

A Note of Introduction: Persons using this website will be familiar with this statement of purpose from the home page:

*"Taken altogether, these articles and studies reflect a diverse and variegated preoccupation with the Mozart phenomenon. If there is a unifying thread running through them, it is probably this: a desire to substitute **analysis** for story-telling, an intent to replace fable with **fact**, and an insistence on expanding the **context** within which Mozart and his legacy to the world are viewed."*

With this article by the eminent English Historian Professor Derek Beales, the website expands to include works relevant to its purpose that are neither BCC own works nor translations. I am proud to welcome Prof. Beales as the first "Guest Author."

Derek Beales

Mozart and the Habsburgs

I

Most of the writing about Mozart in relation to his age, much of it impressive, has been the work of musicologists, using the term in a broad sense; but influential contributions have come from playwrights, novelists, literary critics, Freemasons, cryptographers and various brands of medical men. Relatively little has been heard from historians, though some of their stereotypes have been rather indiscriminately employed by others. Mozart has been variously fitted into the *ancien régime*, the age of Enlightened despotism, the epoch of the French or democratic Revolution and 'the rise of the bourgeois public sphere'. In describing and discussing the relationship between Mozart and the Habsburgs, I hope to contribute to a more subtle understanding of both the composer and his age.

It is notorious that musicians had a low social status in eighteenth century society. Nearly all of them were either servants of the Church - mostly as organists or singers and very likely schoolteachers too - or servants of some prince, aristocrat or lesser lord. Many musicians doubled as valets. A few, like Dittersdorf, were expected to double as bureaucrats.^{1/} The great Haydn had to wear the livery of his patron, Prince Nicholas Esterházy; he ranked on a level with the household officials; he could not travel without the prince's permission; it was his duty to play exactly when, where and what his patron wanted; and his compositions were straightforwardly the property of his patron.^{2/} Similarly, Mozart had to get permission from his employer, the archbishop of Salzburg, to travel and to take part in other lords' concerts. 'This inhuman villain', as Mozart called him, while on a visit to Vienna with his musicians in 1781, refused the composer leave to stay on there, which finally led Mozart to assert his independence and leave the archbishop's service, at the cost of a kick downstairs from a chamberlain.^{3/}

-- This article is drawn from Prof. Beales's book, *"Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-century Europe"* (I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., London; 2005), pp 90-116. The ISBN is 1-86064-949-1.

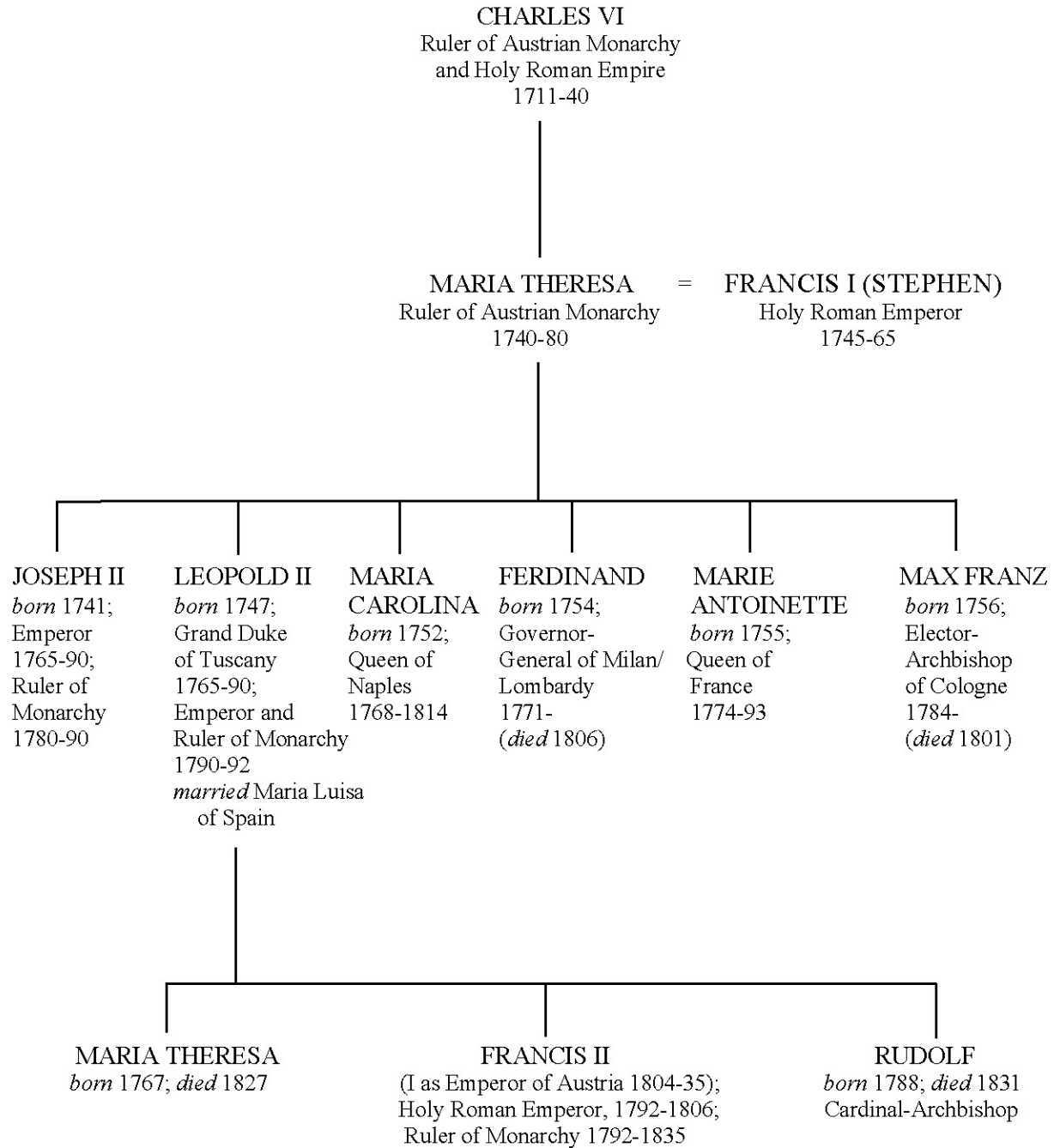
-- The FOOTNOTES begin on page 18; the INDEX, on page 25.

