

JANET K. PAGE

Music 'at the Holy Sepulchre' in Viennese Female Convents in the Early Eighteenth Century

Holy Week in early eighteenth-century Vienna was packed with devotional activities. For the imperial family and the court, there were visits to churches, monasteries, convents, and services of many kinds. On Tuesday, the emperor made a pilgrimage on foot along the famous *Kreuzweg* from Vienna to the village of Hernals to visit the *Calvarienberg* there. On Thursday, there was a ceremony imitating the last supper, at which the Emperor and Empress washed the feet of twelve poor old men and twelve poor old women, respectively, served them a meal, and gave them gifts. On Friday, members of the imperial family 'visited on foot the holy sepulchres in various churches of this city'. That evening, 'a devotional musical presentation on the death of Jesus Christ our saviour' was performed 'in the imperial chapel at the palace, at the lovely model of the holy sepulchre erected there'. On Saturday, the Emperor and Empress likewise made the rounds of the city churches, visiting the sepulchres there.¹ How many churches were visited in the early eighteenth century is not reported, but earlier the Emperor had visited many, and heard musical performances in several of them: the English traveller John Burbury reported that in 1664 Emperor Leopold I 'visited afoot the Churches and Sepulchres, in number thirty-seven, at three of which the Passion of our Saviour was exhibited in Musick'.² In 1674 the Emperor visited twenty-nine churches, including all the female convents except

¹ This description is derived from accounts in the *Corriere Ordinario*, 1708–1710. The quotations are taken from the account for 1708 (7 April): [Friday 6 April] the Dowager Empress, together with her daughters, 'doppo mezzo dì andò à piedi colla sua Corte à visitar i Sacri Sepolcri in diverse Chiese di questa Città [...] e la sera si fece nella Cesarea Cappella à Palazzo nel vago Sepolcro colà eretto, una divota Rappresentazione in Musica della Morte di Giesù Christo nostro Redentore.' Accounts for other years are very similar. Further details of these ceremonies and others appear in Johann Baptist Schönewetter, *Wienerisches Andachtsbüchl oder Fest-Calender vor das Jahr 1715* (Vienna, 1715), 37–43, and other years.

² John Burbury, *A Relation of a Journey of the Right Honourable My Lord Henry Howard, From London to Vienna and thence to Constantinople* (London, 1671), 28.

the recently established St Ursula, whose church was not completed until 1675.³

The week was equally full for those outside the court. Sepulchres were erected in many churches, and there were devotional activities for ordinary folk, similar to the ones the court attended, all over the city. Thousands joined the Emperor's pilgrimage on Tuesday or made their own. Some of these were figural, with participants acting out the passion story or embellishing it: a procession from Vienna to Hernals on 22 March 1698 (the day before Palm Sunday) included '16. Christ with the cross. 17. Simon the Cyrene. 18. Weeping Jews with wives and their children'.⁴ This practice continued into the early eighteenth century: a figural procession on this day was reported in the *Wienerisches Diarium* of 3 April 1705. On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday evenings, candles were lit and passion hymns were sung 'at the holy cross next to the holy stairway'⁵ (in the Minoritenkirche, described by Friedrich Nicolai in 1781: 'in the church of this monastery there is a holy stairway, which no one's feet may touch, but which all must climb on their knees'⁶). There were popular versions of the imperial foot-washing ceremony, including one at St Stephen's with the mayor of the city presiding;⁷ re-enactments of the passion in other churches; passion plays with music performed by wandering troupes;⁸ and processions through the streets by members of the brotherhoods, dragging crosses and heavy chains and scourging themselves.⁹ A *Trauer-Gesang* in three parts was performed 'at the glorious sepulchre' in the Capuchin church on Good Friday beginning at seven a.m., 'before, in the

³ Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Ältere Zeremonial-Akten, Karton 9, B, fos. 1^r–^v. On the Ursuline church, see *Zwei Jahrhunderte des Ursulinerklosters in Wien, 1660–1860* (Vienna, 1869), 19–20.

⁴ Procession to Hernals, 22 March 1698, described in the *Neu-ankommender Currier Aus Wien/Hungarn/Pohlen/und Reich*, 26 March 1698: '16. Christus mit dem Creutz. 17. Simon Cyrenus. 18. Weinende Juden mit Weiber und mit ihren Kindern'.

⁵ Schönwetter, *Wienerisches Andachtsbüchl*, 41.

⁶ Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz, im Jahre 1781* (Berlin, 1783–84), ii. 611: 'ist in der Kirche dieses Klosters eine Heilige Stiege, die niemand mit Füßen betreten darf, sondern mit den Knien hinaufzutschen muß.'

⁷ Schönwetter, *Wienerisches Andachtsbüchl*, 40.

⁸ Alexander von Weilen, 'Älteste Spuren theatralischer Bethätigung: Das kirchliche und bürgerliche Schauspiel', in *Die Theater Wiens* (Vienna, 1899), i. 3–5.

⁹ Geraldine M. Rohling, 'Exequial and Votive Practices of the Viennese Bruderschaften: A Study of Music and Liturgical Piety' (Ph.D. diss., Catholic Univ. of America, 1996), 128–130.

middle of, and after the passion sermon';¹⁰ the performers were apparently court musicians, and the practice continued at least through 1715.¹¹ On the same day, in a tradition that dated back to the 1530s or earlier and continued until about 1718, a passion play was performed at St Stephen's.¹² The version known in the late seventeenth century, in the text provided by the Viennese cleric Johannes Matthias Testarello della Massa in 1685, began in the morning with the story of the crucifixion and continued in the afternoon with the burial and the reactions of Jesus' mother and followers at the sepulchre,¹³ the people of the city participating as mourners.¹⁴ In the evening, members of the brotherhoods were to be seen 'at the various holy sepulchres with torches and staves singing the Miserere'.¹⁵

