entertainment was allowed. These concerts mainly consisted of sacred musical works, often referred to as “spiritual musique”. A distinct and significant part of this spiritual music was the recurring “passion music”; repertoires that retold or alluded to the passion of Christ. A contributory cause of the emergence of passion concerts was an opposition to elaborate music with instruments (*figuralmusik*) in churches during Lent, already prohibited by the Church Law of 1686.<sup>3</sup> The question was still topical in the 1730s, as is shown by a church-ordinance proposal in which elaborate church music was banned during the Lenten period.<sup>4</sup> Instead, this music was performed outside of the churches’ regular worship life, in passion concerts, often concentrated to the period from the fifth Sunday in Lent to Good Friday. Although Pergolesi’s *Stabat mater* was not the only work performed within the frame of passion concerts, it was by far the most frequently performed. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, *Stabat mater* could be considered more or less equivalent to the very notion of passion music. In 1802, Carl Envallsson, in his music dictionary, defined passion music as a “kind of oratorio, whose subject concerns the sufferings of Christ and which is performed during Lent, particularly on Good Friday. In Sweden, the music of Pergolesi or Graun has been exhausting the public for a long time.”<sup>5</sup>

The present article provides details of Pergolesi’s *Stabat mater* from the first performance and its subsequent history, with a focus on Stockholm, which dominated music life in Sweden in the eighteenth century. It also discusses the issue of the work’s remarkable longevity in Sweden. For this survey, different types of extant source material have been used: surviving printed programs, advertisements, and reviews in newspapers. In addition, a large number of music manuscripts of relevance have survived in Swedish libraries.<sup>6</sup> They display different chronological layers connected to specific performances and give additional details to the long history of *Stabat mater* from its first performances in the late 1740s until 1809, when Joseph Haydn’s *The Creation* replaced Pergolesi’s work at the Good Friday concerts in Stockholm.

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2 As in other parts of Europe, see Luin 1943, Pierre 1975, Ruiter 1990, Saby 2018, Wilcox 2018, and Meci 2019.

3 Kyrkio-Lag och Ordning som then Stormächtigste Konung och Herre Herr CARL then Elofte Sweriges Göthes och Wändes Konung &c. Åhr 1686. hafwer låtit författa och Åhr 1687 af Trycket utgå och publicera. Jemte ther til hörige Stadgar, chapter 13, under the heading of singing in the church (“Om kyrkosång”): “Ifrån Fastelagz Söndag, in til Påskedagen, innehålles med all Music.” [“From Lenten Sunday until Easter Sunday all music shall be withdrawn”]. See also Hülphers 1773, pp. 198–199.

4 Kyrkio-ordning, til riksens högloflige ständers öfwerseende och gillande, Stockholm: Horn, 1736.

5 “Et slags Oratorium, hvars ämne angår Kristi lidande, och som uppföres under fastlagen, i synnerhet långfredagen. I Sveriget har man länge slipat med PERGOLESES eller GRAUNS musik”, Envallsson 1802, p. 247. Graun’s *Der Tod Jesu* had replaced *Stabat mater* in the years 1797–1800. All translations of Swedish texts throughout the article stem from the author.

6 The most significant are found in S-Skma KO/Sv.-R, S-Skma KO/Sv.-Rr saml., Alströmer saml. 163:20, S-Skma Ro:62c, S-Skma Ro 86c, S-Skma Ro:93, S-Uu Vok. mus. i hs. 129:2, 63:3, S-K Ms.Mus.11, S-L Engelhardt 523, 701, and music manuscripts in S-Sfo.

## The First Performance in Stockholm 1749

The earliest performance of Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* in its entirety in Sweden took place in Stockholm in 1749, as evidenced by an extant dated printed program.<sup>7</sup> This seems to be the oldest known preserved program from a performance of Pergolesi's entire work north of the Alps.<sup>8</sup> It includes an adaptation of the text in Swedish (see Appendix II).<sup>9</sup> The new Swedish text follows the standards of Lutheran poetical texts of the period, though the identity of the writer has not been established. Although clearly Marian, the *Stabat mater* sequence was probably not known as inherently Catholic in Lutheran regions. It had not been used as a standard text in Catholic services for a long period, as it was excluded from the Catholic liturgy in the mid-sixteenth century at the Council of Trent and not revived until 1727 by Pope Benedict XIII.<sup>10</sup> As such, the rationale for using a new text was not solely based on anti-Catholic considerations.

The fact that the text was written in Swedish was also an important issue. During the late seventeenth century, language use in general was debated in multi-lingual Sweden, and authorities advocated for the primacy of Swedish.<sup>11</sup> Within the Church, the church-ordinance proposal of 1734 stipulated that not only hymns and liturgical music but also elaborate music (*figuralmusik*) should be in the language of each congregation.<sup>12</sup> The benefit of using the Swedish language in sacred music was advocated by the master of the Swedish Royal Chapel, Johan Helmich Roman (1694–1758). In the preface to the Swedish translation (1731) of extracts of Benedetto Marcello's *Estro poetico-armonico*, Roman wrote:

The main aim which we try to accomplish, is that preferably it is not necessary in spiritual music hereafter to use the foreign tongue, which renders but little devotion and attention from those who cannot master the language.<sup>13</sup>

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7 Jesu Christi Guds sons och människoslåktets frälsares bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse, Stockholm: Lars Salvius 1749.

8 Surviving music manuscripts show, however, that *Stabat mater* had been performed earlier in Germany and England. Meci 2019, Appendices 1–111.

9 While the Walsh London edition retained the original Latin text, in German-speaking areas the Latin text was generally replaced by German translation or free verse, as in Johann Sebastian Bach's adaptation *Tilge, Höchstes, meine Sünden*. D-B Mus. ms. 30199, Mus. ms. 17155/16 (parts). Platen 1961, Nott 1992, Melamed 1995, p. 29. Glöckner (ed.) 2000, pp. 85–110.

10 Caldwell and Boyd 2001.

11 Hansson 1984, Telemann 2002, pp. 9–24.

12 “[N]är elliäst Musique anställes, bör thet ske på hwars och ens Församlings modersmål”. Kyrkio-ordning, til riksens höglöflige ständers öfwerseende och gillande, Stockholm: Horn, 1736. See Morin 1944, p. 146.

13 ”Upsåtet därmed är förnämligast at söka åstadkomma, det man hälst uti Andelig Musique intet må hädanefters behöfwa widare bruka fremmande Tungomåhl, hwilket föga Andacht och upmärksamhet förorsaka kan hos dem som eij Språket nog mächtige äro”, Utdrag af venetianske patritiens Giustiniani berömda poetiska arbete öfwer konung Dawids psalmer, som på svenska öfversatt, kommer med den af patritien Marcelli därtill gjorde härliga musique, at med sång och instrumenter upföras i Stockholm, Stockholm: Peter Jör. Nyström, 1731.

In the 1740s, Roman was working on an essay concerning the benefit of using Swedish texts for sacred music.<sup>14</sup> Roman was behind the initiative when the Academy of Sciences arranged a concert in October 1747. The aim was to show how the Swedish language could be used in church music, in the same way as German or Latin.<sup>15</sup> Roman was likely also the writer of an article in the periodical *Lärda Tidningar*, referring to this concert, arguing that church music in the mother tongue encourages the congregation's devotion.<sup>16</sup>

The Swedish text applied to *Stabat mater* follows the original text in the main, with the marked difference that the grieving mother Mary, the main character in the Latin sequence, is completely excluded and the focus is entirely on Christ's suffering on the cross. The new text is clearly in line with other passion literature, highlighting the corporal aspects of Christ's suffering and his tormented and blood-sweating body.<sup>17</sup> Two extracts can illustrate this:

**Stabat mater, fourth and last stanza**

Quae moerebat et dolebat,  
et tremebat, cum videbat  
nati poenas incliti.  
[Who mourned and grieved  
and trembled looking  
at the torment of her glorious child.]

Quando corpus morietur,  
fac ut animae donetur  
paradisi gloria.  
[When my body dies,  
grant that to my soul is given  
the glory of paradise.]

**Swedish translation 1749, fourth and last stanza**

När Guds vrede Jesum tuktar,  
darrand' han till jorden buktar,  
ängslas, kväljes, svettas blod.  
[When the wrath of God chastises Jesus,  
he bows trembling to the earth,  
suffering, tormented, sweating blood.]

Giv då, när jag skall avlida,  
att jag i din sår' och sida  
stilla, nöjd och saligt dör!  
[Grant that, when I shall die,  
in your wound and side  
I quietly, contentedly and blissfully die.]

The theme of the healing power of Christ's blood and the ultimate wish is to die in his wounds also appears in the opening chorale: "Help me that I now can descend into your deep holy wounds, where I can have life and health".<sup>18</sup> This emotionally charged style was advocated at the time, referred to as depicting the passion before the eyes of the audience "as at the theatre".<sup>19</sup>

## The Arranger of the 1749 Performance

The printed program from 1749 included no details of the performance, the identity of the institution, or the person behind the initiative and arrangement. Nor can this

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<sup>14</sup> Lindroth 1967, p. 760.

<sup>15</sup> Lindroth 1967, p. 759–760.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Helenius 1994, p. 164.

<sup>17</sup> Lindgärde 1996, pp. 285–304. On the history of the blood mysticism in Swedish devotional literature and its intensifying in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, see Lindquist 1939, pp. 403–407.

<sup>18</sup> "Hielp at jagh kan migh nu sänkia / I tin Helga diupa sår / Ther jagh lijf och hälsa får."

<sup>19</sup> Lindgärde 1996, pp. 118–119.

information be found in contemporary newspapers. Nonetheless, it has been repeatedly claimed in scholarly literature that the initiator and arranger of the 1749 *Stabat mater* concert was Roman.<sup>20</sup> In the spring of 1749, however, he was at his country house in the southern part of Sweden, due to his poor health, and could not have directed the concert in Stockholm.<sup>21</sup> The earliest notion of Roman's involvement in *Stabat mater* concerts seems to be found in the newspapers in the spring of 1780, when *Stabat mater* was discussed:

This duet [the first movement] was already sung in choir in the time of the late Chapel Master Roman and under his direction, when he had recently returned from his journeys abroad, during which he had heard this piece several times and performed in several places. The parts added to reinforce the harmonies are said to still exist and are kept by a gentleman who is quite well known in the field of music. Their arrangements are not in all parts according to Church style, as the middle parts did not have their own assigned melodies; the basses sang in unison with the bass and the tenors with the violas.<sup>22</sup>

Here it is stated that the first performance of *Stabat mater* was under Roman's direction and that it had taken place shortly after he had returned from his European journey.<sup>23</sup> After his return in the summer of 1737, Roman was seemingly present in Stockholm only occasionally during Lent, leaving only limited possibilities for a *Stabat mater* concert under his direction.<sup>24</sup> The newspapers do not acknowledge any such performance in the 1730s and 1740s; however, this absence is not surprising, for such advertisements were still rare at this point.<sup>25</sup>

The writer of the newspaper quote from 1780 was probably Joseph Martin Kraus (1756–1792).<sup>26</sup> He had arrived in Sweden only two years earlier and must therefore have received this information from others. The suggested earlier performance could possibly

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20 See for example Vretblad 1914, p. 50, Vretblad 1918, pp. 26–27, Helenius-Öberg 1994, p. 166, Meci 2019, p. 41–42.

21 Helenius-Öberg 1994, p. 165.

22 "Denna duett [första satsen] har äfwen redan i salig Capell-Mästaren Romans tid och under hans anförande blifwit sjungen i Chor, då han nyss war hemkommen ifrån sina utlänska resor, under hwilka han hört denna piece flera gånger och på flera ställen upföras. De til harmoniernas förstärkande tilsatte partier lära ännu existera, och skola förvaras hos en på Musikens wägnar ganska wäl känd Herre. Deras inrättning har för öfrigt icke så till alla delar warit i Kyrkostyle, så wida medelparterne icke hade sin egen erfordrade melodie, utan hafwa Bass-Rösterne sungit unison med Violoncellerne, Tenorerne med Alt-Violinerne", Stockholms Posten 10 May 1780, cf. Vretblad 1920, p. 27.

23 See down below for further discussion of this issue.

24 It seems that Roman was present in Stockholm at least in 1738, 1739 (directing the Brockes passion), 1740, and 1747. See documents recorded in Helenius-Öberg 1994, pp. 106–165.