But there was another side to the story. Music was part of the education of almost every German ruler. Many composed, most could play an instrument or sing. Hence most of them had some appreciation of others' musical skill. The promotion of opera was considered almost indispensable to a significant Court, and the standard of production affected the ruler's prestige. Music, in sum, was a royal, aristocratic and gentlemanly - as well as ladylike - activity.^{4/} Good professional musicians were prized by rulers and moved with unusual freedom between classes or status-groups. A talented singer, player or librettist would have a better chance of meeting a ruler on something like equal terms than almost any other subject.

Very few people, even among the highest aristocracy and diplomats, even members of royal families, knew as many sovereigns as Mozart did. The sequence began when his father Leopold, himself a famous violinist, touted him and his sister around the Courts of Europe as child prodigies. These tours started in 1762, when Wolfgang Mozart, the future composer, was six. To take first the reception they received from non-Habsburg rulers: in 1764 they were summoned to join the French royal family at their private dinner - truly, as Leopold claimed, 'a most extraordinary honour';^{5/} and George III of England, having previously heard the family play, recognised them in St James's Park and opened the window of his carriage to salute them.^{6/} In 1770 Pope Clement XIV made Wolfgang a Knight of the Golden Spur, first class.^{7/} As well as reigning kings and queens, there was the Dutch Stadtholder, William V, for whose installation the ten-year-old Mozart wrote an extraordinary set of pieces;^{8/} and in Germany of course there were lesser rulers to the number of 1,003, many of whom Mozart encountered.

The dynasty with whom Mozart had easily the most to do was the Habsburgs - technically, after the death of Charles VI, the House of Habsburg-Lorraine. The relevant members of the family are included in the genealogical table on page 3. Among them, by far the most important in this story, is Joseph II, and the next most important Leopold II. I shall take the others first. To look on the positive side, the Emperor Francis I was so condescending as to go out himself into the anteroom in 1762 to call in the Mozart children and their parents. On that occasion Maria Theresa not only let the child Wolfgang jump on to her lap but also gave him and his sister some fine clothes.^{9/} She later commissioned from him the serenade *Ascanio in Alba* for the marriage of her third surviving son, the Archduke Ferdinand, in Milan in 1771. Immediately afterwards, Ferdinand proposed taking Mozart into his service.^{10/} As for her youngest son, Max Franz, who was the same age as Mozart and became elector-archbishop of Cologne in 1784, when only twenty-seven, it was his cast-offs that were presented to Mozart during the visit of 1762, it was his visit to Salzburg in 1775 that provided the occasion for the composition of the serenade *Il rè pastore*, and in 1781, according to Mozart, Max Franz would have employed him if he had by then succeeded to his electorate.^{11/} Maria Carolina, daughter of Maria Theresa and Queen of Naples, 'always [greeted] them with quite exceptional friendliness' during their visit in 1770.^{12/} In the next generation it was originally intended that *Don Giovanni* should be the opera with which Prague would celebrate the marriage of Francis's sister, Maria Theresa, in 1787 - surely a strange choice for such an occasion;^{13/} and the piano version of the six German dances, K.600, was dedicated to her in 1791.^{14/}

Genealogical Table of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine



Notes:

1. The Table does not show one son and nine daughters of Maria Theresa and Francis I.
2. Nor does the Table show 13 other children of Leopold II and Maria Luisa of Spain.

That is the positive side. Now for the negative. When Archduke Ferdinand, having celebrated his marriage to the strains of *Ascanio in Alba*, wrote to his mother Maria Theresa that he would like to take Mozart into his service, she replied with this notorious put-down:

you ask me about taking the young Salzburger into your service. I do not know why, not believing that you have need of a composer or of useless servants. If however it would give you pleasure, I have no wish to hinder you. What I say is only intended to prevent your burdening yourself with useless people. And never give titles to people of that sort. If they are in your service it degrades that service when these people go about the world like beggars. Besides, he has a large family.

As often, she was behaving like anyone's mother at her worst, but this was a mother with the power of an absolute ruler, who ultimately controlled her son's purse-strings. She was also being monstrously unfair to Mozart, which is difficult to condone even if she had reason to be concerned about Ferdinand's extravagance.^{15/}

Ferdinand naturally did not take Mozart into his service, and nor in the event did Max Franz. Patronage of Mozart by their numerous sisters is conspicuous by its absence, except in so far as the Queen of Naples may have been helpful as well as gracious. Marie Antoinette, for example, seems to have done nothing for the Mozarts during their stay in Paris in 1778.^{16/} *Don Giovanni* was not ready in time for the young Maria Theresa's marriage, and she did all she could to prevent it being replaced by *The Marriage of Figaro*, preferring another composer's opera.^{17/} So far as I can see, hardly any works by Mozart were dedicated to Habsburgs - only the dances to Archduchess Maria Theresa and the opera *Lucio Silla* in 1772 to Archduke Ferdinand and his wife. Even the pieces composed for Habsburgs' visits and weddings are not actually dedicated to them.^{18/} Yet Mozart dedicated early sonatas to a daughter of Louis XV of France and *Mitridate, Re di Ponto* to the duke of Modena^{19/} - and, of course (for what it's worth in this context), Beethoven dedicated many works to his chief patron, Archduke Rudolf, another son of Leopold II.^{20/} I cannot explain this curious shortage of Mozart dedications to members of the Habsburg family.

II

Now for Joseph II. The play and still more the film *Amadeus* have done students of Joseph II a great service. Before they appeared, when I said I was studying him, people would look blank. Thanks to *Amadeus*, people now know who I am talking about provided that I call him Mozart's emperor. And the film caught Joseph's physical appearance marvellously. But it got his character and his approach to music completely wrong.