Music was presented 'at the holy sepulchre' at other locations in Vienna besides the court chapels, and elsewhere in the Habsburg empire as well—for example, in Bohemia and Moravia. One such work by Georg Reutter Sr was first presented in Vienna (probably at the Jesuit College), then in 1713 in

¹⁰ For example, *soLatlosa aMorIs pVgna LibrI Vitae apoCaLYptICI In VirentI saL VtIferae CrVCIs Lligno eXposItI. Das ist: Deß an dem Baum deß heylbringenden Creutzes eröffneten Apocalypischen Buch deß Lebens CHRISTI JESU Trost-voller Liebes-Kampff. Welcher nebst andern zweyen Kämpffen in einem Trauer-Gesang der für CHRISTO streitenden Kirchen vorgestellt. Bey dem glorwürdigen Grabe CHRISTI, In der Kirchen Deren Wohl-Ehrwürdigen PP. Capucinern auff dem Neuenmarck am Heil. Charfreitag früh umb 7. Uhr vor / in / und nach der Passion-Predig in einem Sing-Spiel entworfen. Anno qVo LIber Iste Vitae apoCaLYptICVS ab VnIversa CathoLICa ecclesia plè In gLorioso reCLVDebatVr sepVLChro* (Vienna: Leopold Voigt, 1700 [date from chronogram]) (Vienna, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [Wb], Drucksammlung).

¹¹ Schönwetter, *Wienerisches Andachtsbüchl*, 41.

¹² Franz Hadamowsky, 'Mittelalterliches geistliches Spiel in Wien 1499–1718: Eine Dokumentation aus dem wichtigsten Quellen', *Quellen zur Theatergeschichte*, iii, *Jahrbuch der Wiener Gesellschaft für Theaterforschung*, 23 (1981), 16–17, 98, and Hadamowsky, *Wien, Theatergeschichte: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Vienna, 1988), 57–60.

¹³ Johannes Matthias Testarello della Massa, 'Historia ecclesiastica urbia Viennensis a conversione ad fidem christianum usque ad annum 1685', Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 8227, 380–451. Hadamowsky 'Mittelalterliches geistliches Spiel in Wien', 87–111, is a transcription of Testarello della Massa's version of the play.

¹⁴ Schönwetter, *Wienerisches Andachtsbüchl*, 40.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 42: 'Sonsten werden Heute Bruderschafter in ihren Habiten gesehen, welche des Abends mit Fackeln, Stäben und Musicalischer Singung des Psalmen Miserere, bey denen Heil. Gräbern sich einfinden.'

Prague.¹⁶ Emperor Leopold I visited the Jesuit College in Vienna every year on Good Friday, where ‘the Jesuit Fathers put on a sorrowful play concerning the passion of Christ in the college at the sepulchre’.¹⁷ Burbury mentions that the Emperor attended such a play on Good Friday in 1664,¹⁸ and manuscript libretti dating from 1643 to 1697 survive for productions at the holy sepulchre there.¹⁹

CONVENT *SEPOLCRO* PERFORMANCES AROUND 1700

In the late seventeenth century and the early eighteenth, the visits of members of the imperial family to churches, monasteries, and especially female convents on the Friday and Saturday of Holy Week sometimes included musical performances—*sepolcri*, passion oratorios, or cantata-like pieces. Such performances continued even after imperial interest had died away. Table 1 provides an overview of known performances ‘at the holy sepulchre’ in Viennese female convents.

¹⁶ *DoLoRISET pIETATIs SPECVLVM IesVs In CrVCe DeMoRIens BonIs & peCCator IbVs à Deo proposItVm. Oder, Christus JESUS am Creütz ein Spiegel der Schmertzen, und Göttlicher Erbarmussen den Butten zur Begegn-Lieb, den Sündern aber zur Warnung und Buß, auf dem Berg Calvari außgestellt. Vorhero in Wienn: Jetzt aber in der kleinern Stadt Prag, bey anmüttiger Vorstellung deß im heiligen Grab ruhenden Heylands, In der Kirchen S. Nicolai, der Wohl-Ehrwürdigen PP. Soc. JESU, am H. Charfreytag Nachmittag um 12. Uhr, von der Edlen Music beflissenen Liebhabern in einem traurigen Gesang entworffen. In die Musik gesetzt von Herrn Georg Reutter, der Käyserl. und Königl. Majestät Organisten, in der Kirchen Unser Lieben Frauen bey S. Stephan Capellae Magister. Alt-Stadt Prag, gedruckt bey Barbara Francisca Bergerin [1713; date from chronogram] (text: A-Wn, Musiksammlung).*

¹⁷ Hadamowsky, ‘Barocktheater am Wiener Kaiserhof: Mit einem Spielplan (1625–1740)’, *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theaterforschung* 1951/52 (1955), 7–117, at 59, quoting from the *Frankfurter Relationen*, 15 April 1661: ‘die Herren Patres Soc. Jesu im Collegio bey dem Grab eine traurige Comödie vom Leiden Christi halten lassen.’

¹⁸ Burbury, *Relation of a Journey*, 28.

¹⁹ Kurt Adel, ‘Handschriften von Jesuitendramen in der Österreichischen National-Bibliothek in Wien’, *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theaterforschung*, 12 (1960), 83–112, nos. 77, 104, and 228.