25 A printed program was advertised in Posttidningar 7 August 1738 with the title "Wår Frälsares lidande och död, rimwis betrachtat ock sångwis upført i Stockholm 1738". The title corresponds more closely to the programs printed before performances of the Brockes passion than *Stabat mater*. In all likelihood, the given year 1738 is erroneous. No copy has survived of a passion music program printed in 1738. The 1739 Brockes program was advertised as the fourth edition ("Fierde Uplägningen af Poesien"). Three earlier editions of printed programs have survived—from 1731, 1732, and 1734. A printed program from 1738 is therefore unlikely, as its existence would have made the 1739 edition the fifth. Helenius-Öberg 1994, p. 178.

26 Suggested identification in Leux-Henschen 1958, p. 122.

be the result of a confounding of the *Stabat mater* concerts and previous passions concerts that were arranged by Roman, i.e., the Brockes passion concerts in the 1730s.

A more likely person behind the 1749 performance is Per Brant (1714–1767), who served as concertmaster from 1738 and conferred the title of chapel master of the Royal Chapel from 1745.<sup>27</sup> Brant had Pergolesi's music in his possession prior to 1749 and was involved in performances including music from *Stabat mater* as early as 1747, i.e., two years earlier than the printed program. This is the earliest documented performance in Sweden of music from Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*; it took place in Uppsala in the spring of 1747, something that has not been acknowledged in scholarly literature. Music from about half of the work was performed within two instances of academic memorial celebration (*parentation*), including orations, held in Uppsala on the 3rd and 4th March 1747.<sup>28</sup> The commemorations were solemnized in the memory of Uppsala University's vice chancellor Carl Gyllenborg (1679–1746), who had died on 9th December the previous year. A program including the texts of the vocal music was printed before the occasion, including seven of the fourteen movements.<sup>29</sup> The texts were in Swedish but drawn from the Bible, thus differing from the Swedish translation that was used in 1749. The *director musices* of Uppsala University at this time was Hinrich Christopher Engelhart (1694–1765), but for this prominent task, the university board instead appointed Brant, who came from Stockholm with his court musicians.<sup>30</sup> A surviving single canto part, copied by Brant and in concordance with the printed text program, most likely stems from the 1747 occasions.<sup>31</sup>

## Surviving Music Manuscripts from 1749

According to the 1749 text program, Pergolesi's work had been rescored and slightly rearranged. Two of the alto solos, "När Guds vrede Jesum tuktar" ("Quae moerebat et dolebat") and "Låt mig Jesu här i tiden" ("Fac, ut portem Christi mortem"), are designated to be sung by a bass soloist instead. The duets "Se! Gud fångslad" ("O quam tristis"), "Jesus för vår' synder" ("Pro peccatis"), "Därför opp min själ" ("Fac ut ardeat") and "Amen" bear the designation "Tutti" in the program. Although designated as a motet and not qualifying as an oratorio, the *Stabat mater* rearrangement was similar to German oratorios, which included frequent choruses, in contrast to their Italian counterparts.<sup>32</sup>

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27 This was suggested by Holm 1994, p. 231. On Brant, see Nyblom 1921, Bengtsson 1963, 1965, and 1966.

28 Till parentationerne öfver framledne hans Excellende, Riks-rådet, Cancellie-Praesidenten, och Upsala Academie-canceleren, Högvälborne Grefven, Herr Carl Gyllenborg, som skedde d. III och IV Martii 1747 I Upsala. The program is preserved in S-L Engelhart 701.

29 The Swedish texts: Proverbs 10:7, Daniel 12:5, Book of Wisdom 5:16, Book of Wisdom 5:17, and Psalms 103:17–18.

30 Annerstedt 1914, p. 528. On Engelhart and his music collection, see Johnson (ed.) 1977, pp. 17–26.

31 S-Skma Ro 97:72. In addition to the manuscript part copied by Brant, music material is preserved in S-L Engelhart 701 and 523, in which all parts were copied by Engelhart.

32 Smither 1977, p. 130.

Among extant music manuscripts of *Stabat mater* in Sweden, an oldest layer can be identified.<sup>33</sup>

Table 1. Surviving 1749 music material: *Stabat mater*.<sup>34</sup>

Part	Copyist	Shelf mark
Score	Brant	S-Skma, Musik Rar KO-R, Part XII:I
Canto (3 copies)	Brant	S-Skma, KO/Sv.-R
Alto	von den Enden	S-Skma, KO/Sv.-R
Alto Choro (fragm)	Brant	S-Skma, Ro:86c
Tenor Choro (fragm)	Johnsen	S-Skma, KO/Sv.-R
Tenor Choro (fragm)	Brant	S-Skma, Ro:86c
Violino primo (7 copies)	Brant, H/N 68, Cop1, Cop2, Cop3	S-Skma, KO/Sv.-R
Violino secondo (6 copies)	Brant, Cop1, Meijer	S-Skma, KO/Sv.-R
Viola	von den Enden	S-Skma, KO/Sv.-R
Basso [instr] (6 copies)	Cop1, Brant	S-Skma, KO/Sv.-R

This oldest layer of musical material is in concordance with the adjustments shown in the program.<sup>35</sup> The surviving parts point also to the significant role of Brant; he is the main copyist of the vocal parts and has also copied some of the instrumental ones, together with the court musicians Franz von den Enden (d. 1769) and Hinrich Philip Johnsen (1717–1779).<sup>36</sup> Brant has also copied two surviving—albeit now empty—wrappers headed “Additional-Pièces Vid Passions-Musiquen 1749” and “Choraler Wid Passions-Musiquen 1749”, which points to his role as the arranger of the concert.

The manuscripts of the oldest layer were once in the possession of the learned society *Utile dulci*, as testified to by their stamp on the sheets.<sup>37</sup> *Utile dulci* was founded in 1766 and its music section became active in 1768. Over time and through prolific musical activity, their music library expanded substantially. As the society declined in the 1790s, the musical activities ceased. Around 1806, the society’s music library was incorporated

33 The oldest layer is scattered across different parts: in S-Skma KO/Sv.-R, all parts with the *Utile dulci* stamp and blue-grey paper wrappers, S-Skma Ro 86c (two empty wrappers and parts for alto, tenor, choro tenor, and choro oboe), S-Skma Ro:62c (canto, first and second violin, and basso), S-Skma Musik Rar Ko/Sv.-R (score). These are included in Table 1, 2 and 3.

34 Copyists in this and following tables are named according to and through Bengtsson and Danielson 1955, Holm 1994. Cop1, Cop2 and Cop3 are my designations.

35 The oldest layer of the surviving manuscripts includes four singers’ names, although these most likely were added later: “Mad. Keysern” (Margaretha Susanna Kayser, 1690–1774), “Mad. Wurtzern” (Cecilia Elisabeth Würtzer, d. 1761), “Nordén” (Carl Nordén, d. 1771), and “Bjorkman” (Hans Björkman, 1730–1805).

36 On Brant’s, Carl Johan Meijer’s and Franz von den Enden’s handwriting, see Bengtsson and Danielson 1955, pp. 8–10, 12–14, 41–46, and appendix IX–XIV. Concerning Johnsen, comparisons have been made to manuscripts in S-Skma and S-Uu, listed as autographs in Nordenfelt-Åberg and Eppstein 1982.

37 The *lyra* stamp was identified as the owner’s mark of *Utile dulci* in the 1940s. Walin 1945, p. 100. Bengtsson 1955, pp. 96–97. The music library of *Utile dulci* was incorporated in the library of the Royal Academy of Music around 1800. On *Utile dulci* and their music library, see Heintz 2011.

into the library of the Royal Academy of Music and was then its most important accession. In addition to the *Stabat mater* material, a large share of other music in the Utile dulci collection has been copied by Brant. Many of Brant's manuscripts have numbers from an older catalogue system, constituting a collection on its own. Most likely these manuscripts were once part of Brant's own music library, and the numbers reflect a catalogue system that he probably started in the 1730s.<sup>38</sup> Brant's music would likely have ended up in the society's library following his death in 1767 or have been acquired later, through intermediaries.<sup>39</sup>

The part books from the oldest layer were all provided with the same type of soft paper wrappers. Most likely the wrappers were added later, as the edges of the old parts from 1749 were then cut. All labels of the wrappers have Pergolesi's name, title, and the designation of the part noted by the hand of Johan Gustaf Psilanderhielm (1723–1782), the head of the music section and music librarian of Utile Dulci in the 1770s.<sup>40</sup> He also copied two oboe parts and a volume of the chorales; these were provided with the same type of wrapper.<sup>41</sup> This suggests that Psilanderhielm at one point collected all the *Stabat mater* parts and added—possibly replacing—oboe parts and the chorales' score, providing them all with similar wrappers.

The quote above from the 1780 newspaper also includes some information about movements expanded for full choir. In this regard, the writer is in accordance with the tutti designations in the 1749 printed program, and he seems to have been well-informed of how the added vocal parts were worked out. Although the oldest layer includes but fragments of the choir parts—only the movements “Därför opp min själ” (“Fac ut ardeat”) and “Amen”—it is clear that these added vocal parts were in unison with other parts of Pergolesi's score, albeit not always with the viola part.<sup>42</sup>

In addition, choir part books of a later date have also survived.<sup>43</sup> These most likely originate from *Stabat mater* performances under the direction of Francesco Antonio Uttini (1723–1795). The tenor and basso choir parts of this younger layer show very similar solutions to the 1749 fragments, albeit with minor differences. Another interesting detail provided by the writer is that the added vocal parts still existed in 1780 and were then kept by a gentleman “quite well known in the field of music”. A plausible candidate for this epithet is Psilanderhielm, who held a significant role in the Royal Academy of Music since his entry there in 1772, as well as being a designated amateur musician. The younger layer of choir part books may once have been in His sisters donated their

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38 Helenius-Öberg 1998, pp. 32–33.

39 That Brant had his music library in his possession at the time of his death in 1767 is shown by an advertisement of the loss of some of its contents announced by the estate in *Irrikes tidningar* 19 October 1767.

40 In Bengtsson's and Rubenson's system of copyists, Psilanderhielm was given the copyist's name H/N 11. Bengtsson and Rubenson 1955, pp. 15–16, 46–48, appendix XV–XVI.

41 The chorale volume in S-Skma Ro:86a and the oboe parts in S-Skma, KO/Sv.-R.

42 Tenor part (including “Därför opp min själ” and “Amen”) copied by Brant in Ro:86c and Tenor part (including “Därför opp min själ”) copied by Johnsen in S-Skma, KO/Sv.-R.

43 Ten choir parts and an additional Tenor choir part including only “Amen”, all in S-Skma, KO/Sv.-R. Some of these parts were copied by Uttini.



brother's "magnificent and large collection of music" to the *Utile dulci* society after his death.<sup>44</sup>

## Interpolated Hymns

In the 1749 performance, *Stabat mater* was expanded with seven interpolated hymns, included in full text in the printed program, along with their numbers according to the Swedish hymnal 1695/1697.<sup>45</sup> Also in this respect a comparison to contemporary oratorios can be made, as included hymns were crucial for German oratorios, in contrast to Italian.<sup>46</sup> The idea of including hymns in a passion work was not new in 1749, for there were hymns included in the Brockes performances as early as the 1730s. All the specific hymns that were included in the 1749 *Stabat mater* concert were also included in the earlier Brockes passion concert.<sup>47</sup> As will be discussed in the following section, one of the added extra pieces in 1749 was also taken from the Brockes passion concerts, confirming the close connection between the passion concerts in the 1730s and 1749.

The hymns included in the 1749 performance of *Stabat mater* were all the length of one stanza. One was taken from Johannes Olearius' hymn "Ich will zu aller Stund", two stanzas from "O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid" and two stanzas from "Jesu lär mig rätt betänka" by the Swedish poet and bishop Haquin Spegel (1645–1714).

Table 2. Interpolated hymns in *Stabat mater* performances 1749–1800.

Interpolated hymns	Origin of hymn text	Hymnal No. (1695/1697)
1. "Jesu lär mig rätt betänka"	Stanza 1 of "Jesu lär mig rätt betänka" (Haquin Spegel)	158:1
2. "Min synd mig nu bedrövad gör"	Stanza 2 of "Wenn mein Stündlein"	390:2
3. "O sorg och nöd"	Stanza 2 of "O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid"	154:2
4. "Här är Guds rätta lamm"	Stanza 4 of "Ich will zu aller Stund" (Olearius)	18:4
5. "Ack Jesu Krist"	Stanza 12 of "O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid"	154:12
6. "Värdes mig det hopp forlana"	Stanza 18 of "Jesu lär mig rätt betänka" (Haquin Spegel)	158:18
7. "Nu jag tackar dig av hjärtat"	Stanza 8 of "Jesu, meines Lebens Leben"	152:8

The first and last hymns were placed before the first and after the last movement of *Stabat mater* and the fourth in the middle, in the place where the work was usually divided into two parts—between "Eia Mater" ("Gud att frälsa") and "Fac ut ardeat" ("Därför opp min

44 Psilanderhielm's "förträffeliga och stora samling af Musicalier", Bengtsson 1955, pp. 94–95.

45 The Swedish hymnal was published in 1695 without musical notation, and in 1697 including musical notation in the form of the hymn tune and basso continuo.