There is certainly a down side. The emperor did not leap for joy when Mozart left the service of the archbishop of Salzburg and at once offer the composer a post with the sort of salary we think his genius merited - or commission from him all the operas and other compositions we should like to have had. Mozart sometimes complained of his meanness and of his predilection for Antonio Salieri, his chief opera composer.^{21/} Joseph's expulsion of his detested but musical spinster sisters to their convents

deprived Mozart of two possible Habsburg patrons. The emperor's virtual abolition of the Court as a social entity deprived him of many more.^{22/} Joseph disliked *opera seria*, the grand classical tradition to which *Mitridate*, *Idomeneo* and *La clemenza di Tito* belong, and, since after 1776 he personally directed the principal theatres of Vienna, Mozart wrote no such opera between his arrival in Vienna and the death of Joseph.^{23/} The emperor also, as a Catholic reformer, disapproved of large-scale instrumentally supported church music and banned it. Hence, with the exception of the C minor Mass, designed for a special occasion in Salzburg, Mozart composed virtually no such music over the same period.^{24/}

As he is represented in *Amadeus*, the emperor had no opinions of his own, behaved like the doll of a ministerial ventriloquist, and showed his lack of appreciation of music and Mozart by his comment on *Die Entführung*, 'too many notes'.^{25/} The truth is that, more than almost any other ruler, he regularly received subjects individually on his own, he had emphatic opinions, and he often went against the advice of his ministers, especially in artistic matters. He took a personal interest in every aspect of the government of his vast territories, and that meant almost every aspect of his people's lives. But there were few things he cared more about than the theatre, music and opera. In many of his letters to his brother Leopold in Tuscany, after dealing with family matters and weighty political affairs, he turned to discussing opera performances and libretti. Sometimes he sent on a libretto or a score, as with Salieri's first notable opera, *Armida*, in 1771.^{26/} In 1782 he kept Count Zinzendorf up late by talking 'endlessly' about music, especially about the piano competition he had arranged in the previous January between Mozart and Clementi.^{27/} During 1788, when ill and engaged in a desperate campaign against the Turks in the east, he still sent detailed comments and orders about the opera to Count Rosenberg, the minister in charge.^{28/}

Despite what has been said by reputable writers, Joseph was not, so far as I can discover, a composer.^{29/} But he was well taught by Georg Christoph Wagenseil, himself a pupil of J. J. Fux, author of the best known eighteenth-century textbook of counterpoint, *Gradus ad Parnassum*. Another of Wagenseil's pupils was one of Beethoven's teachers; and it is possible to construct a genealogical table of music teachers and pupils which links Joseph with most major composers of the period.^{30/} In the words of Charles Burney, the great musical historian: 'the Emperor [is] perhaps just [musical] enough for a sovereign prince, that is, with sufficient hand, both on the violoncello and harpsichord, to amuse himself; and sufficient judgment to hear, understand, and receive delight from others'.^{31/}

It happens that we have a record of a dialogue said to have taken place in 1786 between Joseph II and the composer, Dittersdorf, much of which is about Mozart. It was published only in Dittersdorf's old age, more than twenty years after the event - but that is still a good deal fresher than some of the material Mozart scholars have relied on. To me it rings absolutely true.

The emperor had characteristically insisted on dealing personally with a petty request which Dittersdorf had intended to make to a clerk - it was a question of changing the date of a concert. Joseph then started a conversation on music. He asked Dittersdorf about Mozart's compositions. Dittersdorf replied: 'He is unquestionably one of the greatest original geniuses, and I have yet to come across any composers with such an astonishing wealth of ideas. I wish he would not be so prodigal with them. He leaves the listener no time to breathe.' 'In his operas,' said the emperor, 'he has the same fault... and drowns the singers with the accompaniment.' Of course at that time they would insist on using authentic instruments. 'I once made a parallel,' persisted Joseph, 'between Mozart and Haydn. You make one, so that I can see whether you agree with mine.' Dittersdorf knew a trick worth two of that. 'May I ask you a question in return?' he said. 'Of course.' 'How would you draw a parallel between Klopstock and Gellert [two poets of the German literary revival]?' Joseph: 'Hm! That both are great poets. That one has to read Klopstock's poems more than once to appreciate all their beauties, but that Gellert's beauties appear plainly at first glance.' Dittersdorf: 'Y.M. has my answer.' Joseph: 'Mozart would then compare with Klopstock and Haydn with Gellert?' Dittersdorf nods, and the emperor says, 'Now I have a stick to beat Greybig out of his stupidities.' Greybig or Kreibich was Joseph's valet and the leader of the chamber ensemble with which the emperor played every day when in Vienna. Joseph's comment bears out other evidence that Kreibich was unsympathetic to Mozart's music.^{32/}

This is not the most penetrating criticism, but it is far from contemptible, and it makes the point for me that Joseph maintained his admiration of Mozart in the face of much contemporary opposition, from Count Rosenberg and Count Zinzendorf as well as from Kreibich, and more generally from those who thought Mozart's music too learned and complex, in the emperor's words 'too difficult for the singers'.^{33/} As Mozart several times mentioned in his letters, Joseph was fond of fugues - an old-fashioned taste which Mozart was happy to indulge.^{34/} The emperor's encouragement of Mozart's music went back a long way. The opera *La finta semplice* of 1768 owes its existence to a request from Joseph II that the twelve-year-old Mozart should write an opera. The foundation of the National Theatre in 1776 and the German opera company in 1778 were initiatives of the emperor's, detested by the great aristocracy; and without them the *Entführung* would not have been written and performed.^{35/} In 1782 Joseph recruited a wind-band or *Harmoniemusik*, which included Mozart's clarinetist friend Anton Stadler, and thus set a fashion for such groups in aristocratic houses.^{36/} Hence Mozart's splendid music for wind ensemble. Only the intervention of the emperor made possible the staging of *The Marriage of Figaro* as an opera after he had forbidden the performance of the play. He attended rehearsals as well as performances, and he personally decided to allow dances within the opera.^{37/} The opera *The Impresario* was a direct commission.^{38/} It was a peremptory order from Joseph that forced the young Maria Theresa to accept *The Marriage of Figaro* at her wedding celebration.^{39/} Since he exercised control over the minutest details of the operation of the Court theatres, he must have had more to do with *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte* than can be proved from surviving documents.