TABLE 1. *Known performances at the holy sepulchre in Viennese female convents, 1695–1740*

<i>Title</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Librettist</i>	<i>Performance</i>
<i>Giesu crocifisso</i> (lib: I-Vmn)	Carlo Agostino Badia	A. Catelani	St Ursula, 2 Apr 1695 (Sat)
<i>La morte del Redentore</i> (lib: I-Mb)	Badia	Petronilla de Massimi	St Ursula, 21 Apr 1696 (Sat)
<i>Il pianto di Maria Vergine, e di S. Maria Maddalena al S. Sepolcro raddolcito della Consolazione</i> (lib: A-Wn, I-Vnm)	Badia	Giuseppe Spedazzi	St Ursula, 6 Apr 1697 (Sat)
<i>L'invenzione della Croce</i> (lib: A-Wn, I-Vnm)	Badia	Petronilla de Massimi	St Ursula, 6 Apr 1697 (Sat)
<i>La sepoltura di Christo</i> (lib: A-Wn; sc: A-Wn Mus. Hs. 16891)	Badia	R. N. Batticava	St Ursula, 29 Mar 1698 (Sat)
<i>La deposizione della Croce, e sepoltura di Giesù</i> (lib: I-Vnm, I-Mb)	Badia	Unknown	St Ursula, 18 Apr 1699 (Sat)
<i>Giesu nel Pretorio, ossia l'Inno- cenza giudicata della Malizia</i> (lib: A-Wn, I-Vnm)	Badia	Frigimelica Roberti	St Ursula, 10 Apr 1700 (Sat)
<i>Cantata Sacra</i> (sc: A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18698)	unknown	Unknown	St Ursula, c.1700 (Sat)
<i>L'empietà trionfante nella morte di Giesu Cristo</i> (lib: I-Vnm, SI-Lf)	Badia	Unknown	St Ursula, 26 Mar 1701 (Sat)
<i>La resurrezione di Giesu Cristo</i> (lib: A-Wn, I-Mb)	Badia	Unknown	St Ursula, 15 Apr 1702 (Sat)
<i>Trattenimento devoto</i> (lib: I-Vnm)	Badia	Unknown	St Ursula, 1703 Exact date unknown: Holy Week?

<i>Title</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Librettist</i>	<i>Performance</i>
<i>Suspiria animae amantis</i> [...] <i>Das ist Herzliche Begierd der Braut</i> (lib: Wb)	Franz Anton Gruner	Johann Baptist Hilverding	Königin-kloster, 18 Apr 1710 (Fri)
'Eine kleine music' at the Hl. Grab	unknown	Unknown	St Ursula, 19 Apr 1710 (Sat)
<i>Schmerzliche Beweinung</i> 1730 lib notes previous performance	Georg Reutter Sr	Unknown	St Agnes, 172? (Fri)
<i>Mater dolorum</i> (lib: Wb; parts: A-Kr F 27, 5)	Georg Reutter Jr	Heinrich Rademin	St Agnes, 1729 (Fri)
<i>Der von der eytlen Welt-Lust</i> [...] (lib: A-Wn)	Johann Georg Reinhardt	unknown	St Ursula, 1729 (Sat)
<i>Schmerzliche Beweinung</i> (lib: Wb)	Reutter Sr	Unknown	St Agnes, 1730 (Fri)
<i>Der Durch des Liebes Brand-Opfer</i> [...] (lib: A-Wn)	Reutter (Jr?)	Unknown	St Jakob, 173? (Sat)
<i>Die bey den Grab Jesu Christi</i> [...] (lib: Wb)	Alexander Ender	Unknown	St Ursula, 1731 (Sat)
<i>Sicherer Zufluchts-Orth des Sündes</i> [...] (lib: Wb)	Ender	Unknown	St Ursula, 1733 (Sat)
<i>Christus Jesus der vor seine Schaaf gestorben und im Grab liegende Gute Hirt</i> (lib: Wb)	Ender	Unknown	St Ursula, 1734 (Sat)
<i>Die Beschuldigte Unschuld</i> (lib: Wb)	Reutter (Jr?)	Andreas Weidner	St Jakob, 1733 or later (Fri)
<i>Die hitzige Liebe des sterbenden Christi</i> (lib: Wb)	Georg Christoph Wagenseil	Unknown	St Jakob, 1739 or 1740? (Fri or Sat)

There was no fixed pattern to the imperial visits, nor to the performances, although early on, visits to the Ursuline convent seem to have usually taken place on Saturday. For the year 1697, two libretti for Saturday performances in the Ursuline convent church are preserved. Carlo Agostino Badia's *L'invenzione della croce*, with a libretto by Petronilla de Massimi, was performed 'at the holy sepulchre'; it is dedicated to Badia's patroness,

Eleonora [Maria], Queen of Poland and Duchess of Lorraine, the twice-widowed half-sister of Emperor Leopold, and dated 6 April, the Saturday.²⁰ While *L'invenzione della croce* is in two parts, Badia's *Il pianto di Maria Vergine, e di S. Maria Maddalena*, with a libretto by Giuseppe Spedazzi, is very short, with only 85 lines, including three arias and a final trio, and has only three characters. According to the title page, it was 'performed on Holy Saturday by the Madri Orsoline on the occasion of the visit to the holy sepulchre by his Majesty Joseph, King of the Romans', the nineteen-year-old future Emperor Joseph I.²¹ The *Corriere Ordinario* reported only that Joseph and his entourage 'visited on foot the sepulchres in the churches of the city' during the morning of Holy Saturday, but noted that the family, including Eleonora Maria, met at the Augustinian church for Mass. Eleonora Maria and her party apparently toured the churches on their own schedule and arrived at the Ursuline convent at a different time,²² perhaps in the afternoon. A report from 1712 in the chronicle of the Ursuline convent suggests that a single presentation was more usual, but that sometimes, depending on the imperial schedule, there might be no performance at the sepulchre at all: 'Holy Saturday: his majesty the Emperor visited our holy sepulchre, and, as Vespers was sung in the choir loft, we were not able to perform our usual music at the sepulchre'.²³

²⁰ *L'Invenzione della Croce. Oratorio di Petronilla de Massimi Marchesa d'Ortona, e Careto. Cantato dalle RR. Madri Orsoline di Vienna al S. Sepolcro, e dalle Medesime consecrato alla Sacra, e Real Maestà di Eleonora Regina di Polonia, Duchessa di Lorena &c. Posto in Musica dal Sig. Carlo Agostino Badia Compositore trattenuto per l'Augustissima Cappella di S. M. C.* (Vienna, 1697) (A-Wn, Musiksammlung). The preface is dated 6 April 1697.