46 Smither 1977, pp. 126–129, Scheibe 1738–1740.

47 Swedish hymnal Nos. 18:3; 253:3; 154:2; 390:2; 152:8 and three more hymn stanza numbers (158:1, 154:4 and 18:4) added by hand in the copy of the program in the National Library of Sweden, printed in Stockholm by Biörkmans Enkia with the year of publication 1731, changed by hand to 1732.

själ”). Chorales were often used to divide an oratorio structurally in German practice.<sup>48</sup> The third hymn seems to have been inserted, just after Jesus’ last breath, perhaps with the intention of providing a crucial point of reflection on the gravity of the moment.<sup>49</sup>

In the music manuscripts included in the oldest layer, the seven chorales are marked by incipits. The musicians’ sheets from 1749 for the chorales are missing. They were probably once included in the now-empty wrapper prepared by Brant, to which he had added the heading “Choraler Wid Passions-Musiquen 1749”.<sup>50</sup> An extant score and a few instrumental parts and a score of hymn No. 152 copied by Brant constitute possible remnants of these.<sup>51</sup>

Table 3. Surviving 1749 music material: Interpolated hymns

Content	Part	Copyist	Shelf number
[Empty wrapper]	[Title:] “Choraler Wid Passions-Musiquen 1749”	Brant	S-Skma, Ro:86c
Chorale 152	Score	Brant	S-Skma Ro:93
Chorale 152	Violino primo (2 copies)	Brant	S-Skma Ro:93
Chorale 152	Basso [instr]	Brant	S-Skma Ro:93

At a later point, Psilanderhielm copied the seven chorales in a four-part score into a volume headed “Score for the chorales which are sung with Motetto Stabat mater by Pergolesi”.<sup>52</sup> The surviving music manuscripts for the chorales, assessed in combination, show that the tunes are the same as those included in the contemporary Swedish chorale book, first published in 1697.<sup>53</sup> One exception is the tune for hymn No. 158, for which a different melody was used.<sup>54</sup> The new popular tune was preferred by the author of the hymn, Spegel, and it was, in all likeliness, the one that his text was usually sung with.<sup>55</sup> Both the texts and the tunes were most likely well-known to the audience.

The standard wording in the newspaper advertisements during the century was that the chorales were performed “with accompanying choruses”, suggesting multi-part movements performed by singers, a practice that is confirmed by the surviving music manuscripts. It may be worth noting that the audience in eighteenth-century Stockholm was probably not accustomed to hearing passion chorales harmonized, as organ accompaniment was not allowed during Lent.<sup>56</sup> A discussion in the newspapers from 1779 targeted the issue of chorale accompaniment, arguing that both the arrangements

48 Smither 1977, p. 128.

49 There also seems to be a palindrome placement of the hymns with No. 18 in the middle, flanked by stanzas from hymn No. 154 and No. 158; however, it is unknown whether this was done intentionally.

50 S-Skma Ro:86c.

51 Suggested in Holm 1994, p. 198.

52 “Partitur till Choralerne som siungas jämte Motetto Stabat mater af Pergolesi”, S-Skma Ro:86a.

53 S-Skma Ro:86a, presumably containing the settings from 1749, but copied later by Psilanderhielm. The same hymn tunes were used by Uttini (S-Skma Ro:86b) and Johnsen (S-Uu Vok. mus. i hs. 76:1b).

54 No. 3567 in Zahn 1889–1893, given as tune to hymn No. 141 in the Swedish chorale book 1697.

55 Göransson 1992, p. 38.

56 This was debated in Stockholms Posten 27 March 1779. Discussed in Leux-Henschen 1958, pp. 68–76.

and the performance of hymns at the *Stabat mater* concerts were superior to the organist's accompaniment in church services.<sup>57</sup> The writer preferred the way hymns were performed in the *Stabat mater* concerts, with a simple and full-part accompaniment, without the organists' practice of embellishments on every note, furnishing the bass with patterns, and introducing unprepared and seldom-resolved dissonances. On basis of the writer's critique, one can assume that the character of the hymn settings at the *Stabat mater* concerts was more restrained and plainer than hymn playing in church services.

The surviving harmonisations are not in accordance with the official chorale book of 1697. The harmonisations from the 1749 performance may have been done by Roman, as suggested by an additional note "da Roman" on Psilanderhielm's score; however, this seems to have been added later, by a different hand. Four of the tunes were also included in Roman's arrangement of the Brockes passion in the 1730s.<sup>58</sup> Although the basso parts of chorale No. 18 and No. 152 of Roman's arrangement of the Brockes passion are quite similar to the corresponding ones in Psilanderhielm's score, No. 154 is not, and No. 390 seems to have used a different tune. Another possibility is that it was Brant who harmonised the chorales in 1749.<sup>59</sup>

It is unclear whether the audience sang along with the hymns, or whether also hymns were left to the professional singers and musicians. In Germany, in the case of oratorio passions performed in the church, there were different traditions of congregational participation. In Hamburg the congregation sang along to the chorales of the passions, while school regulations and the tessitura of the chorale manuscripts show that this was probably not the case in St. Thomas' Church in Leipzig.<sup>60</sup> The chorales interpolated by Reinhard Keiser in his setting of the Brockes passion were probably not intended to be performed by the Hamburg audience, since they were reworked in triple time, such as 6/4 and 6/8. When Graun's *Der Tod Jesu* was performed in Stockholm in 1782, it was noted in the printed program that the audience was not supposed to join in with the hymns. It is, however, difficult to draw any conclusions based on this record, since that performance took place in the church.

The 1749 printed program features the hymn texts printed in a larger font than the rest of the text, something that could possibly indicate that the audience joined in. There may also have been other explanations, such as encouraging contemplation. When *Stabat mater* was performed within a service, the congregation most likely joined in, as shown by a printed program from Hedvig Eleonora Church in Stockholm on Quinquagesima 1751.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Stockholms Posten 1 April.

<sup>58</sup> Included in the libretto for Brockes passion in Stockholm 1732: Swedish hymnal 1695 Nos. 18:3, 253:3, 154:2, 390:2 and 152:8.

<sup>59</sup> As suggested in Holm 1994, p. 231.

<sup>60</sup> Smallman 1957, p. 81.

<sup>61</sup> The congregation joined in the hymns from the Swedish hymnal 1695 nos. 154:2, 154:12, 18:4–5, and 152:8.

## Additional Music in the *Stabat mater* Concerts

*Stabat mater* was usually performed alongside other music, as the work was seemingly regarded as too short to fill up an entire concert, as in other parts of Europe. Within the *Concert spirituels* in Paris during the first concerts in the spring of 1753, Pergolesi's work was accompanied by motets by composers such as Mondonville, Lalande, and Rousseau, as choral music was favoured by the audience.<sup>62</sup>

In the 1749 concert the additional pieces were performed in the middle of *Stabat mater*, dividing it into two sections, as noted by hand in the copy of the text program in the National Library of Sweden. A surviving printed text sheet—with the heading “Additional-arien vid Passions-Musiquen”—includes four aria texts in Swedish.<sup>63</sup> Although it lacks a publishing date, it was most likely printed in connection with the first performance in 1749. The four texts—“O Herre Gud Guds lamm”, “Om han ej vor' en grof missgärningsman”, “Det är ju rosor”, and “Gud är vår tillflykt”—are the same as those included in the surviving music material of the oldest layer, and appear in the same order.<sup>64</sup>

Table 4. Surviving 1749 music material: Additional music

Additional music	Parts	Copyist	Shelf mark
[Empty wrapper]	[Wrapper] “Additional-Pieces Vid Passions-Musiquen 1749”	Brant	S-Skma, Ro:86c
1. O Herre Gud; 2. Om han ej vor; 3. Det är ju rosor; 4. Gud är vår tillflykt	Violino primo (3 copies)	H/N 22, H/N 68	S-Skma Ro:62c
1. O Herre Gud; 2. Om han ej vor; 3. Det är ju rosor; 4. Gud är vår tillflykt	Violino secundo	Gudenschwager	S-Skma Ro:62c
1. O Herre Gud; 2. Om han ej vor; 3. Det är ju rosor; 4. Gud är vår tillflykt	Basso [instr] (2 copies)	Brant	S-Skma Ro:62c
O Herre Gud	Canto (fragm)	Brant	S-Skma Ro:62c
Om han ej vor'	Alto Choro	Brant	S-Skma, Ro:86c
Om han ej vor'	Tenor Choro (2 copies)	Brant	S-Skma, Ro:86c
Om han ej vor'	Oboe choro	Brant	S-Skma, Ro:86c
Gud är vår tillflykt	Basso primo	Brant	S-Skma Musik Rar Saml.

The manuscript parts included in the table above must have been scattered at some point and are now found in different locations at the Stockholm Music and Theatre Library (S-Skma). The music sheets were probably once kept together in the now-empty wrapper

<sup>62</sup> Pierre 1975, pp. 264–5.

<sup>63</sup> Copy of the print in the Royal Library, okat. andl. poesi -1771.

<sup>64</sup> S-Skma Ro:62c includes wrapper and instrumental parts for all four pieces. “Om han ej vor” in Ro:86c (vocal parts). “Gud är vår tillflykt” in S-Skma Musik Rar KO/Sv.-R Saml. (score) and S-Skma Musik Rar (vocal parts).

prepared by Brant.<sup>65</sup> The first aria with the text “O Herre Gud” is the Agnus Dei movement from Roman’s *Swedish Mass*.<sup>66</sup> The second and fourth piece were drawn from Marcello’s *Estro poetico-armonico*, with the original texts “Volgi mio Dio” (SelM B621) and “L’uomo cui cieca passion” (SelM B613). The third aria was taken from Handel’s setting of the Brockes passion, with the original text “Die Rosen krönen” (HWV 48/35).

This aria was included in Roman’s arrangement of the Brockes passion in the early 1730s and would have been familiar amongst the musicians and parts of the audience.<sup>67</sup> Like some of the stanzas of the Swedish *Stabat mater* text, the aria text exaggerates the physical torments of Christ’s suffering with blood and sweat, picturing the clotted blood drops as rubies on Jesus’s head.<sup>68</sup>

Swedish translation of Brockes’ “Die Rosen krönen”

Det är ju Rosor hvad som plägar Törnen kröna;	It is true that roses use to crown the thorn;
Hvi blifver Sarons Ros då nu af Törnen krönt?	Why is then now the Rose of Sharon crowned by thorns?
Hur Rosen Pärl-Svett får af Daggen har man rönt;	We gather how the Rose gets pearl-sweat by the dew:
Här är nu Rosens Svett en hop Rubiner,	The sweat of the Rose is here now a heap of rubies,
Som utaf stelnad Blod på JESU hufvud stå.	Standing like clotted blood on Jesu’s head.
Ja, fast min Själf deraf i härlig prydnad skiner,	Yes, although my soul shines in glorious adornment
Kan jag dock, utan skräck och ångst, ej se därpå.	from this,
	I still cannot look upon it, without dread and anxiety.

## The Transfer of the Music from Italy to the North

The performance material dating from 1749 includes a full score with the original Latin text, copied by Brant’s hand, showing that he had the music in its original setting before the performances in 1747 and 1749.<sup>69</sup> It is not known how Brant obtained the music. *Stabat mater* was one of the last works that Pergolesi composed before his death on 16 March 1736. Scores circulated in Italy from the work’s conception, and display minor divergences.<sup>70</sup> The surviving autograph includes revisions that were most likely carried out by Pergolesi at a later stage, when copies of the work were already in circulation.

*Stabat mater* appeared in print for the first time in the end of the 1740s as the fifth volume in a series of anthologies, *Le Delizie dell’ Opere. Being a collection of the*

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65 This has been suggested in Holm 1994, p. 198. S-Skma Ro:86a contains also a sheet containing “Ach grufligt ord” (“O Donnerwort”) belonging to the Brockes passion.

66 The earliest record of a performance of Roman’s *Swedish Mass* was in 1732. At least some of the parts were, however, composed earlier. Helenius-Öberg 1994, pp. 171, 180–182.