More important still, on 7 December 1787 the emperor appointed Mozart to a salaried post. The traditional view of this action is as follows: the great opera composer and reformer Gluck held the post of *Kammermusik* or Court composer, at a salary of 2,000 florins, until his death in November 1787, when the mean-spirited emperor replaced him with Mozart at a mere 800 florins.^{40/} In the first place, supposing that were straightforwardly true, Joseph could perfectly well have appointed somebody else, or paid Mozart even less. But Gluck's payment was a pension, and the job to which Mozart was appointed was a new and superfluous post, virtually without duties. This was a personal despotic decision, communicated orally to Count Rosenberg by the emperor, and given written form by Rosenberg later. It was taken at a time of financial crisis when the emperor's entire musical establishment was being remodelled and the German opera troupe dissolved as an economy measure. The motive is not stated at the time, but when Mozart died and the post became vacant, the following explanation was given in official documents: 'Mozart in fact received the title of Kammer Kompositor with a salary of 800fl. per year from H.M. the late Emperor solely out of consideration that so rare a genius in the world of music should not be obliged to seek abroad for recognition and his daily bread.'^{41/} That is an extraordinary statement to leap out of a bureaucratic document, surely one of the earliest appearances of the word genius even with reference to Mozart and certainly one of the earliest uses the word in an official document. It resembles quite closely the arrangement made in 1809 by three noblemen, including Archduke Rudolf, to provide Beethoven an income of 4,000 florins a year, virtually without conditions, to enable him to write the music he wanted to write.^{42/} Both agreements show that, while subscriptions and the purchase of tickets by the Viennese nobility and public could now provide considerable income, they could not provide enough to maintain a demanding and prestigious composer. Enlightened patronage, without strings attached, was a necessary supplement. In neither case was it sufficient to keep the composer concerned out of debt.^{43/} But it helped, and in each case it kept him in Vienna.

III

It was once said of an Anglo-Saxon king: 'It is a sign of his competence as a ruler that his reign is singularly devoid of recorded incident.'^{44/} By that criterion Joseph was the most incompetent of monarchs. His foreign policy, to put it politely, was restless.^{45/} He stepped up his mother's rate of legislation seven times.^{46/} The French *philosophes* influenced him less than some well-known false letters have led many historians to suppose.^{47/} But he was a drastic reformer none the less. He sought to curb the nobles' power and abolished most of the attributes of serfdom. He brought the Catholic Church in all his territories under his direct control, establishing himself as the final authority over nearly every aspect of its work, liturgy and property except the sacramental role of the clergy. The most conspicuous of his measures in this field were the suppression of more than a third of the two thousand or so monasteries in his lands, the removal of most censorship restrictions and the introduction of toleration in varying degrees for the main Protestant sects, for Greek Orthodox and for Jews. In secular affairs he tried to impose a uniform legal and administrative system in all his diverse

dominions, which meant destroying the ancient constitutions of Hungary and Belgium.^{48/} I have examined in the Vatican Archives the excellent reports to Rome of the papal nuncios in Vienna, Garampi and Caprara, who were fascinated and appalled by these changes. Garampi reported on 5 May 1783 that, as part of the emperor's reforms, many officials were being retired and given pensions of a third to a half of their salaries. Such officials were charmingly known as Quiescenti. The Viennese were saying 'that the emperor has [decided] that Jesus Christ. . .having given useful service to the House of Austria for many centuries, deserved, in accordance with the guidelines laid down, to have his salary reduced and to be placed among the Quiescenti'.^{49/}

Many writers on Mozart assume him to have been a radical in politics, at least a sympathiser with Joseph's policies, perhaps more radical still and even a supporter of the French Revolution. Professor Neal Zaslaw, for example, in his invaluable recent book on Mozart's symphonies, declares that the last three of 1788, culminating in the 'Jupiter', were musically revolutionary and contained 'irrational' and 'illogical' elements incompatible with the *ancien régime*, from which he thinks it follows that Mozart must have been a supporter of major changes in politics and religion.^{50/} It is indisputable that Mozart bridled at the restrictions placed on him by the archbishop of Salzburg, resented the privileges of the nobility and often scoffed at clerical behaviour.^{51/} But in his hundreds of surviving letters there are extraordinarily few pronouncements which bear directly on contemporary politics or political theory, and historians who believe him to have been politically radical rely on a mere handful of statements. Here is one. When the British fleet relieved Gibraltar in 1782, Mozart expressed his joy to his father, 'for you know I am an arch-Englishman'. Zaslaw writes: 'the Catholic Mozart's pleasure at the defeat of two Catholic countries at the hands of a Protestant country can only be explained by England's position in the eighteenth century as the most Enlightened country in Europe'.^{52/} But there is no hint in the text that Mozart is thinking of such things, and one might have expected a truly Enlightened person to be on the side of the American colonies. It seems to me that he just liked to follow the fortunes of war, that he had become strongly anti-French during his visit to Paris in 1778 and that he was fascinated by the siege, as is suggested by his setting part of an ode on the subject.^{53/}

However, Mozart certainly became a Freemason in 1784 and took his membership seriously; and Freemasonry had been condemned by the pope and was considered by many to be subversive of religion and social order. Further, Mozart set a number of Masonic texts, including a particularly utopian hymn of 1791; and notoriously *The Magic Flute* of the same year is full of Masonic symbolism, though commentators differ widely as to its precise message.^{54/}

I obviously cannot discuss exhaustively the vexed question of Freemasonry. But all students of Mozart and of his relationship with Joseph II have to come to terms with it. This can be done only by setting it in its context of the peculiar thought-world of the 1780s. Many modern writers cannot shake themselves free from the assumption that all Freemasons must have been anti-Catholic, anti-clerical and, still more, anti-monastic, and on the side of progress, freedom of thought and expression,

liberty, equality and fraternity, and peace.^{55/} Some Masons were undoubtedly radical, and many radicals were Masons. But two successive abbots of Melk, who held the office between 1746 and 1785, belonged to a lodge; and, 'following the tradition of the house', their aprons were buried with them in the abbey cloister. Numerous Masons were to be found among the Church dignitaries of Salzburg.^{56/} In the 1780s it was clearly possible to be both a Mason and a pillar of the Catholic Establishment.^{57/} This is less surprising than historians have usually implied. They rarely cite the rule, found among the statutes of every regular lodge, which categorically outlawed the discussion of religious and political issues.^{58/}

Only one passage in Mozart's surviving letters proclaims his devotion to the craft. He was writing to his father, who was 'really ill', early in 1787:

I am longing to receive some reassuring news from yourself. . . [But] I have now made a habit of being prepared in all affairs of life for the worst. As death, when we come to consider it closely, is the true goal of our existence, I have formed during the last few years such close relations with this best and truest friend of mankind, that his image is no longer terrifying to me, but is indeed very soothing and consoling! And I thank my God for graciously granting me the opportunity (you know what I mean) of learning that death is the *key* which unlocks the door to our true happiness. I never lie down at night without reflecting that - young as I am - I may not see another day.^{59/}

This passage, profoundly Masonic though it may be, lends no support to the belief that Mozart had Enlightened, let alone radical, views. Historians of the Enlightenment agree that the movement rebelled against preoccupation with death and the other world, and encouraged on the contrary attention to what it saw as the possibility of improving Man's life on earth, the possibility in other words of progress.^{60/} What Mozart is explicitly saying here is that Freemasonry has given him a view of the world irreconcilable with Enlightenment as ordinarily understood. Indeed, it seems to me, though I hesitate to pronounce on such a point, that this is a statement perfectly compatible with a rather old-fashioned Catholic orthodoxy.