²¹ *Il Pianto di Maria Vergine, e di Santa Maria Maddalena al S. Sepolco Raddolcito dalla Consolatione. Rappresentato il Sabbato Santo dalle R.R. Madri Orsoline in occasione della Visita fatta al S. Sepolcro, dalla Maestà del Rè de Romani Giuseppe. Posto in Musica dal Sig. Carlo Agostino Badia Compositore trattenuto per l'Augustissima Cappella di S. M. C.* (Vienna, 1697) (A-Wn, Theatersammlung).

²² *Corriere Ordinario*, 10 April 1697: 'Sabatto mattina la Maestà del Rè de'i Romani, e'l Seren. Arciduca Carlo, accompagnati da Monsig. Nunzio Apostolico, Sig. Ambasciatori, e molti Cavallieri, e Nobiltà, andarono à visitar à piedi li SS. Sepolcri nelle Chiese di questa Città; & intervennero poi colle Maestà Cesaree, e Regina di Polonia alla solenne Messa nella sudetta Chiesa Aulica.'

²³ Hauschronik 2, Wiener Ursulinen, 230: [March 1712] 'charsamstag [...] Ihr Mayl: der keyser haben das grab bey uns besucht da wür auf dem Chor die Vesper gesungen und also nicht die gewöhnliche Music bey dem Grab machen khönnen.'

In 1710 the *Wienerisches Diarium* reported that on Good Friday the Dowager Empress Eleonora Magdalena, the young Habsburg offspring, and the Duchess of Lorraine heard morning services, dined, and heard afternoon services at the Königinkloster—a high-status convent located across the square from the Augustinian church—before visiting other churches.²⁴ On that day a German oratorio, *Suspira animae amantis*, was performed at this convent at one o'clock in the afternoon.²⁵ The music was composed by Franz Anton Gruner, a chaplain and *musico* in the Dowager Empress's chapel;²⁶ thus the event would seem to have been planned by the Empress's people (as one might say), perhaps in honour of the Duchess, whose husband was cousin to Emperor Joseph. The librettist was Johann Baptist Hilverding, and this was not the only time that someone associated with popular theatre contributed to a convent *sepolcro* production. The instrumentalists were likely imperial musicians, as the nuns of this convent usually called on musicians from the court or St Stephen's for special music. During their rounds of the churches on the following day, the Emperor and Empress also heard a musical performance, this time at the Ursuline convent: according to the convent chronicle, 'at 12:30 their majesties the Emperor and Empress came to our sepulchre, where we gave a little musical performance'.²⁷

²⁴ *Wienerisches Diarium*, 19 April 1710: 'Freytag, den 18. April [...] Ingleichem haben Ihro Majest. die Verwittibte Kayserin, nebst Dero Durchleuchtigsten Jungen Herrschaft, und denen Durchleuchtigsten Hertzogin von Lothringen, wie auch Dero Hofstaat, in schon gedachtem [Königlicher] Stifft der Predig Dero Hof-Predigers, und übrigen Gottes-Dienst Vor- und Nachmittags abgewartet, nicht weniger viele Kirchen und Kapellen der Stadt zu Fuß besucht.'

²⁵ *Suspira animae amantis* [...] Oratorium, *Das ist Hertzliche Begierd Der Braut oder der Christlichen Kirchen, In dem Hohen Lied Salamonis zu ihren Bräutigam / oder ihren über Todt und Welt triumphirenden Heyland, Welches bey dem Gnadenreichen Grab Christi In der Kirchen der Wohl-Ehrwürdigen Jungfrauen deß Königl. Stiffts bey St. Maria der Engeln St. Clarae Ordens In Wienn am Heiligen charfreytag Nachmittag umb 1. Uhr gesungener dargestellt wird. Componirt von Herrn Johann Baptista Hilverding. In die Musik gesetzt Von Reverendo Domino Francisco Antonio Gruner, Presbyt. und Ihro Majestät der Verwittibten Römischen Kaiserin Hof-Capell-Musico* (Vienna, 1710) (Wb, Drucksammlung).

²⁶ Gruner was described as a 'musico' in 1710, and listed in the *Hof Schematismus* as Hof-Capellan 1726–1740 and as Ober-Hof-Capellan 1746–1750 (some years are missing from the series): *Kaiserlicher und Königlicher, Wie auch Erz-Herzoglicher Und Dero Residenz-Stadt Wien, Staats- und Stands Calendar, Auf das Jahr 1726 Mit einem Schematismus geziert* (Vienna, 1726; other volumes have the same or a similar title).

²⁷ *Hauschronik* 2, 195: [1710] 'umb halber 1 uhr sein ihr Mayl: d keyser und Keyserin zu unser grab khomen, alwo wür Ein kleine Music gehalten.'

The latter work probably resembled the anonymous, undated 'Cantata Sacra' performed in the Ursuline church on Holy Saturday 'at the arrival of his Imperial Majesty on his visit to the Most Holy Sepulchre'.²⁸ The cantata, scored for two violins, soprano voice, cembalo, *viola*, and *fagotto*, appears to date from the late years of the seventeenth century or perhaps the early years of the eighteenth. The use of harpsichord rather than organ suggests performance away from the choir loft, where the main organ was located. The *viola* was probably *da gamba*, as that instrument was favoured in this convent into the mid-eighteenth century, and the part descends to E, too low for a *viola da braccio*. Violoncello is also a possibility (terminology was somewhat fluid), but that instrument is named as such in scores from this convent around this time. The work consists of three arias, the second and third introduced by short recitatives. The second, a continuo aria 'con viola [e] fagotto' with a chaconne-like flavour, is followed by a sinfonia, which is musically related to the aria. The sinfonia and the third aria begin with the imitation characteristic of Badia, who composed many works for the Ursuline convent from the mid-1690s into the second decade of the eighteenth century, but the arias are in the form typical of the later seventeenth century, 'AB', then a return to an altered version of 'A', rather than the full *da capo* form more common in the early eighteenth century. The text is what one might expect: a contemplation on the sorrow and the meaning of the crucifixion, mentioning the sepulchre, and including typical images such as 'un mar di pianto', resembling texts sung by the grieving Mary in many other such works.