67 Helenius-Öberg 1994, pp. 71–7, 118.

68 On the text style, see Smither 1977, p. 133.

69 S-Skma, Musik Rar KO-R [without title], provided with a modern cover. Notes in pencil indicates the places where the chorales were interpolated. Another score copied by Brant has survived in Kalmar, S-K Ms. Mus.11.

70 On the sources for *Stabat mater*, see preface by Claudio Toscani in Toscani (ed.) 2012.

*favourite songs in score* [...], published by John Walsh in London.<sup>71</sup> In all probability, Walsh's *Le Delizie* and subsequent prints provided the main source in later circulation of Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* to northern Europe in the eighteenth century.<sup>72</sup> In the above-mentioned debate in the Swedish newspaper from 1780, it was stated that at this point there was no manuscript original or copy of this sort in Sweden, but printed copies were used.<sup>73</sup>

Brant's copy diverges from Walsh's printed version, making it highly improbable that the print served as his master copy. The dating of Walsh's edition also supports this. Although Walsh's edition lacks a publication date, it was printed sometime before 22 November 1748, when it was advertised.<sup>74</sup> Other music in the volume includes opera arias from different works by Hasse, Terradellas, Paradies, among others. Walsh provided the arias with the performers' names in the headings. All names refer to singers who participated in the operas' (re-)stagings in London in the 1740s, such as Niccolò Reginelli detto la Reginella, Domenica Casarini Latilla and Giulia Frassi. The staging of Hasse's *Semiramide* in May 1748 as the latest performance can thus serve as a *terminus post quem* for Walsh's fifth volume.

Brant could not have had access to a copy of Walsh's fifth edition in 1747, and, as he is not known to have travelled abroad during this period, the only way he would have had access to the music was through a manuscript copy in Sweden. Slightly earlier, 1735–1737, Roman was on a journey through Europe, including a lengthy stay in Italy. That he had heard *Stabat mater* there was stated in the newspaper debate of 1780, but this cannot be otherwise confirmed.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, that Roman purchased music in Italy—in Naples, Rome, Padua, Florence, Bologna, and Venice—is testified to in the records of the court.<sup>76</sup> It is possible that Roman acquired a manuscript copy of *Stabat mater* in Italy, although surviving documents do not specifically mention this work. As Roman's music library seems to have been scattered sometime after his death, there are few chances that a score would have had survived.<sup>77</sup> Three full scores and one set of parts, all of Italian provenance, are preserved in the Music and Theatre Library. They could possibly already have existed in Stockholm in the middle of the eighteenth century. Specific details about

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71 *Le Delizie dell' Opere. Being a Collection of all the Favourite Songs in Score. Collected from the Operas Compos'd by Lampugnani; Hasse; Pergolesi; Porpora; Pescetti; Terradellas; Vinci; Galuppi; Veracini; Leo; Bononcini; Count St. Germain, Vol. V, London: John Walsh [s.d.].*

72 A copy of the fifth volume of *Le Delizie* has survived in Sweden, in the Löfstabruk collection kept in S-Uu, although this copy is not included in RISM. This title page is taken from Walsh first volume; its volume number has been corrected by hand and changed from I to V.

73 "[D]å åtminstone uti Sverige icke existerar något Original partiture, eller Original Copia af Partituren, utan endast tilgång til tryckte Copier af denna piece", *Stockholms Posten* 10 May 1780.

74 The publication date was set to 1748 by Smith and Humphries 1968, p. 124. RISM B/II gives c. 1743–1763 as a suggested time frame of publication, RISM B/II 1964, p. 151–152.

75 Quoted from the newspaper debate of 1780.

76 Bengtsson 1955, pp. 35–8, Helenius-Öberg 1994, pp. 102–6, 112–3.

77 On the few known details on the history of Roman's music library, see Bengtsson 1955, pp. 98–100.

their origin and history are lacking however.<sup>78</sup> As they all diverge from Brant's version, it seems less plausible that any of these were used as his master for this copy.

Another possible transmission could have been through Germany. There are only few documented performances in Germany prior to the Swedish performances. Amongst the earliest are the ones in Dresden and Fritzlar.<sup>79</sup> The manuscript source in Fritzlar is annotated "1742 23 Jan".<sup>80</sup> From the nearby Kassel court, the music ensemble of the Swedish crown prince Adolf Fredrik departed to Sweden in 1743.

## The Continuity of the *Stabat mater* Concerts

After the first performance of *Stabat mater* in 1749, the work was performed in the capital city annually during Lent, with a few exceptions.<sup>81</sup> Performances were most frequent in the middle of the eighteenth century. During the spring of 1761, no fewer than four performances of *Stabat mater* were arranged in Stockholm. Only on a very few occasions was the tradition broken, such as during the national mourning following the deaths of Ulrika Eleonora in 1741, Adolf Fredrik in 1771, and Gustav III in 1792.

The *Stabat mater* concerts in Stockholm generally took place in the great hall of the Swedish House of Nobility (*Riddarhuset*).<sup>82</sup> Only occasionally did concerts take place in other buildings.<sup>83</sup> Apart from the royal castle, the hall of the House of Nobility was one of the largest rooms available for secular music performances. From the time of the emerging of public concerts in the 1730s, it had been their main location. The first time the hall was used for concerts seems to have been in 1731, when Roman asked the nobility for permission to perform his arrangement of the Brockes passion. The House of Nobility was built in 1642 and designed mostly by Jean de la Vallée. In addition to the size of its main hall, the building gave the performances a dignified and almost sacred setting.

The Swedish text became standard and remained unchanged. At the end of the eighteenth century, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's paraphrase, "Jesus Christus schwebt

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78 Musik Rar KO-R Part V:I, Musik Rar KO-R Part VI:I, and Musik Rar KO-R Part VII:I. There is also a set of partbooks, in which all parts bear the name of Claes Ekeblad (1708–1771), an important figure in the music division of Utile Dulci. The partbooks were included in the Library of the Royal Academy of Music in the 1930s, according to accession records.

79 *Stabat mater* was probably performed at the Dresden court on 24 March 1741 by Giovanni Alberto Ristori. The Dresden score D-Dl, Mus. 3005 D 1b was most likely acquired in Naples by the young prince Friedrich Christian in 1738 and was probably the master copy for Johann Sebastian Bach and his adaptation *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*. See Ágústsson 2020, p. 15 and p. 37.

80 Domgemeinde St. Peter, Dombibliothek, D-FTZd 26/4. One of the parts bears the monogram "B. F. S. G".

81 See appendix for details and dates.

82 The localities of concerts in Stockholm are discussed by Vretblad 1918, p. 7–12.

83 Despite the opposition against elaborate church music in the services, there is evidence that music from *Stabat mater* was included in services. On Shrove Sunday 1751 *Stabat mater* was performed within the main service in Hedvig Eleonora Church in Stockholm. In the cathedral in Gothenburg, *Stabat mater* was performed in its entirety within the vesper on Good Friday 1765. *Werser til Passions-Musiquen som uppå Fastelags-Söndag uti St. Hedvig Eleonoræ Kyrka år 1751 upfördes af Ambrosius Bonge, cantor därstädes; Versar til Pergolesis Passions-Musique som kommer at upföras uti Dom-Kyrkan på Lång-Fredagen i Aftonsången. Göteborg. Trykt hos Immanuel Smitt, Kongl. G. Boktr. År 1765.*

am Kreuze” started to be used in Germany and eventually became dominant in German performances. In Sweden it was not until the 1830s that Klopstock’s paraphrase was used for performances of Pergolesi’s *Stabat mater*, in a Swedish translation by the poet and clergyman Assar Lindeblad (1800–1848).<sup>84</sup>

The hymns introduced in 1749 were by in large the same throughout the eighteenth century. Their inclusion was likely important. In the otherwise taciturn advertisements, the fact that the concert would include the “the usual stanzas from the hymnal” was something that was often pointed out, which suggests that the readers had knowledge of which they were.<sup>85</sup> The settings of the chorales, however, changed a few times. In the 1760s, under Johnsen’s direction, the current choral harmonizations were seemingly replaced by his own.<sup>86</sup> The fact that Johnsen had prepared new choral arrangements for a performance on Palm Sunday, 1764, was such a significant novelty that it was mentioned in the newspapers.<sup>87</sup> Harmonizations by the chapel master Ferdinand Zellbell (1719–1780) also date from around the same time, and these were still in use in the 1780s.<sup>88</sup> In 1782, they were referred to in *Stockholms Posten* as “the incomparable chorales of our Zellbell”.<sup>89</sup> Before a performance in Norrköping 1784, by Stockholm court musicians under the direction of Lars Samuel Lalin (1729–1785), the hymns were referred to as “the, in Stockholm, added usual hymns, by the late Court Chapel Master Zellbell”.<sup>90</sup>

In the first *Stabat mater* concert in 1749, additional pieces by Handel, Marcello, and Roman were included. During the remainder of the eighteenth century, other music was added to the *Stabat mater* concerts. A printed program headed “Appendix to the passion music” includes the texts to three movements from the Brockes passion: “Soll mein Kind”, “Die Rosen krönen”, and “Die ihr Gottes Gnad”, translated into Swedish: “Skall mitt liv”, “Det är ju rosor”, and “I som medan nåden varar”.<sup>91</sup> Although it lacks a publication date, it was most likely printed at the same time as the printed text program from 1750 or 1751.<sup>92</sup> The three arias were inserted after hymn 154:2, in the middle, and after hymn 158:18. The blood- and sweat-filled “Det är ju rosor”, discussed above, was placed in the central place in the middle of *Stabat mater*. Its importance is also stressed by the heading it is given in the program—“contemplation over the thorn coronation”

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84 The first occasion seems to have been in Lund on Good Friday, 17 April 1835. See Appendix I.

85 “[M]ed inblandade Verser utur Swenska Psalm-Boken”, *Posttidningar* 20 March 1758, and “de wanlige Verserne ur Psalm-boken”, *Posttidningar* 26 March 1759.

86 S-Uu Vmhs 76:1b with note “Johnsen”. Alto part S-Uu Vmhs 63:3.

87 *Posttidningar* 9 April 1764.

88 “[M]ed de där wid brukelige Choralerne ur Swenska Psalm-boken, af framledne Hof-Capellmästaren Zellbells Composition” [“with the customary chorales from the Swedish hymnal by late chapel master Zellbell’s composition”], *Dagligt Allehanda* 5 March 1782, 8 March 1782 and *Stockholms Posten* 5 March 1782, 12 March 1782, 14 March 1782.

89 S-Skma Z/Sv. *Stockholms Posten* 14 March 1782.

90 On 30 March 1784, advertised in Norrköpings *Weckotidningar* 27 March 1784.

91 *Bihang vid passions musiqven* [s.d., s.l.].

92 *Jesu Christi Guds sons och mennisko-slågtets frälsares, bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse*, Stockholm: Jacob Merckell, 1750 and *Jesu Christi Guds sons och mennisko-slågtets frälsares, bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse*, Stockholm: Jacob Merckell, 1751.



(“Betraktelse öfver törne-kröningen”)—suggesting a function as a point of spiritual contemplation.

From the 1760s, the *Stabat mater* concerts continued to contain small pieces, such as arias or instrumental solos. An instrumental solo—preferably by a violinist—was regularly performed in the middle of *Stabat mater* during long periods. A newspaper review in 1793 commented on this tradition “in times past”.<sup>93</sup> The anonymous reviewer lamented not so much the absence of the violin solo as that of the participation of the virtuoso, indicating that the virtuosic aspect was something desirable not only for secular concerts, but for the passion concerts as well.

Larger works were occasionally performed alongside *Stabat mater*. On Good Friday 1757, the concert included an entire mass composition, without mention of the composer's name.<sup>94</sup> *Stabat mater* could be combined with other sacred works by Pergolesi. His setting of Psalm 113 (*Laudate pueri*) was first performed in the concerts in 1759, and his *Salve Regina* in 1764. In the 1760s, Zellbell, on three occasions, performed a sacred work by Hasse in combination with *Stabat mater*, probably Hasse's passion oratorio *I Pellegrini al sepolcro di Nostro Signore*. This work was well known in Europe, performed for the first time in Dresden in the spring of 1742 and then annually repeated during Holy Week until 1756.