Mozart's correspondence contains many discussions of the details of opera libretti, but all of them seem to me to refer not to their content but to their effectiveness on stage and to the composer's musical problems in setting them. We possess only two attempts by Mozart himself to write a dramatic text. Both of them are crude popular comedies, apparently without music, featuring such characters as Kasperl and Wurstl, Herr von Dummkopf and the Salzburg clot.^{61/} It is not surprising that writers resort to study of his music, and particularly of the texts he set, for further evidence of his views. But one must be extremely sceptical about any attempts to identify the words of any parts of these texts with Mozart's opinions, and still more about attempts to read into libretti which ostensibly refer to events in other countries at other periods, or to mythology, references to contemporary developments. I acknowledge that this is justified in the case of certain operas by other composers. For instance, Paisiello's opera *Rè Teodoro* in *Venezia* of 1784, for which Giambattista Casti wrote

the libretto, purports to be about King Theodore of Corsica. But Garampi told the papacy that some of its allusions could be understood only if you had heard the stories circulating in Venice and Vienna about the conduct of King Gustavus III of Sweden during his recent tour of central and southern Europe. When, for example, King Theodore sings that his three cherished passions are for 'love, glory and oysters', this is a reference to Gustavus, who while in Venice had both an affair with a hotel-keeper's daughter and a surfeit of oysters. *Rè Teodoro in Venezia* created a new style of comic opera and had a considerable effect on Mozart and Da Ponte.^{62/}

IV

I am not aware of any comparable examples of such direct allusions concealed in Mozart's works. But he did set four texts in which the emperor is explicitly mentioned. I do not think they have ever been very seriously studied, certainly not from this point of view or as a group. Yet, so far as I know, Joseph is the only living or recent ruler - almost the only living person - who is so honoured. The pieces in which he figures acquire *ipso facto* a special relevance to the events of their time, and they offer some at least circumstantial evidence about Mozart's own situation and attitudes.

The first two of these works form part of Mozart's Masonic music. On 20 April 1785 he entered in his catalogue of his own works *Die Maurerfreude*, 'the Mason's Joy', a cantata for men's chorus and orchestra. It contains the words:

To see how wisdom and virtue
turn graciously to the Mason, their disciple,
and say: Take this crown, beloved,
from the hands of our eldest son, from Joseph's hands –
that is the feast of rejoicing for the Masons,
This the Mason's triumph . . .
Joseph the Wise has twined laurels together,
bound the temple of the wise man of the Masons with laurel.

This cantata marks the high point of Masonic influence in Vienna. Ignaz von Born, the effective leader of the movement there, had just been rewarded by the emperor for his discovery of a new metallurgical process.^{63/} Joseph was never, as his father had been, a Freemason. But, according to the nuncio, Joseph had also just sent a letter to the Bohemian Chancery saying that he was 'very far from being prejudiced against [Freemasons]; that as long as they behave well, and observe certain rules laid down by him, he wishes them to be left undisturbed in the conduct of their Lodges'.^{64/} Even if there was never such an original, that wording corresponds with other remarks of Joseph's and reflects the position in the middle of 1785. Lodges and Freemasons had greatly increased in number since he had succeeded Maria Theresa in 1780; they had exploited the relaxation of the censorship to the point that they were publishing a periodical whose circulation was not restricted to those who had sworn Masonic oaths of secrecy; a high proportion of Joseph's officials belonged to lodges; and Masons were seen as the most reliable supporters of his programme of reform.^{65/}

But the position was about to change. The emperor had always had reservations about Freemasons. Like his chief minister, Prince Kaunitz, he thought their goings-on rather silly. He disapproved of their international connections and of their secrecy and came to suspect some of them of disloyalty, corruption and broils.^{66/} On 11 December 1785 he issued one of his most withering rescripts in which he spoke of the *Gaukelei* or hocus-pocus of Freemasonry, ordered the closure of all but a small number of lodges and a reduction in the total membership, and instructed them to report the names of their members to the government.^{67/}

The terms of this edict pained the Masons, but it did give legal sanction to an organisation previously of doubtful legality. The remaining Masons still saw themselves as under Joseph's protection. At the beginning of January 1786 Mozart composed music to a three-part chorus with organ for the opening of one of the lodges established under the new system. The text asserted that

Joseph's good will...
has crowned our hope anew.
With united hearts and tongues
let this song of praise be sung to Joseph,
to the father, who has bound us closer together.
To do good is the loveliest of duties:
he has seen us ardently perform it
and crowns us with a loving hand.

It is sometimes suggested that he became henceforth suspicious of Masons as potentially revolutionary, so that for example Mozart became a marked man. This cannot be sustained. Many of Joseph's officials remained Masons. When an informer offered at the end of 1787 to penetrate a revolutionary international conspiracy of Masons based in Frankfurt, Count Cobenzl, Kaunitz's deputy, advised the emperor: 'I do not believe that the spirit of Masonry, though highly fashionable, is solidly enough established to be able to hatch such revolutions. . . . However, as all kinds of intrigues and cabals do enjoy the favour of Masonry now that great aristocrats and courtiers, ministers and clerks, imbeciles and knaves take a serious part in it,' he thought Joseph might wish to follow up this offer. Joseph refused to have anything to do with it.^{69/} It was at almost exactly this time that Mozart received his appointment as Court composer.