The third aria, 'Liquefatevi ò mie pupille', shows considerable compositional skill in its imitative texture, treatment of the minor mode, text painting, and overall construction (ex. 1). The little motive heard in imitation at the beginning—suggesting the constantly falling tears—permeates the music, occasionally being varied or drawn out into a longer line. By the end, the vocal line has become busier and more florid. The final phrase brings both voice and violin to their highest pitches, the soprano reaching hers through a dramatic, chromatically inflected rising line. Here the violins play continuously, creating the fullest sound of the aria (and of the entire cantata) and bringing the aria, and the cantata as a whole, to a musically satisfying conclusion.

²⁸ *Per il Sabato Santo Riposando l'Hostia Sacrosanta entro il Core di Giesù nella Chiesa delle R.R. M.M. Orsoline di Vienna. All'arrivo di S. M. Cés.^a nella visita del S.^o Sepolcro. Cantata Sacra* (A-Wn, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 18698).

The music has a repetitive, contemplative quality, reminiscent of another sepulchral work performed at this convent, Badia's *La Sepoltura di Christo* (1698). The young Badia is a strong candidate for composer of this work, but it is certainly possible that there was a capable composer or composers among the nuns at St Ursula, possibly trained by Badia himself. Whoever it was had a gift for creating dramatic effect with limited means—a talent highly useful in writing convent music. A performance would take around twelve or fifteen minutes, just about the right length of time for a brief imperial visit.

EXAMPLE 1. *Cantata Sacra*, 'Liquefatevi ò mie pupille', A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18698, 14–20; (a) bars 1–9; (b) bars 30–37

(a)

Violin 1

Violin 2

Cantus

Cembalo

5

Li-que-fa-te-vi ò mie pu-pil-le,

(b)

Violin 1

Violin 2

Cantus

Cembalo

30

sù l'e-stin-to Re-den-tor. Si ca-

33

de-te à mil-le, à mil-le, si ca - de-te à mi-le, à mil-le, su l'e -

35

stin-to, su l'e-stin - to, su l'e- stin - to Re - den-tor.

7 6
5 3

One convent passion piece looks as if it might have been acted out: *La Resurrezione di Giesu Christo*, composed by Badia for the Ursuline convent and dated 1702.²⁹ (The author of the libretto is not named.) Unlike the traditional court *sepulcro*, *La Resurrezione* is in two parts. There are directions in the printed libretto for the entry and exit of characters and descriptions of some limited action:

Un soldato di Guardia Dinanzi il Santo Sepolcro	A soldier of the guard in front of the holy sepulchre
Sopragionge Gioseffo di Arimatia	Joseph of Arimathea arrives
Esce un Decurione	An officer comes out
Dalla Città vengono verso L'Orto Maria Maddalena, Maria Cleofè, e Maria Salomè con gli Aromati	From the city toward this place come Maria Maddalena, Maria Cleofè, and Maria Salomè with spices
Osservano il Monte Calvario vicino	They look toward Mount Calvary nearby
Vanno al Monte Calvario	They go to Mount Calvary
Comparisce l'Angelo	The angel appears
Cadono tramortiti, ò fuggono	[The soldiers] fall down stunned or flee
Tornano le trè Marie vicine al Sepolcro	The three Marys arrive at the sepulchre
Si rancontrano con Gioseffo d'Arimatia	They meet Joseph of Arimathea

There is also a suggestion of some scenery—perhaps a painted backdrop like those customary for performances in the imperial chapel—in a direction for the three Marys to ‘look toward Mount Calvary nearby’. While it is possible that these directions were meant for the imagination only, the work’s division into clear scenes, two in each part, demarcated by the arrival and departure of characters, further hints at a dramatic presentation.

Another feature suggesting dramatic performance is the appearance in the opening scene of a character reminiscent of the *commedia dell’arte*: the soldier on guard in front of the sepulchre, clearly an ancestor of Mozart and Da Ponte’s Leporello. Like Leporello, he (or rather she) begins the scene with an aria of complaint:

²⁹ *La Resurrezione di Giesu Christo. Oratorio Da Cantarsi Dalle RR. MM. Orsoline Nella Sera del Sabato Santo al Santo Sepolcro. Posto in Musica dal Sig. Carlo Agostino Badia, Virtuoso di Camera di S.M.C.* (Vienna, 1702) (libretto: A-Wn, Musiksammlung).

Vita troppo miserabile
E la vita militar. [...]
E una morte vegetabile,
E un continuo agonizar.

A very miserable life
Is the military life. [...]
It is the death of a vegetable,
And an agonizing continuation.

He continues his grousing in recitative:

Guerra, o pace, che sia, le angoscie io
provo.
Quegli stessi Elementi,
Che altrui propensi danno esche vitali,
A mè sono mortali;
Poiche la nuda Terra il Ciel piovoso,
L'aria gelata, ed il Pianeta ardente,
Con rigore inclemente,
Non lasciano à miei guai tregua,
ò riposo:
E pur di tante pene
Il premio scarso, tardo, ò non mai
viene:
Sì che d'ogno Soldato, almen gregorio,

Il soldo è sempre nome immaginario.