In 1776, “selected beautiful passion music” was performed in the House of Nobility. For this occasion, an additional program was printed.<sup>95</sup> The text begins with “Credo quod redemptor”, two arias with the text “Quem visurus” (“Honom skall jag se”) and “Qui Lazarum” (“Du som har uppväckt”) and a final choral movement with the text “Libera me” (“Herre fräls mig”). According to a note on the copy of the printed program surviving in the National Library of Sweden, the composer was the Neapolitan David Perez (1711–1778). Comprising the text of *Credo quod redemptor meus vivit*, it was thus one of Perez's three settings, most probably the one in D minor from 1772.<sup>96</sup>

The extra music added to the annual *Stabat mater* concerts was probably selected from each director's current repertoire. With the selection of extra music, the directors could renew the concert programs to attract an audience, while retaining *Stabat mater* as the main and expected attraction. An advertisement before the Good Friday concert in 1776 promised a concert with selected and beautiful passion music that would please the general public, with an expected sizable audience to support the Freemasons' orphanage.<sup>99</sup>

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93 Extra Posten 3 April 1793.

94 Posttidningar 4 April 1757.

95 Dagligt Allehanda 2 April 1776, 4 April 1776. Ord, til den andelige musique, som af Frimuraresamhället upføres långfredagen, den 5 april 1776, [Stockholm:] Anders Jac. Nordström. Copy in S-Uu, “Verser öfver andliga ännan IV” Sv. Tal. Smdbd. 28:648.

96 One setting is in C minor, composed for the death of the Spanish king in 1747, another in G minor, and a third in D minor. The last was printed as *Mattutino de' morti* (London, 1774). This was on sale at one of Stockholm's booksellers from 1787 under the title “Peretz Matutino del morte”, for example, in Dagligt Allehanda 16 October 1787. A copy of the print is preserved in the former library of the Royal Academy of Music. Both things support the hypothesis that the setting in D minor was performed in 1776.

99 Dagligt Allehanda 2 April 1776.

Another way to attract a large audience was to advertise the names of particular popular soloists. In the 1760s, the newspapers advertised the female singers Rosa Uttini (born Scarlatti, 1727–1776), Baptiste, Du Londel, Therese, and Gallodier, together with the male soloists Lars Samuel Lalin (mentioned above), Louis Gallodier (b. 1733), François Chatillon (1729–1789) and Soligny. In the following decade, a new name was added: Christopher Christian Karsten (1756–1827). In the time from 1780, some new names showed up, such as the female singers Lovisa Sofia Augusti (born Salomoni, 1756–1790) and Sofia Francisca Stading (1763–1836), and the male soloists Hans Björkman (mentioned above) and Hans Peter Wikbom (1750–1805). They were all well-known in Stockholm in their time. Also included were members of the French theatre troupe that arrived at the royal court in 1753. Of the other names, several were active at the Royal Opera, founded in 1773.

## Uttini's *Stabat mater* Concerts

The court chapel master Francesco Antonio Uttini directed performances of *Stabat mater* on several occasions during the eighteenth century, probably for the first time during Lent in 1759. In 1764 the newspapers advertised that the chorales were a completely new musical composition.<sup>100</sup> Surviving manuscripts—copied by Uttini—show that the last chorale was augmented into an extended composition, undoubtedly composed by Uttini.<sup>101</sup> In 1769, Uttini added new music on his own. Before the performance on Good Friday, the newspaper advertisement assured that every effort would be made to please the audience.<sup>102</sup> Uttini interspersed his new music between the movements of *Stabat mater*. An additional piece for vocal bass soloist with the text “Kristus lydig intill döden” was added as interlude music—labelled *Passions-Musique* by the newspapers—in the middle of Pergolesi's work, and an instrumental introduction was added to the second section.<sup>103</sup>

In 1780, this year's Uttini's *Stabat mater* concert was debated in the newspapers.<sup>104</sup> The writer “Dixi”—probably Adolph Friedrich Barnekow (1744–1787), as suggested by Irmgard Leux-Henschen—was critical of several of the arrangements of *Stabat mater*.<sup>105</sup> He critiqued the setting of some of the movement for full choir. This, however, was in line with an earlier tradition, something that was pointed out by the protagonist “Contra dixi”. The reworking is reminiscent of Johann Adam Hiller's (1728–1804) adaptation,

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100 “[M]ed dertil hörige Psalmer efter en aldeles ny förfärdigad Musikalisk composition”, *Posttidningar* 9 April 1764.

101 S-Skma Ro:86b. Holm 1994, pp. 198–9.

102 *Inrikes tidningar* 20 March 1769.

103 *Posttidningar* 16 March 1769.

104 Leux-Henschen 1958, pp. 121–134. The discussion on Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* debate took place in *Stockholms Posten* 1780 Nos. 80, 104, 111, and 116, as well as *Stockhomsposten* 1782 Nos. 33, 34, 35, and 36.

105 Leux-Henschen 1958, p. 122. See also Tegen 1959 and Leux-Henschen 1960.

used in Leipzig and printed there in 1776.<sup>106</sup> Hiller added parts for oboe and flute, arranged the vocal movement for four-part choir and, according to his preface, “improved the harmony”. However, it seems that Uttini had not used Hiller’s revision as a model.<sup>107</sup> The issue was commented upon in the newspapers in 1782, and while Hiller’s new harmonisations were criticised, the writer praised Uttini, who had “without touching the Harmony, only by adding some voices, let the audience hear, how and in what way a spiritual or church music in other places [abroad] is executed”.<sup>108</sup> In the middle there was a musical interlude, likely referring to Uttini’s *Passions-Musique* of 1769.

Three years later, a “small piece” with the text “O Guds lamm” was added to the annual Good Friday concert.<sup>109</sup> In a letter to the press some “music lovers” wished for the singer Casten (Karsten) to perform the vocal solo in the “little piece” with the text “O Guds lamb som borttager werldens synder”. This piece seems later to have become intimately connected with performances of *Stabat mater*. By the end of the century, it was expected that a church musician (*klockare*) in a town or large rural parish would be able to sing the cantata *O Guds lamm*, as well as other pieces from *Stabat mater*.<sup>110</sup> Only one piece with this text has survived in Swedish libraries: Uttini’s setting of the original text *Adoramus te Christe* for solo tenor, choir, and orchestra.<sup>111</sup> Surviving music material shows that the vocal parts—the soloist and the four-part choir—were supplied with the text “O Guds lamm”. The many instrumental parts suggest a performance of some magnitude, which points to a *Stabat mater* concert.

At the end of the 1780s, Uttini set a longer poem beginning “Lovsjungom den som evigt varar” to music. The composition was first performed at a Freemason event in the spring of 1787.<sup>112</sup> The following year, Uttini’s work replaced Pergolesi’s *Stabat mater* in the House of Nobility at the Freemasons’ Good Friday concert on 21 March.<sup>113</sup> This was

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106 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. A second issue was published some years later: Zwo Parodien zum Stabat mater nach der Composition des Pergolese vom Herrn Klopstock, und nach der Composition des Herrn Joseph Hayden. Aufgeführt im Concert Spirituel zu Leipzig, [Leipzig]: Breitkopf [1780].

107 I have not been able to access the musical material kept in the Freemasons library (S-Sfo).

108 “[U]tan att röra Harmonien, endast genom någre Röster tilläggande låtit Allmänheten höra, huru och på hwad sätt, som en Andelig eller Kyrko Musik på andra orter bilfwer exequerad”, Leux-Henschen 1958, p. 130. The 1782 article was written by the music lexicographer Johan Fredrik Hallardt (1726–1794), see Tegen 1969, p. 162.

109 Dagligt Allehanda 14 April 1783.

110 “Vid Stads och större Landsförsamlingar bör en Klockare, jämte Cantaten O! Guds Lamb, äfven kunna sjunga andra mindre sångstycken och Choraler t. ex. ur Pergoleses Passions Musik”, Ordning för Kyrko-betjente i Linköpings stift 1795 [“Order for church servants in the diocese of Linköping”] 1795. Quoted from Morin 1944, p. 147.

111 Parts and score in S-Skma (S-St) and in S-Sfo.

112 Ord til musiquen i stora frimurare logen på Riddareholmen, den [9] martii 1787, Stockholm, 1787.

113 Ord til musiquen vid frimurare-concerten, lång-fredagen den 21 martii 1788. Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet 1788. On the music manuscripts of “Lovsjungom den som evigt varar” in S-Sfo is noted an additional “Note: With the addition of the psalms and chorales that were added to this music when it was performed in the House of nobility on Good Friday, 21 March 1788”. Dagligt Allehanda 19 March 1788,

a sharp break of the annual tradition. Most likely in order to meet the expectations of the usual Good Friday music, Uttini's composition was augmented with five interspersed passion chorales. The passion piece *O Guds lamm* was also included, closing the concert before the last chorale.

A glimpse of how the performances of *Stabat mater* were normally designed during the century is given by a review published in *Extra Posten* in 1793.<sup>114</sup> The reviewer discussed how that year's performance on Good Friday diverged from the usual practices of earlier performances. First, he noted that the size of the orchestra was unusually small, with only a few people playing each part. None of the amateurs from the Freemason society enlarged the orchestra, suggesting that only the royal court musicians were present. The choir included some feeble sopranos, loud altos and a screaming number of bass voices ("skrikande mängd basstämmor"). There were no female singers, as there normally were. The first duet was sung by two men. The writer had expected this music to be performed by a female and a bass singer, as per usual, or at least by two female singers, as he stated sometimes happened. The fugues were "shouted out loudly at the top of one's voice, according to the old method". The hymns were sung "loud enough" as usual. The reviewer's complaints indicate that the *Stabat mater* concerts normally had a large orchestra and that the choir included female as well as male singers. The choral movements and the chorales were usually sung loudly in a supposedly unsophisticated manner. It is also clear that the concert in 1793 included both the cantata "O Guds Lamm" and Uttini's arrangement and expansion of the last hymn, which according to the reviewer "was hurled into an absurd fugue".

## Late Eighteenth Century: Canonical Status and Growing Criticism

Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* retained its relevance and appeal in Europe for a remarkably long period. Towards the end of the century, the work was praised by influential music intellectuals. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) wrote in his dictionary that the first duo of *Stabat mater* was the most perfect and the most touching coming from a composer's hand.<sup>115</sup> The Swedish lawyer and music amateur Johan Wellander (1735–1783) praised Pergolesi in his oration "Om musique", held at one of the meetings with Utile Dulci in Stockholm sometime between 1767 and 1776.<sup>116</sup> He endorsed the musical aesthetic ideals of Rousseau. Wellander argued that a composer should try to "touch the heart" rather than "test the ear" and pointed to Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* as one of the prime examples.

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20 March 1788; Stockholms Posten 19 March 1788, 20 March 1788. Vretblad (1918, p. 236) suggests that *Stabat mater* was also performed on the same occasion, but this is not stated anywhere.

114 *Extra Posten* 3 April 1793.

115 "Le premier verset du Stabat de Pergolèse, Duo la plus parfait & le plus touchant qui soit sorti de la plume d'aucun Musicien", Rousseau 1781, p. 252.

116 Gullstam 2017, p. 335.

Barnekow's abovementioned harsh review of Uttini's reworking performed in 1780 reflects the value he attached to the "original" work of Pergolesi and the antipathy for modern revisions. Barnekow found Uttini's *Stabat mater* to be

so changed in its dignified style that it was thought to be intended to be performed as a play. What induced Mr. Uttini, as director of the orchestra, to commit such a crimen musicalis I do not understand, but I believe that such a thing could not possibly have happened elsewhere. To improve Pergolesi is an impossibility, to imitate him worthily a great difficulty; the latter commendable, the former inexcusable. I will proceed in order with my remarks, hoping that they may give Mr. Uttini reason to ask the immortal Master for a pardon for himself, since he has tried to recreate its adorable beauty. [...] In a word: all this music was too different to be able to delight as it had done before. The incessant honking of wind instruments did more than a little to obscure [the difference] and almost suffocate the composer's beautiful, lofty and engaging ideas.<sup>117</sup>

In 1810, the clergy man and hymn poet Samuel Ödmann (1750–1829) argued that the *Stabat mater* was "for all times classical" in a letter to Erik Drake (1788–1870), later secretary of the Academy of Music.<sup>118</sup> Ödmann stated in his letter that "everything that newer composers have embroidered on top of it is cheating". Ödmann compared *Stabat mater* to an oratorio he had heard on Good Friday, with text by Metastasio for four roles. Only one libretto of Christ's passion story by Metastasio is known: *La passione di Gesù Cristo*. It is not clear from Ödmann's letter which of the many settings of this text made in the late eighteenth century it was. It may have been Uttini's setting, which had previously been performed in Stockholm. In contrast to *Stabat mater*, Ödmann considered it as "cold and sluggish" and performed by a weary "humming orchestra". It had not promoted "the ear and the deep feeling" that he thought should characterize passion music, such as *Stabat mater* did.