The remaining two pieces in which the emperor is named concern the Turkish war. Joseph went to war early in 1788 because in 1787 the Turks attacked Russia and because his secret treaty of 1781 with Catherine II of Russia bound him in those circumstances to support her with all his forces.^{70/}

Much has been made of the unpopularity of this war in Vienna; and among the worthy attitudes commonly ascribed by historians to Freemasons is pacifism or, at least, non-belligerence.^{71/} But there were signs of a revival of bellicosity in the Monarchy before the Turkish war broke out. Two books published in 1787, *Abdul Erzerum's neue persische Briefe* and

Dya-Na-Sore, both declared that men were becoming too soft and that only war would bring out the best in them and nurture love of the fatherland. These books were probably both the work of Friedrich von Meyer or Meyern, who was a Mason.^{72/} The fact that Prince Karl Liechtenstein was a Mason did not stop him, so long as his health permitted, leading his troops against the Turks in the campaign of 1788.^{73/} Schikaneder, librettist of *The Magic Flute*, who had at least some experience of Masonry, introduced bloodthirsty patriotic songs into his productions during the war, for example into *Die beiden Antone oder der dumme Gärtner*, which Mozart saw and enjoyed.^{74/} Here are two sample lines:

Now then, German brothers, gird up your courage!
Pursue the Turks, squirt out their blood [*verspritzt ihr Blut*].^{75/}

Victory in the war, when it came, was unquestionably popular. Pezzl in his *Skizze von Wien*, Caroline Pichler in her memoirs, the Prussian ambassador and the papal nuncio in their despatches all described the wild enthusiasm of the Viennese at the news of the capture of Belgrade in October 1789.^{76/}

Here, for once, some of Mozart's works are directly related to specific political events. Altogether there are two war songs, two dances celebrating successful battles, and a piece for mechanical organ or clock in memory of Marshal Laudon, the victor of Belgrade.^{77/} Both the songs mention the emperor. On 5 March 1788, just after the Austrian declaration of war, Mozart set Gleim's old patriotic song of 1776, 'I would dearly love to be the emperor', which continues:

I would shake the East,
The Muslims would tremble,
Constantinople would be mine.^{78/}

Much more remarkable, though far less familiar, is Mozart's other patriotic song, *Beim Auszug in das Feld*, dated 11 August 1788, the day after the 'Jupiter' symphony was completed. It was believed lost until the early twentieth century and was not included in collected editions until the most recent. It seems that only one complete copy survives. The author of the words is unknown.^{79/}

If the true interest of the text is to be grasped, we must not only examine the full eighteen verses, a translation of which I have supplied in the Appendix to this chapter (with the music, see pages 15-17), but also the amazingly elaborate explanatory notes that were appended to them, about which I can say only a little. The first verse talks of the emperor fulfilling his promise and mobilising his armies which are thirsting for victory and glory. Verses 2 and 3 praise his paternal concern for his soldiers' welfare. The next verse stresses the overriding importance for the troops of their confidence that God is on their side. Then in verse 5 the poet changes gear, very clumsily, and talks about the emperor's sympathy with those who suffer unfairly because of the war. Verses 6 to 9 may reasonably be called Masonic, at least in a generalised sense: God cares for all nations including Jews, Turks and heathen; all men are brothers. In verses 9 and 10 the gears are crashed a second time. The emperor, says the author, has extended

toleration to both Turk and Jew.^{80/} He has also been seeking peace between nations. But alas! *one* nation - the Turks - has stood out and thwarted his benevolence. With that the song can return to martial fervour. In verse 14 God does not want brothers to die, but equally certainly he wants to correct injustice. In the last four verses patriotism takes over: the brave troops are fighting for the right and for mankind; God will reward the heroes whose blood is shed; future generations will bless them; their heroism will not have been in vain.

The notes to the song, like other pieces in the periodical from which it comes, are manifestly propagandist, directed at persuading young men of the justice of the emperor's cause. Though it is admitted that some exceptional Turks bear the marks of civilization, 'the true ordinary Turk remains... an inhuman, ungovernable monster'. An attempt is made to counteract the revulsion against the war produced by food shortage and other economic problems. On 31 July, we are told, bakeries throughout the capital had been stormed by the usually phlegmatic inhabitants. The annotator claims that none of this would have happened if Joseph had not been away from Vienna on campaign. Young men - future conscripts into the army - must be persuaded of the invariable wisdom of the emperor, God's representative on earth.^{81/}

The song has not fared well at the hands of editors and commentators. When the music was first published in England, as late as 1960, it was headed with a delicious editorial note: 'Written apparently for a youth rally, the song had an enormous number of verses which seem to refer to the Turkish war... The words have no interest whatever outside their own period and purpose. For the present edition, therefore, the lovely tune has been provided with new English words.' The title given to this improved version was 'The Maiden and the Fawn'.^{82/} I know of only one recording of the original, in the Philips complete CD series, where the song is oddly located among the arias and where only six verses are sung, chosen so that its message is uncomplicatedly warlike. A recent writer prints only the first eight verses, which minimises the song's bellicosity.^{83/}

As with nearly all the texts Mozart set, we do not know what he thought of this one. One commentator is confident that he wholeheartedly supported Joseph's war policy. The *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* assures us on the contrary that the setting by 'MOZART THE FREEMASON' skilfully highlighted the Masonic elements in the song.^{84/} This is manifest nonsense: the music is the same for every pair of verses, whether their sense is cosmopolitan or patriotic, humanitarian or heroic.

V

Leopold II becomes a mere tailpiece. He had admired Mozart's performance as a child in Vienna and a boy in Tuscany, and the composer had had hopes of him as an employer in the early seventies.^{85/} But they then had little or no contact until Leopold succeeded Joseph. The new ruler lived only two years more, and Mozart died three months before he did. The composer retained under Leopold the sinecure post and salary given him by Joseph.