War or peace, these are the agonies I go
through.
Those same elements,
That bring life to others,
Are mortal to me:
Thus the falling rain on the bare earth,
The frozen air, the sun burning,
With harsh severity,
Leave me no peace
or rest:
And what brings so much pain
[is] The smallness or lateness of the
reward, or none at all:
This is what every soldier, at least an
ordinary foot soldier, has to put up
with,
Pay is always just a figment of the
imagination.

This soldier has a serious side too, doubting Jesus, but later becoming a believer. The complaint about pay might have been understood as a topical reference rather than merely the universal lament about the hard life of the soldier: payment of the imperial army was notoriously behindhand, and Lord Lexington, British Minister at Vienna, wrote in May 1696, for example, that 'Prince Eugene [of Savoy] went away the day before yesterday, and all he could get for the payment of the whole army, which is near two years behind hand, was an assignation for 100,000 florins upon a fund of money to be borrowed at Genoa, when they can get it'.³⁰ Audience members not fluent in Italian would still have been able to follow the action, as this libretto, like others for such productions, was also published in German translation.³¹

³⁰ Robert Sutton, Lord Lexington, *The Lexington Papers, or, Some Account of the Courts of London and Vienna, at the Conclusion of the Seventeenth Century: Extracted from the Official and Private Correspondence of Robert Sutton, Lord Lexington, British Minister at Vienna, 1694–98*, ed. H. Manners Sutton (London, 1851), 209.

³¹ *Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi[,] Oratorio[,] Von Denen Hoch-Erwürdigen Kloster-Jung-frauen der Ursulinerinnen in Wien / Am Heiligen Oster-Abend Bey dem Heiligen*

Sadly, no music for *La Resurezione* appears to survive—it would also be very interesting to hear what Badia devised for the ‘Sinfonia allusiva a terremoto’ that begins the second part. The earthquake was a common feature of the convent *sepulcro*, as one might expect, providing an opportunity for vigorous music to contrast with the abundance of the slow and sad; an example will be mentioned below.

A preserved score for Badia’s *La Sepoltura di Christo* matches the printed libretto closely, making it likely that this was the piece performed ‘on the evening of Holy Saturday by the Madri Orsoline at the Most Holy Sepulchre’ in 1698.³² The work is scored for three sopranos, an alto, and a ‘bass’, continuo, and a variety of melodic string instruments—two violins, two *viole a braccio*, and viols. This scoring is typical of Viennese convent music, in which string instruments were favoured and viols remained in use into the middle of the eighteenth century. The dark scorings favoured in court *sepolcri* by Bertali, Draghi, Ziani, and others are evident here too, in the use of viols and *viole a braccio*. The singing of vocal parts in the bass range by women was a skill cultivated in Viennese convents and also in convents throughout Italy and in the Venetian *ospedali*.³³

A prominent quality of the music of *La Sepoltura di Christo* is its repetitiveness, both on the small and on the larger scale, which makes the work last much longer than the amount of musical material actually presented. One might be tempted to attribute this to lack of musical ideas, or to Badia’s having had to compose a work of a certain length in a hurry, but it may have been intentional, meant to bring a contemplative, ritualistic quality to the occasion. It may also have been an attempt to reconcile the traditional demands of the genre with new trends in musical style.

Grab[.] Welisch gesungen mit der Music. Von Dem Herrn Carl Augustin Badia / der Römischen Kayserl. Majest. Compositorn. In das Teutsche übersetzt / Von Joseph Triller / der Römischen Kayserl. Majest. Hoff-Poeten (Vienna, 1702) (A-Wn, Musiksammlung).

³² Score: *La Sepoltura di Christo*, A-Wn, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 16891; libretto: *La Sepoltura di Christo*[.] *Oratorio*[.] *Di Renato Navagini Batticasa*[.] *Cantato la Sera del Sabbato Santo Da le R.R. Madri Orsoline al SS. Sepulcro. Posto in Musica dal Sig. Carlo Agostino Badia*[.] *Compositore trattenuto per l’Augustissima Cappella di S.M.C.* (Vienna, 1698) (A-Wn, Theatersammlung).

³³ On Viennese practice, see Janet K. Page, ‘A Lovely and Perfect Music: Maria Anna von Raschenau and Music at the Viennese Convent of St. Jakob’, *Early Music*, 38/3 (2010), 403–422.

EXAMPLE 2. Carlo Agostino Badia, *La Sepoltura di Christo*, A-Wn Mus. Hs. 16891, fos. 4^r, 8^v; (a) aria 1, 'Lagrima uscite', bars 1–5; (b) aria 2, 'Sospir volate', bars 1–5

(a)

Aria con viole a braccio

(b)

Both parts of the work open with paired arias similar in style and affect (ex. 2). The second of each pair is almost exactly like the first in structure, and the vocal lines are almost exactly the same, with a few small variants, but the figuration of the second aria is a little more active. The two pairs are also

similar to each other in style and affect. Many other musical numbers are repeated to a second verse of text, often sung by another character, following a ritornello based on the music of the aria. The second appearance of the aria is at the same pitch as the first, a fifth higher or a fourth lower.

In *sepolcri* of the previous generation, by composers such as Draghi, Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, and Emperor Leopold I, there are many scene complexes unified by use of the same musical material. But the melodic lines are simpler there than in Badia's music, and so transposition is not usually necessary to fit the range of different voices (octave transposition does appear occasionally). In *La Sepoltura di Christo*, the transposition is made necessary by the increased virtuosity of the vocal lines, a feature of the new, late baroque Italian *da capo* aria. Most of the arias in *La Sepoltura di Christo* are set in that form, and they are repeated in their entirety, following the pattern of the earlier works. Badia's *La Sepoltura* thus seems to bridge the older and newer styles, influenced by the aesthetic of the *sepolcro*. Individual arias are also repetitive in themselves, having an insistent quality in the constant returning of melodic figures, especially in accompanimental parts.