At the same time, there was a growing criticism of *Stabat mater* in Europe, and towards the end of the eighteenth century, the critique also emerged in Sweden. Voices were raised to renew the Good Friday concerts. A "music lover" in 1796 stated that such a familiar work, so many times repeated both in public and at private concerts, so famous, "sung over again and after-hummed" ("omsjungen och eftergnolad") could not provide the truth and real pleasure that would satisfy a music lover, suggesting that Graun's *Der Tod Jesu* would replace Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* in the Good Friday concerts.<sup>119</sup> This debate was in accordance with a new aesthetic orientation. It reflected an international discussion concerning Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*, of theatrical versus truly spiritual music. Kraus, in

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117 "[...] till sin värdiga stil så omäändrad, att man trodde den var ämnad att hädanefter uppföras som ett teaterstycke. Vad som förmått Herr kapellmästaren Uttini, som director av orkestern, att begå et sådant crimen musicalis begriper jag ej, men tror dock att sådant omöjligan kunnat hända på andra ställen. Att förbättra Pergolesi är en omöjlighet, att värdigt imitera honom en stor svårighet; det senare berömvärt, det förra oförlåteligt. Jag vill gå i ordning med mina anmärkningar, önskande att de måtte giva Herr Uttini anledning att för sig själv bedja den odödelige Mästaren om tillgift, då han på försök velat omskapa dess tillbedjansvärda skönhet. [...] Med ett ord: hela denna musik var sig för mycket olik, att kunna så förnöja, som den förut gjort. Det oupphörliga tutande av blåsinstrument, gjorde ej litet till saken att dölja och nästan förkväva kompositörens vackra, höga och intagande tankar", Stockholms Posten 11 April 1780.

118 Ödmann 1925, p. 300.

119 Stockholms Posten 31 March 1795 and 16 March 1796.

*Etwas von und über Musik fürs Jahr 1777*, asserts the primacy of music over other art forms. In line with Gluck, he advocates the priority of the text in relation to the music. According to Kraus, church music of the time was unchristian and more reminiscent of theatre music. Real church music, in his opinion, was found in the form of passion. Kraus himself often used Gregorian melodies as the basis for an intricate contrapuntal style. He deemed Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* flawed and the text thoroughly violated for the sake of expression.<sup>120</sup> Kraus instead advocated Graun's *Der Tod Jesu*, which he considered to be a masterpiece. The work had served as a model for Kraus's own oratorio of the same name from 1776, although it was based on his own text instead of Ramler's libretto. Between 1797 and 1800, Graun's oratorio replaced Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* as passion music at the Freemasons' Good Friday concerts in the House of Nobility, marking the beginning of the end of the *Stabat mater* tradition in Stockholm.

## ***Stabat mater* in Sweden: A Long-Lasting Tradition**

From the very beginning of Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* in Sweden, the newspapers were in consensus, stressing the work's excellence, "generally recognized as beautiful" and "loved" by the audience, performed on the "request of many people". The initial attraction of *Stabat mater* can be traced in its combination of modern and traditional features, which were up to date Italian taste but still made use of older contrapuntal techniques, integrating religious seriousness with operatic style. In all probability, the Swedish text, in its extravagant, affective and strongly emotional style, added to the impact of the work.

Not only was *Stabat mater* repeated year after year during a period of more than half a century, but it was also performed in an almost unchanged way. The text from 1749 remained untouched over the course of the century. This is remarkable considering an apparent contemporary awareness of its poor literary quality, as, for example, shown by a disclaimer in 1792: "These Swedish words, which have long since been added to Pergolesi's passion music, have been retained, even though our present art of poetry may have a few things to object."<sup>121</sup> As with the Swedish text, the chorales were also kept the same.

The remarkable continuity of the *Stabat mater* concerts depended likely less on the musical and literary qualities than on a variety and combination of institutional practices and social rituals.<sup>122</sup> The context of the emerging of public concerts was pivotal, as well as the day – Good Friday – and the place – the House of Nobility. In addition, the Order of Freemasons was of a particular importance for the long-lasting history of *Stabat mater* in Sweden. After being active in private circles from the 1730s, the Order's first official

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120 "Sein Stabat mater ist fehlerhaft und durch und durch der Text zum Ausdruck genotzüchtigt", Kraus 1778, p. 97.

121 "Man har bibehållit dessa redan längesedan till Pergoleses passionsmusik satta svenska ord, ehuru vår nya skaldekonst därvid kan hava ett och annat att erinra." Commented in the printed program, Ord, til Passions musiken, af Pergolese, Åbo: Frenckellska Boktryckeriet, 1792, cf. Andersson 1940, p. 141.

122 With the exception of the connection with the royalty, this resonates with William Weber's understanding of the origins of the musical canon in the eighteenth century, as discussed in Weber 1989.

lodge, St. Jean Auxiliaire, was established in Stockholm in 1752. The Freemasons started to arrange public concerts in 1759 to collect money for their orphanage, founded in 1753.<sup>123</sup> From 1772, the Freemasons were the arrangers of the annual *Stabat mater* concert in the House of Nobility, the surplus of the ticket sales going to the orphanage. Musically skilled members of the society also participated in the concerts as amateurs, sometimes even children from the orphanage.

The enlightened ideas around charity constituted a significant aspect of the Passion concerts. Lent was traditionally a time for charity, something that went back to an older tradition in Sweden of giving money away, often on Good Friday. The purpose of charity was also important in motivating public concerts during Passion season, together with ensuring that the programs included only church music. Before the first *Stabat mater* concert arranged by the Freemasons, the newspaper's advertisement targeted the generosity of the "enlightened and affectionate" general public, both as paying audience and participating musicians, urging people to support the Christian work and their rescue of 330 innocent lives from misery and ruin.<sup>124</sup> Some years later, the number of innocent lives was "several hundred", most likely stressed in order to increase the compassion and generosity of the targeted concert audience.<sup>125</sup>

The Freemasons also established a connection between *Stabat mater* and the royalty. The Swedish king usually held the position of grand master of the Order. The directors and the main part of the musicians were usually from the royal court, of which several were Freemasons, like Brant, Uttini, Johnsen, Zellbell, Eric Ferling (1733–1808), and Christian Friedrich Müller (1752–1827).<sup>126</sup> The royal family were usually present at the Good Friday concerts, as reported to the newspapers in 1793, following the interruption in 1792 due to the death of Gustav III.<sup>127</sup> Pergolesi's music was sometimes also used at mourning ceremonies following the deaths of members of the royal family. As late as 1844, Pergolesi's music was "reworked and augmented with several choruses" in a concert arranged by the Freemasons in Gothenburg on the mourning day of Karl XIV Johan on the 8<sup>th</sup> May.<sup>128</sup> At this point, almost a century after its first performance in Sweden, the Freemasons apparently regarded *Stabat mater* as appropriate music for the mourning of their grand master, something that certainly would not have been the case without the central position of the works in the institution's history. The death of the king was then linked to the Passion of Christ, emphasizing the sacred aspect of the royalty.

Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* formed the core of the Freemasons' Good Friday concerts. The important role of the work is displayed by the handling of the score as described in the records of the orphanage:

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123 Rosberg 1953, pp. 43–8. Vretblad 1918, p. 156, 162, 167, 174, and 181.

124 Dagligt Allehanda 14 April 1772, 16 April 1772, and Posttidningar 16 April 1772.

125 Dagligt Allehanda 2 April 1776.

126 Frimureriska tonsättare 2006, pp. 283–8.

127 "our beloved highnesses, who did not attend the concert, which formerly always was performed in the presence of the Royalty." ["vår älskade öfwerhet, som icke bewistade Concerten, hwilken alltid förr i det Kongl. Husets öfwerwaro blifwit gifwen."] Extra Posten 3 April 1793.

128 Göteborgs Handels- och sjöfartstidning 27 April 1844, 1 May 1844 and 4 May 1844. See Appendix I.

The general Count Fred. Horn handed over a sealed parcel with Pergolesi's passion music, which Chapel Master Uttini had presented to the Freemasons' orphanage to be performed on their behalf each Good Friday, but should not be lent to any other person.<sup>129</sup>

After each annual performance, the score was placed in the iron coffin of the orphanage's directorate to be kept there. This almost sacred ceremonial handling of the score is reminiscent of other practices, such as the famous treatment of the score for Allegri's *Miserere* in the Sistine chapel that eventually developed into a cult.

The seemingly last performance in Stockholm of the Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* in its entirety took place in 1809, although the work was still included in the repertoires of other Swedish cities during the early nineteenth century (see Appendix I for details). By this point, *Stabat mater* was replaced as the main work of the Good Friday concerts by Joseph Haydn's *The Creation*, a work that held a similar marked status and prolonged performance history in Sweden.

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129 ”Generalen greffe Fred. Horn inlemnade et förseglat pacuet med Pergolesi passions musique, som kapellmästaren Uttini skiänkt til Frimurare Barnhuset at upföras för dess räkning hvar Långfredag, men icke får utlånas till någon annan”, Rosberg 1953, p. 44.



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## Biography

Maria Schildt is Associate Professor of Musicology and Senior Lecturer at the Department of Musicology at Uppsala University. She finished her PhD in 2014 with a dissertation primarily focused on the Düben collection, one of the largest surviving music collections from seventeenth-century Europe. She has participated in several research projects aimed at cataloguing and digitising French stage music in the Uppsala University Library, as well as other eighteenth-century music collections preserved in Sweden. Her work addresses issues of circulation and adaptation of Italian and French music in early modern Northern Europe, alongside the history of church music in Sweden.

## Appendix I

Performances of Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* in Sweden 1747–1844, based on records in Swedish newspapers and surviving contemporary printed programs.

Year	Place, date	Record in newspaper	Printed program	Comment
1747	Uppsala 3–4 March		<i>Till parentationerne öfwer framledne hans Excellende, Riks-rådet, Cancellie-Praesidenten, och Upsala Academie-canceleren, Högvälborne Grefven, Herr Carl Gyllenborg, som skedde d. III och IV Martii 1747 i Upsala</i>	7 of the original movements with Biblical texts in Swedish.
1749	Stockholm		<i>Jesu Christi Guds sons och mennisko-släktets frälsares, bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse. Stockholm, tryckt hos Lars Salvius. 1749</i>	
1750	Stockholm		<i>Jesu Christi Guds sons och mennisko-släktets frälsares, bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse. Stockholm, tryckt hos directeuren och kongl. boktryck. i stor-förstendömet Finland, Jacob Merckell, 1750</i> <i>Bihang till Jesu Christi [...] lidandes och döds betraktelse, tryckta i Stockholm hos J. Merckell [s.d., addition to 1750 or 1751 edition]</i>	
1751	Stockholm 10 February		<i>Werser Til Passions-Musiquen, Som uppå Fastelags-Söndag [10 February] Uti Hedvig Eleonorae Kyrka, År 1751 upfördes Af Ambrosius Bonge, Cantor derstädes</i>	
1751	Stockholm 20 and 27 March	<i>Posttidningar</i> 18 March 1751, 25 March 1751	<i>Jesu Christi Guds sons och mennisko-släktets frälsares, bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse. Stockholm, tryckt hos directeuren och kongl. boktryck. i stor-förstendömet Finland, Jacob Merckell, 1751</i> <i>Bihang till Jesu Christi [...] lidandes och döds betraktelse, tryckta i Stockholm hos J. Merckell [s.d., addition to 1750 or 1751 edition]</i>	

## Pergolesi's Stabat mater in Sweden 1747–1809

1752	Stockholm 16 February, 23 February and 1 March	<i>Posttidningar</i> 13 February 1752, 20 February 1752, 27 February 1752	<i>Jesu Christi Guds sons och människo-släktets frälsares, bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse. Stockholm, Trykt hos Lars Salvius 1752</i>
1757	Stockholm 8 April (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 4 April 1757; <i>Stockholm Gazette</i> 5 April 1757	<i>Jesu Christi Guds sons och människo-släktets frälsares bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse. Stockholm, tryckt hos direct. Lars Salvius, Stockholm, 1757</i>
1758	Stockholm 24 March (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 20 March 1758, 23 March 1758	
	Uppsala 23 March		<i>Verser till Passions-Musiken, Uppförd i Upsala, Den 23 Martii, 1758. Upsala, Tryckt hos Lor. M. Höjer</i>
1759	Stockholm 22 March, 28 March and 6 April	<i>Posttidningar</i> 19 March 1759; <i>Posttidningar</i> 26 March 1759; <i>Posttidningar</i> 2 April 1759	
	Karlstad		<i>Passions Musique Uppförd af G. G. År 1759. Carlstad, Tryckt hos Georg D. Warning</i>
1760	Stockholm 23 March, 30 March and 4 April (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 17 March 1760, 20 March 1760; <i>Posttidningar</i> 24 March 1760, 27 March 1760; <i>Posttidningar</i> 31 March 1760, 3 April 1760	<i>Jesu Christi Guds sons och människo-släktets frälsares bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse. Stockholm. Tryckt hos directeuren Lars Salvius, 1760</i>
1761	Stockholm 1 March, 8 March, 15 March and 20 March (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 19 February 1761, 26 February 1761; <i>Posttidningar</i> 5 March 1761; <i>Posttidningar</i> 9 March 1761, 12 March 1761; <i>Posttidningar</i> 16 March 1761	<i>Jesu Christi Guds sons och människo-släktets frälsares bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse. Stockholm, tryckt hos directeuren Lars Salvius, 1761</i>
	Göteborg 15 March and 20 March (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgska magasinet</i> 14 March 1761	
1762	Stockholm 7 March, 4 April and 9 April (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 4 March 1762; <i>Posttidningar</i> 29 March 1762, 1 April 1762; <i>Posttidningar</i> 5 April 1762, 8 April 1762	