The new emperor loved *opera seria*, and so Mozart was able to go back to that genre in 1791 with *La clemenza di Tito* - though Leopold seems not to have relished the result.^{86/} It has become commonplace to say that, in glorifying Titus's clemency, the opera was setting up a model of Enlightened absolutism.^{87/} Or, as Professor Hartz puts it: 'Clemency was a virtue ardently espoused by the Enlightenment, an age during which Montesquieu, Beccaria, and Voltaire led the fight against penal torture.'^{88/} These views seem to me mistaken. Clemency in individual cases, such as Titus displays, is a virtue of Christian and even non-Christian rulers through all ages. But there is a fundamental difference between this essentially arbitrary practice and the general mitigation of the criminal law on Enlightened principles. Beccaria disapproved of rulers exercising clemency in special cases. He thought that the punishment appropriate to a certain crime could and should be determined by calculating precisely how much pain had to be inflicted on the criminal to deter him and others from committing the same offence in future. The ruler has no business to disturb the arithmetic by merciful caprice.^{89/} Furthermore, a ruler deserving the name Enlightened must surely propose reforms. In the opera Titus takes no political actions other than oscillating between severity and clemency and granting relief for the victims of Vesuvius.^{90/}

Mozart was also happy to be able to write instrumental church music again, possible now because Leopold withdrew some of his brother's prohibitions.^{91/} The composer walked in the Corpus Christi procession at the Piarist Church in Vienna in 1791, when he seems to have felt awkward carrying a candle. But he had just written his new motet *Ave verum corpus* for performance at the same Feast in Baden. Later in the year, he worked to get his son admitted to the Piarists' school.^{92/} He had obtained the promise of the lucrative organist's post at St Stephen's cathedral in Vienna, which fell vacant too late for him to enjoy it.^{93/} It looks as though he was destined for a second career as a church musician. Whether Leopold would have come to appreciate his talents better we cannot know.

VI

My essential points about the relationship between Mozart and the Habsburgs are these. Unlike any of the others, Joseph had an enduring admiration for Mozart and gave him a sinecure post in recognition of his genius. This was a matter of musical taste and appreciation, unaffected by political considerations. Mozart was a Freemason, but this by no means implies that he was anti-Catholic, radical or pacifist; and nor would it have troubled Joseph. Mozart's letters tell us almost nothing unequivocal about his political views. If we look at the texts he set in order to discover more about his attitudes, we are on dangerous ground and cannot hope for certainty. But in doing so we should surely pay more than perfunctory attention to the words of the few songs which have a direct bearing on contemporary politics. And it would not be surprising if a song like *Beim Auszug in das Feld* expressed something like Mozart's sentiments, since it mirrors in its confusion the confusions of the age and of Joseph II himself, humanitarian and militaristic, reformist in religion but in his own view an orthodox Catholic - a despot imposing far-reaching changes, some of them Enlightened, apparently even Liberal, by *fiat* from above.^{94/}

Appendix: When troops are leaving for the front (*Beim Auszug in das Feld*)

Poem anonymous, translated by Derek Beales with much help from Professor H. B. Nisbet

- 1 True to the emperor's lofty word,
Joseph called up his armies:
They flew together, as if on wings,
Full of thirst for victory and honour.
- 2 For all are glad to heed the call
Of a father who loves his children,
Whose care protects them all from harm,
From every threat of danger.
- 3 Wherever they appeared, they found
Their fill of food and drink;
And do not good will and thanks alone
Often repay a hero's efforts?
- 4 But more than by all this the breasts
Of men are steeled for the conflict
By the consoling thought that God himself
Accompanies them into battle.
- 5 For on their hearts was deep impressed
Father Joseph's example:
Where fellow men felt injustice,
They also suffered with them.
- 6 For human beings everywhere
Are God Almighty's creatures;
Heathen and Turk, Christian and Jew
Are all alike his children.
- 7 He causes thus his rain to fall
For Jew and Turk and heathen;
For Christians too he clothes the bare fields
And makes them rich and fertile
- 8 But so it also is his will
That men should never harm each other,
Given that each one seldom thinks
The same way as his brother.
- 9 Thus Joseph, like a God on earth,
Showed Turks and Jews toleration,
And shielded them from oppression and hurt
And sought peace for every nation.
- 10 This too the whole world gave to him,
Save *one* that stood out against it:
This one believes itself the only chosen race
And knows no other brothers;

- 11 And knows no right but its own hand
And no duty but murder,
So that many a lovely land
Has sunk in waste and horror.
- 12 But it hides behind a mask
And prates of truth and loyalty,
And whispers in other people's ears
As if it were the victim.
- 13 And hopes by this hypocrisy
To ensnare the hearts of brothers
So that many, stirred up and quarrelsome,
Should even come to its aid.
- 14 But this our glorious Lord above
Will surely not let happen:
He doesn't want our brothers' death,
He wants to right injustice.
- 15 All brothers who love humanity and right
Will stand and fight beside us,
For it's to help humanity's cause
That our swords are sharpened.
- 16 So, brave warriors, fight with courage
For your crowns of honour!
God himself will recompense
Your heroes' blood at his throne!
- 17 Your descendants will bless you too
With warm and fervent thanks
For every well-aimed blow
That once helped to secure their happiness.
- 18 For we're recording all your names,
As if in the Book of Life,
So that they can show you their love and gratitude,
Your heroes, let it not be in vain!

* * *

Mit Würde Lied beim Auszug in das feld. Von W. A. Mozart
 Singstimme
 Clavicembal.



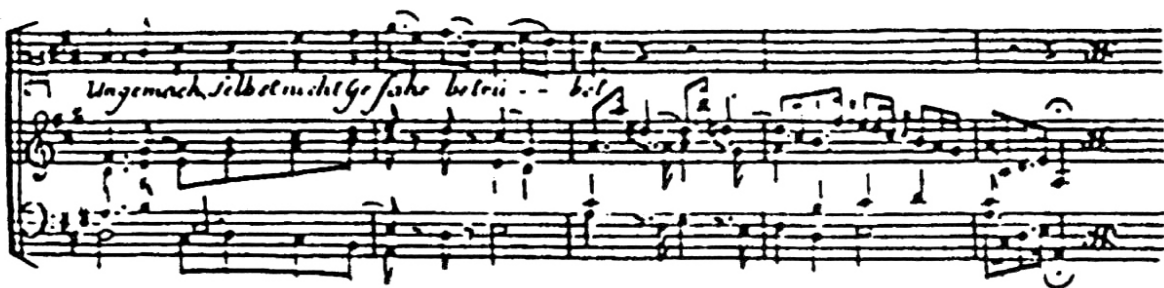
Dem hohen Kaiser.



Werde dem von Joseph Simon Steccani. Sie sollen schnell herbei, voll Drost nach Siegen



Ehren, gern zieht man, dem Vater nach, der seine Kinder liebet, und sorgl. die sehen



Ungemach, selbst nicht Gefahr beten -- bet

First edition of *Beim Auszug in das Feld* (KV 552) from *Wochenblatt für Kinder zur angenehmen und lehrreichen Beschäftigung in ihrer Freystunden*, vol. IV (1788), reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.