THE CONVENT *SEPOLCRO* IN THE 1720S AND 1730S

Convent sepulchre pieces of the 1720s and 1730s draw on a variety of musical and textual traditions. These works were probably intended for ordinary folk rather than for the court: none is dedicated to a member of the imperial family or mentions imperial attendance, although Dowager Empress Amalia Wilhelmina may have sometimes been present. As well, these are in German, the language used also for the earlier popular passion presentations. With the abandonment of the St Stephen's passion play after 1718, and the court's decreasing interest in convent music from about 1715, sepulchre presentations in convent and parish churches may have taken the place of the play for the general public.

While the *sepolcro* at court had by this time come to resemble the two-part oratorio, the convent works were mostly in one part, following the earlier tradition. In the first two decades of the eighteenth century, allegorical characters disappeared in the Holy Week oratorios performed at court.³⁴

³⁴ Rudolf Schnitzler, 'The Sacred Dramatic Music of Antonio Draghi' (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of North Carolina, 1971), 149–181; Schnitzler, 'From "Sepolcro" to Passion Oratorio:

The Italian oratorios performed in Viennese convents also follow this trend, turning to biblical characters after 1698. But the convent *Trauer-Gesänge* of the 1720s and '30s return to the earlier tradition—or else they never left it. Most include allegorical characters, and several consist entirely of them.

Two works from the 1730s, *Christus Jesus der vor Seine Schaaf gestorben* [...] and *Bey dem Grab*, both composed for the Ursuline convent by Alexander Ender, 'an organist from Moravia', are pastoral in character; the pastoral was popular in opera, serenata, and oratorio all over Europe, and carried theological implications, through the identification of Jesus as the Good Shepherd. Each work has an echo number, set as recitative, and each also includes an 'aria pastorella'.³⁵ *Christus Jesus* is related to popular folk tales in having animal characters: the pious sheep, the lost sheep, and the wolf of hell; the latter role was assigned to a bass, possibly one of the convent's *Bassistinnen* (female basses), of which they had a series in the eighteenth century.³⁶ The decidedly popular character of the libretto is illustrated by the following dialogue:

Wolf	Ha! Ha! nun finde ich dich, Ein fett- und guten Bratten, Vor mein erhungerten Magen.	Ha! Ha! Now I've got you, A prize catch (and a juicy roast), For my hungry tummy.
Lost sheep	O wehe mir! Wer rettet mich? Wie bin ich doch in diese G'fahr geratten? Ich muß sterben, oder verzagen.	Oh, woe is me! Who will save me? However did I get into this fix? I must die, or fall into despair.
Guardian angel	Packe dich du Höllen-Wolff von hinnen [...]	Clear off, you wolf of hell [...]

Tradition and Innovation in the Early Eighteenth-Century Viennese Oratorio', in Gerard Gillen et al. (eds.), *Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995: Selected Proceedings 1, Irish Musical Studies*, 4 (1996), 392–410, at 398–399, 405–407. See also Erika Kanduth, 'The Literary and Dramaturgical Aspects of the Viennese *Sepolcro* Oratorio, with Particular Reference to Fux', in Harry White (ed.), *Johann Joseph Fux and the Music of the Austro-Italian Baroque* (Aldershot, 1992), 153–163, and White, 'The *Sepolcro* Oratorios of Fux: An Assessment', *ibid.* 164–229.

³⁵ A much earlier German *sepolcro* performed at the court, Schmelzer's *Stärke der Lieb* (libretto: Vienna, 1677), includes an echo aria, with Der Lieb Christi echoing Maria; see Irmgard Scheitler, *Deutschsprachige Oratorienlibretti: Von den Anfängen bis 1730* (Paderborn, 2005), 249.

³⁶ One is mentioned in Karl Pfannhauser, 'Zu Mozarts Kirchenwerken von 1768', *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1954* (Salzburg, 1955), 150–168, at 152–154. See also Page, 'A Lovely and Perfect Music'.

One production, *Mater dolorum*, with music by Georg Reutter Jr, appears to have circulated locally and is preserved in a set of parts at Kremsmünster abbey.³⁷ The text of that source matches a libretto from the 1729 Viennese production at the convent of St Agnes zur Himmelpforte (where Reutter served as organist), with some small variants. This text is attributed to ‘the famous Heinrich Rademin’, the Hamburg-born poet who seems to have had his finger in every popular theatrical and musical pie in Vienna and elsewhere in central Europe in the early eighteenth century; his speciality was the translation and arrangement of plays and opera texts, with inserted Hanswurst characters,³⁸ and he also wrote oratorio texts, most notably a set of four in honour of Johann Nepomuck in the 1720s.

The work begins with an unmistakably sorrowful Sonata, the first section of which is chromatic, dissonant, and closely scored, with diminished sevenths, suspensions, falling lines, sighing figures, and repeated notes (ex. 3a). The second section is a fugue whose subject is a descending fourth, a long-standing ‘emblem of lament’ (ex. 3b).³⁹ This musical symbol was certainly known in Vienna: the lamenting aria ‘Lagrima uscite’ that begins Badia’s *La Sepultura di Christo* is built over one such bass. Reutter’s fourth is also chromatic, an idea that goes back even further among composers known in Vienna, to the 1638 *Pianto della Madonna* by Giovanni Felice Sances.⁴⁰ The chromatic fourth motif was a favourite of Reutter’s older contemporary Antonio Caldara, who used it many times, often in sorrowful contexts. Examples include the *Credo à 8 voci* (Crucifixus, at the text ‘et sepultus est’),⁴¹ the motet *Laboravi in gemitu meo*, at the text ‘lacrymis meis’;⁴² the *Stabat Mater* at ‘O quam tristis et afflicta’ and ‘ut animae donetur paradisi Gloria’,

³⁷ A-Kr F 27, 5.