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1763	Stockholm 1 April (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 31 March 1763; <i>Inrikes Tidningar</i> 28 March 1763	
	Göteborg 27 March and 1 april	<i>Bihang af Götheborgska magasinet</i> 26 March 1763	<i>Pergoleses Passions-Musique, som kommer den 27 Martii at upföras på stora Rådstugo-Salen</i> [s.l. s.d.] <sup>130</sup>
1764	Stockholm 25 March, 1 April, 15 April and 20 April (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 22 March 1764; <i>Posttidningar</i> 26 March 1764; <i>Posttidningar</i> 9 April 1764; <i>Posttidningar</i> 16 April 1764	
1765	Stockholm 3 April and 5 April (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 1 April 1765; <i>Posttidningar</i> 28 March 1765, 1 April 1765	
	Göteborg 5 April (Good Friday)		<i>Versar til Pergolesis Passions-Musique, som kommer at upföras uti Dom-Kyrkan, på Långfredagen, I Aftonsången. Götheborg, Trykt hos Immanuel Smitt, Kongl. G. Boktr. År 1765</i>
	Kalmar 25 April	<i>Posttidningar</i> 9 May 1765 [review], <i>Inrikes tidningar</i> 9 May 1765	<i>Werser Til Passions Musiquen. Calmar, Tryckt hos Lars Lindeblad, År 1765</i>
	Norrköping 28 April	<i>Norrköpings Weckotidningar</i> 20 April 1765	
1766	Stockholm 16 March and 28 March (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 10 March 1766, 13 March 1766; <i>Posttidningar</i> 24 March 1766	
1767	Stockholm 17 April (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 13 April 1767, 16 April 1767	
1768	Stockholm 1 April (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 28 March 1768	
1769	Stockholm 24 March (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 16 March 1769	
	Norrköping 12 March	<i>Norrköpings weckotidningar</i> 11 March 1769	<i>Texten til Pergolesi Pasions Musique. Norrköping, Tryckt hos Johan Benjamin Blume, 1769</i>

130 Klemming 1863–1879, p. 510. The undated printed program has been placed here as it contains both the same date, 27 March, and the place “Stora Rådstugo-salen” as the advertisement in the newspaper. Vretblad 1918 (p. 152) links this program to a school concert in Stockholm 1755.

## Pergolesi's Stabat mater in Sweden 1747–1809

1770	Stockholm 13 April (Good Friday)	<i>Posttidningar</i> 9 April 1770, 12 April 1770	<i>Jesu Christi Guds sons och mennisko-släktets frälsares bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse. Stockholm, tryckt hos Joh. Georg Lange, 1770</i>
1772	Stockholm 17 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 14 April 1772, 16 April 1772; <i>Posttidningar</i> 16 April 1772	
	Gävle		<i>Motetto del Sig:r Pergolese, Gefle, Sundqvist 1772</i> <sup>131</sup>
1773	Stockholm 9 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 6 April 1773, 8 April 1773; <i>Posttidningar</i> 1 April 1773	
1774	Stockholm 1 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 28 March 1774, 20 March 1774, 31 March 1774; <i>Posttidningar</i> 31 March 1774	
	Karlskrona 10 March	<i>Carlskronas Wekoblads</i> 5 March 1774	
1775	Stockholm 14 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 10 April 1775, 13 April 1775	
	Stockholm 3 April		“[D]en 3. Aprilis, som war odensdagen näst för Helgen, upförde Director cantus, studiosus Gråberg, endast med ungdomens tillhjälp Pergolesis Passions Musique til en stor mängd åhörare, af bägge könen, fulkomliga nöije.” <sup>132</sup>
1776	Stockholm 5 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 2 April 1776, 4 April 1776	
1777	Stockholm 28 March (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 27 March 1777	<i>Ord At Afsjungas På Stora Riddarhus Salen Den 28 Mars 1777, Stockholm Holmerus</i> <sup>133</sup>
1778	Stockholm 17 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 15 April 1778, 16 April 1778	
1779	Stockholm 2 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 20 March 1779, 31 March 1779	
1780	Stockholm 24 March (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 22 March 1780, 23 March 1780	
1781	Stockholm 13 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 10 April 1781, 12 April	
	Lund		<i>Werser til passionsmusiquen. Tryckt i Lund år 1781</i>

<sup>131</sup> Klemming 1863–1879, p. 510.

<sup>132</sup> Stockholms storskolas journal, Stockholm 1951, p. 267.

<sup>133</sup> Klemming 1863–1879, p. 510.

1782	Stockholm 6 March and 29 March (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 5 March 1782, 8 March 1782; <i>Stockholmsposten</i> 5 March 1782, 8 March 1782, 14 March 1782; <i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 25 March 1782, 27 March 1782	
	Göteborg 24 March	<i>Göteborgska Nyheter</i> 22 March 1782	<i>Versar til Passions-Musiquen D. 24 Martii 1782. Götheborg, Wahlström</i> <sup>134</sup>
1783	Stockholm 18 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 14 April 1783 to 16 April 1783	
	Göteborg 13 April and 18 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgska Nyheter</i> 12 April 1783	
1784	Stockholm 9 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 5 April 1784, 7 April 1784; <i>Stockholms Posten</i> 5 April 1784, 7 April 1784	
	Norrköping 30 March	<i>Norrköpings Weckotidningar</i> 27 March 1784	<i>Ord til Pergoleses Passions- Musique, at afsjungas på Stora Stadshus-salen i Norrköping, Tisdagen den 30 Martii. Norrköping, Tryckt hos Blume &amp; Raam, År 1784</i>
	Göteborg 9 April (Good Friday)		<i>Verser til Passions-Musiquen, Som bilfver upfördt uti Stora Rådhus-Salen, på Långfredag D. 9 April 1784. Götheborg, Tryckt hos Lars Wahlström Kongl. Pr. Boktr.</i>
1785	Stockholm 25 March (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 23 March 1785, 24 March 1783; <i>Inrikes Tidningar</i> 24 March 1785	
	Göteborg 25 March (Good Friday)	<i>Hwad Nytt?</i> 22 March 1785	
1786	Göteborg 9 April	<i>Göteborgska Nyheter</i> 8 April 1786	
	Lund 8 April	<i>Nytt och gammalt</i> 29 March 1786	
1787	Stockholm 6 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 3 April 1787, 5 April 1787; <i>Stockholms Posten</i> 3 April 1787, 5 April 1787	
	Göteborg 6 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 5 April 1787	<i>Versar til Passions-Musiquen, Som blifver upfördt uti Stora Rådhus-Salen, På Långfredagen D. 6 April 1787 Götheborg, Tryckt hos Lars Wahlström, K. P. Boktr.</i>

<sup>134</sup> Klemming 1863-1879, p. 510.



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	Norrköping 11 March	<i>Norrköpings Tidningar</i> 7 March 1787	Parts of the work.
1788	Göteborg 16 March	<i>Göteborgska Nyheter</i> 15 March 1788	
1789	Stockholm 10 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 6 April 1789, 9 April 1789; <i>Stockholms Posten</i> 6 April 1789, 9 April 1789	
	Göteborg 5 April	<i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 3 April 1793	
1790	Stockholm 2 April (Good Friday)	<i>Inrikes Tidningar</i> 29 March 1790, 1 April 1790; <i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 31 March 1790; 1 April 1790; <i>Stockholms Posten</i> 30 March 1790, 1 April 1790	<i>Jesu vår frälsares lidande. Ord till Pergoleses passions- musique. Stockholm, å nyo tryckt hos Anders Zetterberg, 1790</i>
	Göteborg 28 March and 2 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgska Nyheter</i> 27 March 1790; <i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 1 April 1790	
1791	Stockholm 22 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 20 April 1791, 21 April 1791; <i>Stockholms Posten</i> 20 April 1791, 21 April 1791; <i>Inrikes tidningar</i> 21 April 1791	<i>Ord, hörande til Pergolesi Passions-Musique. Stockholm, tryckt uti Kongl. Ordens- Tryckeriet 1791</i>
	Åbo 22 April (Good Friday)	<i>Åbo Tidningar</i> 18 April 1791	
	Göteborg 17 April	<i>Göteborgska Nyheter</i> 16 April 1791	
1792	Åbo 6 April (Good Friday)	<i>Åbo Tidningar</i> 2 April 1792	<i>Ord, til Passions musiken, af Pergolese. Åbo, Tryckt i Frenckellska Boktryckeriet 1792</i>
1793	Stockholm 29 March (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 26 March 1793, 28 March 1793; <i>Stockholms Posten</i> 26 March 1793, 28 March 1793; <i>Extra Posten</i> 3 April 1793 [review]	
	Åbo 29 March (Good Friday)	<i>Åbo Tidningar</i> 25 March 1793	
	Göteborg 29 March (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 28 March 1793[cancelled]	
1794	Stockholm 18 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 14–17 April 1794; <i>Stockholms Posten</i> 14 April 1794, 17 April 1794	<i>Jesu Christi Guds sons och människoslågtets frälsares bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse. Ord, til Pergoleses passions- musique, Stockholm, tryckt hos Johan C. Holmberg, 1794</i>
	Åbo 18 April (Good Friday)	<i>Åbo Tidningar</i> 14 April 1794	
	Göteborg 18 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 17 April 1794	

1795	Stockholm 3 April (Good Friday)	<i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 30 March 1795, 2 April 1795; <i>Stockholms Posten</i> 30 March 1795, 2 April 1795; <i>Extraposten</i> 30 March 1795, 2 April 1795	
	Gävle	<i>Weckoblad för Gefleborgs län</i> 28 March 1795	<i>Jesu Christi Guds sons och människoslågtets frälsares bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse. Ord, til Pergoleses passions-musique. Gefle, tryckt hos Ernst Peter Sundqvist 1795</i>
	Åbo 3 April (Good Friday)	<i>Åbo Tidningar</i> 30 March 1795	
	Uppsala 3 April (Good Friday)	<i>Upsala Tidning</i> 8 April 1795 [review]	Parts of the work.
	Göteborg 3 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 2 April 1795	
1796	Stockholm 25 March (Good Friday)	<i>Stockholms Posten</i> 16 March 1796, 23 March 1796, 24 March 1796; <i>Dagligt Allehanda</i> 21–24 March 1796	
	Göteborg 25 March (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Tidning</i> 22 March 1796	<i>Versar til Passions-Musiquen D. 25 Martii 1796. Göteborg, Wahlström</i> <sup>135</sup>
	Åbo 25 March (Good Friday)		
	Uppsala 25 March (Good Friday)	<i>Upsala Tidning</i> 24 March 1796	
1797	Åbo 14 April (Good Friday)	<i>Åbo Tidningar</i> 10 April 1797 [cancelled]	
	Göteborg 14 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 13 April 1797	
	Karlskrona 12 March and 19 March	<i>Carlskronas Wekoblad</i> 11 march 1797; 18 March 1797	Parts of the work.
1799	Göteborg 22 March (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Tidningar</i> 21 March 1799	
1800	Örebro 11 April (Good Friday)	<i>Örebro Tidning</i> 7 April 1800	<i>Versar til Passions-Musiquen Den 11 April 1800. Örebro, Lindh</i> <sup>136</sup>
	Gävle 11 April (Good Friday)	<i>Weckoblad för Gefleborgs län</i> 5 April 1800	
	Norrköping 11 April (Good Friday)	<i>Norrköpings Tidningar</i> 10 April 1800	

<sup>135</sup> Klemming 1863–1879, p. 510.

<sup>136</sup> Klemming 1863–1879, p. 510.