³⁸ Bärbel Rudin, ‘Heinrich Rademin, Hanswursts Schattenmann: Jurist, Bühnenchef, Stückeschreiber—Versuch über eine Gründfigur des Wiener Theaters’, in Brigitte Marshall (ed.), *Theater am Hof und für das Volk: Beiträge zur vergleichenden Theater- und Kulturgeschichte: Festschrift für Otto G. Schindler zum 60. Geburtstag*, special issue, *Maske und Kothurn*, 48 (2002), 271–301.

³⁹ Ellen Rosand, ‘The Descending Tetrachord: An Emblem of Lament’, *Musical Quarterly*, 65 (1979), 346–359.

⁴⁰ Giovanni Felice Sances, *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci* (1638), ed. Steven Saunders (Middleton, WI, 2003), pp. ix, x.

⁴¹ Reinhard G. Pauly and Brian W. Pritchard, ‘Antonio Caldara’s *Credo à 8 voci*: A Composition for the Duke of Mantua?’ in Brian W. Pritchard (ed.), *Antonio Caldara: Essays on his Life and Times* (Aldershot, 1987), 49–76, at 72.

⁴² Antonio Caldara, *Kirchenwerke*, ed. Eusebius Mandyczewski [Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, 26] (Graz, 1959), 25–27.

the former both falling and rising, and the latter rising;⁴³ the *Missa dolorosa*: Kyrie, 'Christe eleison', falling;⁴⁴ and the *Te Deum*: Adagio, 'Te ergo quaesumus, tuis famulis subveni', falling.⁴⁵

EXAMPLE 3. Georg Reutter Jr, *Mater dolorum, Das ist: Die Schmerzhafte Mutter bey dem letzten Athem-Zug Ihres geliebten Sohns* (A-Kr, F 27, 5), Sonata,
(a) bars 1–5; (b) bars 15–19

(a)

Adagio

(b)

Fuga

⁴³ Caldara, *Kirchenwerke*, 37, 59.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 128.

EXAMPLE 4. Reutter Jr, *Mater dolorum*, 'Stürz, donnernde Wolcken', bars 1–9

Allegro

Vn 1

Vn 2

Va

Joseph

Cont.

4

6 5 6 6 6 5 4 3 Stürz

7

don - nern - de Wol - cken, Feu - er ent - flam - me die Luft.

6 6 b5

The idea of a fugue with such a subject may well have been known to Reutter, as Caldara produced one, as did Reutter's slightly older contemporary Ferdinand Schmidt.⁴⁶ The musical qualities of the Sonata, together with the opening text of the oratorio (says Johannes: 'Es ist vollbracht. Dieß war sein letztes Wort.'), suggest that this piece was intended to represent the crucifixion.⁴⁷ *Mater dolorum* continues with a series of recitatives and arias, mostly in *da capo* form. Much of the music is affective, even programmatic. The opening aria, for example, uses repeated notes and rapid arpeggios to convey the dramatic text depicting the earthquake at Christ's death: 'fall thundery clouds, fire inflame the air / the earth shivers, shakes, breaks apart, is torn to shreds' (ex. 4).⁴⁸ Agitation is further conveyed in the leaping vocal line.

A lament for Maria is scored for alto trombone, following Austrian tradition for the use of that instrument (ex. 5).⁴⁹ A lively aria for the alto Nicodemus, on the removal of Christ from the cross, has a popular text: 'Auf zum Werck! setzt die Leiter an / Nehmt Stricke, nehmt Stangen / nehmt Hammer, nehmt Zangen / Helff was helffen kan' (Let's get to work! Raise the ladder, bring ropes, bring staves, bring a hammer, bring pliers, help however you can). Nicodemus as workman, with ladder and tools, brings a whiff of Hanswurst to the piece. The music, however, is set in serious style with trumpet obbligato, drawing on the trumpet's use as an instrument to warn or awaken (ex. 6).

These works give us a peek at musical life in Vienna outside the court and court theatres; there was a lively tradition of Good Friday and Holy Saturday performances, not always as solemn as the occasion would suggest. Evocation of strong emotion was a feature of these events, with vivid descriptions of the suffering of Christ and the sorrow of Mary; the earthquake text was a favourite; pastoral features were appreciated; and other popular sentiments

⁴⁶ Peter Williams, *The Chromatic Fourth during Four Centuries of Music* (Oxford, 1997), 128 (Fugue in E major, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 2785), and Francesco Di Lernia (ed.), *Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts am Wiener Hof für Orgel (Cembalo)* (Vienna, 1992), 22–23.

⁴⁷ Many examples of musical representations of the crucifixion appear in Jasmin Melissa Cameron, *The Crucifixion in Music: An Analytical Survey of Settings of the Crucifixus between 1680 and 1800* [Contextual Bach Studies, 1] (Lanham, MD, 2006).

⁴⁸ 'Stürz donnernde Wolken, Feuer, entflamme die [libretto: geschwängerte] Luft / Erschüttere, erzittere [libretto: zersplittre], zerbrich, zerreiße der Erden Kreis. / Zerberste O Erde! Falle zur düsterne Gruft [libretto: in Nebel und Dufft]. / Du Aug, und Licht der Welt! Weil Gott dein Schöpfer fällt.'

⁴⁹ On this tradition, see Stewart Carter, 'Trombone Obbligatos in Viennese Oratorios of the Baroque', *Journal of the Historic Brass Society*, 2 (1990), 52–77.

EXAMPLE 5. Reutter Jr, *Mater dolorum*, 'Meinem Herzen', bars 1–6

Adagio

EXAMPLE 6. Reutter Jr, *Mater dolorum*, 'Auf zum Werck!', bars 1–6

were invoked. The music heightened these sentiments through conventions reaching back into the seventeenth century and earlier. While earlier works were performed for the court, productions from the 1720s onward seem to have been intended for ordinary folk. But in either case, the preparation of the passion performance certainly represented a highlight of the year for the nuns, who marshalled their musical skills for the occasion.