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1801	Göteborg 3 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 31 March 1801; <i>Göteborgs Tidningar</i> 31 March 1801		
	Örebro 3 April (Good Friday)	<i>Örebro Weckoblad</i> 28 March 1801		Parts of the work.
1802	Åbo 23 April (Good Friday)	<i>Åbo Tidning</i> 21 April 1802		
	Göteborg 23 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Tidningar</i> 22 April 1802		
1803	Karlskrona 8 April (Good Friday)	<i>Carlschronas Wekoblad</i> 6 April 1803		Parts of the work.
1804	Göteborg 30 March (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 28 March 1804		
1805	Göteborg 19 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Tidningar</i> 18 April 1805		
	Karlskrona 19 April (Good Friday)	<i>Carlschronas Wekoblad</i> 17 April 1805		
1808	Uppsala 15 April (Good Friday)	<i>Upsala Tidning</i> 14 April 1808	[Program in <i>Upsala Tidning</i> No. 43, 14 April]	Parts of the work.
1809	Stockholm	<i>Jesu Christi Guds sons och människoslågtets frälsares bittra lidandes och döds betraktelse. Ord, til Stabat mater af Pergolesi. Stockholm, tryckte hos directuren Johan A. Carlbohm, 1809</i>		
1810	Göteborg 20 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 18 April 1810		
	Örebro 20 April (Good Friday)	<i>Örebro Tidning</i> 7 April 1810		Parts of the work.
1811	Göteborg 12 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 10 April 1811		
1812	Göteborg 27 March (Good Friday)		<i>Verser til Passions-Musiquen, på Lång-Fredagen [...] Tryckte hos Lars Wahlström, Kongl. Pr. Boktr.</i> <sup>137</sup>	
1816	Göteborg 12 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 1816; <i>Göteborgs Tidningar</i> 9 April 1816; <i>Aftonbladet</i> 8 April 1816, 11 April 1816		
	Karlskrona 12 April (Good Friday)	<i>Carlschronas Wekoblad</i> 10 April 1816	[Program in the newspaper]	Parts of the work.

<sup>137</sup> Klemming 1863–1879, p. 510.

1817	Karlskrona 4 April (Good Friday)	<i>Carlskronas Weckoblad</i> 2 April 1817	[Program in the newspaper]	Parts of the work.
1819	Göteborg 9 April (Good Friday)		<i>Versar til Passions-Musiquen, Som blifver upförd uti [...] på Lång-fredag den 9 April 1819. Göteborg, Tryckte hos Lars Wahlström, Kongl. Pr. Boktr.</i>	
	Hudiksvall 9 April (Good Friday)	<i>Weckoblad från Gefle</i> 8 May 1819 [report]		
1820	Göteborg 31 March (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 29 March 1820; <i>Göteborgs Tidningar</i> 28 March 1820		
1821	Göteborg 20 April (Good Friday)	<i>Aftonbladet</i> 19 April 1821		
1822	Göteborg 5 April (Good Friday)	<i>Göteborgs Tidningar</i> 2 April 1822, 4 April 1822; <i>Göteborgs Allehanda</i> 3 April 1822		
1825	Västerås 4 May	<i>Westerås stads och läns tidning</i> 29 April 1825		
1831	Lund 1 April (Good Friday)		[Printed program?]	
1835	Lund 17 April (Good Friday)	<i>Lunds Weckoblad</i> 15 April 1835; <i>Skånska Correpondenten</i> 18 April 1835 [review]	<i>Christi död. Musiken af Pergolesi. Orden efter Klopstock af Assar Lindeblad. Cantate afsjungen Långfredagen den 17 April 1835. Lund, Tryckt uti Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1835</i>	Swedish translation of Klopstock's text.
1836	Lund 1 April (Good Friday)	<i>Skånska Correpondenten</i> 23 March 1836, 30 March 1836, 2 April 1836 [review], 6 April 1836 [review]; <i>Tiding för teater och musik</i> 1836:16 [review]; <i>Malmö Allehanda</i> 6 April 1836 [review]	<i>Christi död. Musiken af Pergolesi. Orden efter Klopstock af Assar Lindeblad. Cantate afsjungen Långfredagen den 17 [1] April 1835 [1836]. Lund, Tryckt uti Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1835<sup>138</sup></i>	Swedish translation of Klopstock's text.
1837	Jönköping 24 March (Good Friday)	<i>Jönköpings Tidning</i> 17 March 1837, <i>Småländska Correspondenten</i> 22 March 1837; <i>Norrköpings Tidningar</i> 5 April 1837 [review]	<i>Christi död. Musiken af Pergolesi. Orden efter Klopstock af Assar Lindeblad. Cantate afsjungen Långfredagen den 24 Mars 1837. Jönköping, hos J. P. Lundström, 1837</i>	Swedish translation of Klopstock's text.
1844	Göteborg 5 May and 8 May	<i>Göteborgs Handels- och sjöfartstidning</i> 24 April 1844; <i>Göteborgs Handels- och sjöfartstidning</i> 27 April 1844, 1 May 1844, 4 May 1844		

138 Publication year added by hand in the copy in Uppsala University Library.

## Appendix II

The *Stabat mater* text in Latin (the version used by Pergolesi), the anonymous Swedish text that was used for performances of Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* in Sweden with English translation, and the Swedish chorales that were usually inserted.

The Latin text	The Swedish 1749 text, and the inserted chorales	The Swedish 1749 text in English translation
	Jesu lär mig rätt betänka Tin tänckwärde swåra dödh, Och tin bittra pinos nödh: Hielp at jagh kan migh nu sänkia I tin Helga diupa såår, Ther jagh lijf och hälsa får.	[Stanza 1 of “Jesu lär mig rätt betänka” (Haquin Spegel)]
1. <i>Stabat mater dolorosa iuxta crucem lacrymosa, dum pendebat filius.</i>	Skåda Jesu svåra pina, som han led för synder dina, då han månd' ditt straff utstå.	Behold the severe torment of Jesus, which he suffered for your sins, when he endured your punishment.
2. <i>Cuius animam gementem contristatam, et dolentem pertransivit gladius.</i>	Låt dig denna nöd och smärta gå igenom själ och hjärta, syndare tänk här uppå!	Let this distress and pain go through heart and soul, sinners, reflect upon this!
3. <i>O quam tristis, et afflicta fuit illa benedicta mater unigeniti!</i>	Se! Gud fångslad, ryckt och dragen, för dig här uppfyller lagen: Lider straff med villigt mod.	Behold! God imprisoned, pulled and dragged, here fulfils the law for you: Suffer punishment with willing courage.
4. <i>Quae moerebat, et dolebat, et tremebat, dum videbat nati poenas incliti.</i>	När Guds vrede Jesum tuktar, darrand' han till jorden buktar, ängslas, kväljes, svettras blod.	When the wrath of God chastises Jesus, he bows trembling to the earth, suffering, tormented, sweating blood.
	Min synd migh nu bedröfwad gör, Samwetet giwfer ej hwila, Synderna flera än sandkornen är': Doch wil jagh icke förtwifla: Men tänkia troliga på tin dödh, HErre JESu Christ tin såår så rödh Skola migh fast uppehålla.	[Stanza 2 of “Wenn mein Stündlein”]
5. <i>Quis est homo, qui non fleret, Christi matrem si videret in tanto supplicio? Quis non posset contristari piam matrem contemplari dolentem cum filio?</i>	Vilkens öga här ej gråter? Vilkens mun ej klagligt låter? Vilkens själ ej häpen blir? Vem har hjärta som ej blöder? När han Jesum för sig döder och på korset naglad ser.	Whose eye does not weep? Whose mouth does not complain? Whose soul is not astonished? Who has a heart that does not bleed? When he kills Jesus for himself and sees him nailed to the cross.
6. <i>Pro peccatis suae gentis vidit Iesum in tormentis, et flagellis subditum.</i>	Jesu för vår' synder kvider: Plågor, spott och spe han lider, utav gissel blör hans kropp.	Jesus moans for our sins: He suffers torment, scorn and derision, by scourge his body bleeds.

7. Vidit suum dulcem natum morientem desolatum dum emisit spiritum.	Jesum dödens ångst' omfattar: avgrundsplågan honom mattar då han ger sin anda opp.	Jesus embraces the agony of death: the abyssal plague is weakening him when he gives up his spirit.
	O sorg och nödh! Sij! Gudh är död, Och upppå korset dräpen, Then haar wist een siäl af steen, Som eij warder häpen.	[Stanza 2 of "O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid"]
8. Eia mater fons amoris me sentire vim doloris fac ut tecum lugeam.	Gud, att frälsa mänskoscjälén, låter sonen dö för trälen och betala våra skuld'.	To save the human soul, God lets his son die for the slave and pays our debts.
	Här är Gudz rätta Lamb, För oss på Korsens stamm, Af werlden heelt förachtat, Af kärlek til oss slachtat: Här kan tu nåde finna; Wil tu, min själ, besinnat.	[Stanza 4 of "Ich will zu aller Stund" (Olearius)]
9. Fac ut ardeat cor meum in amando Christum Deum ut sibi complaceam.	Därför upp min själ och tunga, Jesum Christum att lovsjunga, som har gjort oss Fadern huld.	Therefore, up my soul and tongue, Jesus Christ to praise, who has made the Father benignant for us.
10. Sancta mater istud agas, crucifixi fige plagas cordi meo valide. Tui nati vulnerati, tam dignati per me pati, poenas mecum divide. Fac me vere tecum flere crucifixo condolere, donec ego vixero. Iuxta crucem tecum stare, te libenter sociare in planctu desidero. Virgo virginum praeclara mihi iam non sis amara, fac me tecum plangere.	Jesu, dig vill jag hembära pris och heder, lov och ära, som mig löst av syndens band. Jesu, låt mig aldrig glömma pinan din, men städs berömma nåden av din kärleks hand. Dödens fångar du förlöstar: döden din har sönderkrossat ormens huvud, Satans makt. Du har kämpat, för mig vunnit jag har livet återfunnit i ditt: nu är allt fullbragt. O fridsfurste Jesu Christe! Livet, som du för mig miste, ger mig frid och evigt liv.	Jesus, I want to offer to you praise and honour, laud and glory, as you released me from the bonds of sin. Jesus, let me never forget your pain, but ever commend the grace of your love's hand. The prisoners of death you redeem: your death has shattered the head of the serpent, the power of Satan. You have fought and won for me: I have regained life in yours: Now it is finished. O prince of peace Jesus Christ! The life that you lost for me, gives me peace and eternal life.
	Ach Jesu Christ! vår tröst förwisst, Wij tigh i trone bedie: Lät tin pina, kors och död, h, Lända oss til glädie.	[Stanza 12 of "O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid"]
11. Fac ut portem Christi mortem passionis fac consortem, et plagas recolere. Fac me plagis vulnerari cruci hac inebriari ob amorem filij.	Låt mig, Jesu, här i tiden nyttja denna dyra friden; din förtjänst min egen bliv! Som hos Fadern evigt galler: så att synden mig ej faller, när jag tror. Ack! Otron driv.	Let me, Jesus, here in this time make use of this precious peace; your merit my own become! Which with the Father is eternal: so that sin does not condemn me, when I believe. Alas! Put unbelief to flight.

## Pergolesi's Stabat mater in Sweden 1747–1809

	Värdes mig det hopp förläna, Styrck migh i then fasta troo, At tin möda war min roo, At tu wille för migh tiena, På thet jagh en syndaträl Winna må en frijad siäl.	[Stanza 18 of “Jesu lär mig rätt betänka” (Haquin Spegel)]
12. Inflammatu et accensus per te Virgo sim defensus in die iudicij. Fac me crucem custodiri morte Christi premuniri confoveri gratia.	Mig din kärlek helt intager, ingenting mig från dig drager, Eller glädjen min förstör. När ditt kors jag värdigt aktar: alltid Jesu död betraktar, och dig älskar som mig bör.	Your love completely holds me, nothing draws me from you or destroys my joy. When your cross is worthy of me: I always contemplate the death of Jesus, and love you as I should.
13. Quando corpus moriatur, fac ut animae donetur paradisi gloria.	Giv då, när jag skall avlida, att jag i din sår och sida stilla, nöjd och saligt dör!	Grant that, when I shall die, in your wound and side I quietly, contentedly and blissfully die.
14. Amen.	Amen.	Amen.
	Nu jagh tackar tigh af hieerta, Jesu, för tin myckna nödh; För tin såår och stora smärta; För tin swåra bittra dödh; För tin ångst then myckit swåre; Thet tu ledst för synder wåre. Prijs och ähra ware tigh, HErre Jesu innerlig.	[Stanza 8 of “Jesu, meines Lebens Leben”]