(Users reading this on the computer screen are reminded that this page can be zoomed to a larger size for easier reading.)

Notes

An earlier version of this chapter was given as the Stenton Lecture of the University of Reading for 1992. Further relevant material will be found in two articles which overlap with this piece: 'Court, Government and Society in Mozart's Vienna' in S. Sadie (ed.), *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 1-20, and 'The Impact of Joseph II on Vienna' in M. Csaky and W Pass (eds), *Europa im Zeitalter Mozarts* (Vienna, 1995), pp. 301-10.

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1 An excellent survey covering these matters is N. Zaslav (ed.), *The Classical Era* (London, 1989). On Dittersdorf his *Lebensbeschreibung*, ed. E. Schmitz (Regensburg, 1940), esp. pp. 191-2.

2 On Haydn the path-breaking works of H. C. Robbins Landon. The contract made between Prince Nicholas Esterhazy and the composer in 1761 is to be found in Landon's *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. I (London, 1980), pp. 350-2.

3 E. Anderson (ed.), *The Letters of Mozart and His Family* (3rd edn, London, 1985), esp. pp. 716-35.

4 As well as Zaslav, *The Classical Era*, see A. Yorke-Long, *Music at Court* (London, 1954). The notion propagated by (e.g.) R. Leppert in his *Music and Image* (Cambridge, 1988), chs 6 and 7, that musical studies were considered effeminate in the eighteenth century, may possibly have some application to Britain but is fatuous in relation to Germany and the Austrian Monarchy.

5 Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 34-5.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 148; O. E. Deutsch (ed.), *Mozart: A Documentary Biography* (2nd edn, London, 1966), pp. 123-5.

8 Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 59, 64; Deutsch, *Mozart*, pp. 49, 53. On the pieces N. Zaslav, *Mozart's Symphonies* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 48-64.

9 Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 6, 8

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 186n., 193; Deutsch, *Mozart*, pp. 135-7; G. Barbican and A. Della Corte, *Mozart in Italia: I viaggi e le lettere* (Milan, 1956), pp. 150-60, 185-6.

11 Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 8, 253 and n., 794-5; Deutsch, *Mozart*, pp. 151-2.

12 Anderson, *Letters*, p. 142.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 911; Deutsch, *Mozart*, p. 300.

14 L. von Köchel, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke W. A. Mozarts* (7th edn, Wiesbaden, 1965), p. 687. It is not made clear whether this is actually Mozart's dedication or the publisher's.

15 Deutsch, *Mozart*, p. 138; Barbian and Della Corte, *Mozart in Italia*, pp. 186-7 and Pl. XXXI (p. 168).

16 See for unsuccessful efforts to involve Marie Antoinette, Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 439, 537 and n.; Deutsch, *Mozart*, p. 171. Antonia Fraser has recently pointed out that the queen was pregnant at the time and unable to help Mozart: *Marie Antoinette* (London, 2000), p. 151.

17 For the young Maria Theresa, Anderson, *Letters*, p. 911; Deutsch, *Mozart*, pp. 300-1.

18 See n.14 above for K.600. For *Lucio Silla*, Deutsch, *Mozart*, p. 143; Barblan and Della Corte, *Mozart in Italia*, pp. 165-73 and Pl. XXXII (p. 169).

19 Deutsch, *Mozart*, pp. 29, 129.

20 *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, ed. E. Forbes (Princeton, 1970), e.g. pp. 475, 660, 745, 879.

21 E.g. Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 782, 814-15.

22 I deal with the question of the Court in my paper in Sadie, *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart*. Cf. V. Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 42-3.

23 D. Hertz, *Mozart's Operas*, ed. T. Bauman (Oxford, 1990), *passim*.

24 The most thorough account of Joseph's legislation on church music is O. Biba, 'Die Wiener Kirchenmusik um 1783', *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* [*Jahrbuch für österreichische Kulturgeschichte*, I, 2] (Eisenstadt, 1971), pp. 7-79. Useful discussions in English are R. G. Pauly, 'The Reforms of Church Music under Joseph II', *Musical Quarterly*, 43 (1957): 372-82 and B. C. Macintyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period* (Ann Arbor, 1986), esp. p. 46, references on p. 691. I am very grateful to Professor Linda Colley for giving me a copy of Macintyre's book. The C minor Mass poses many problems, on which see, e.g., H. C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart: The Golden Years, 1781-1791* (London, 1989), pp. 91-5.

25 The first known mention of this comment dates from 1798. Hence its authenticity is doubtful, though the fuller version sounds plausible if 'our ears' is understood to refer to the Viennese: 'Too beautiful for our ears, my dear Mozart, and monstrous many notes!' Cf. T. Bauman, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 89.

26 D. Beales, *Joseph II. I: In the Shadow of Maria Theresa, 1741-80* (Cambridge, 1987), (esp. ch. 10. Joseph II to Leopold, 3 June and 4 July 1771, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna [hereafter HHSa], Familien-Archiv, Sammelbande 7, not printed in *Maria Theresia und Joseph II. Ihre Correspondenz*, ed. A. Ritter von Arneht (Vienna, 1867-68).

27 Deutsch, *Mozart*, p. 207.

28 For this correspondence and for Joseph's preoccupation with theatrical issues see R. Payer von Thurn, *Joseph II. als Theaterdirektor* (Vienna, 1920).

29 I am assured, on the authority of Dr O. Mazal, that the National Library in Vienna, which possesses many of the exercises Joseph wrote during his education, has no musical compositions of his.

30 See W. Kirkendale, *Fuge und Fugato in der Kammermusik des Rokoko und der Klassik* (Tutzing, 1966), pp. 62-3, 81.

31 Beales, *Joseph II*, p. 316.

32 Dittersdorf, *Lebensbeschreibung*, pp. 208-09, 212-13. On Kreibich and Joseph, see Deutsch, *Mozart*, pp. 369-70; Beales, *Joseph II*, pp. 316 and nn., 319.

33 Deutsch, *Mozart*, pp. 314, 315. This statement of Joseph's was not, as V. Braunbehrens says in his generally reliable *Mozart in Vienna*, p. 165, 'rumoured'. It appears in the emperor's letter of 16 May 1788 to Count Rosenberg (Deutsch, *Mozart*, p. 315).

34 E.g. Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 718, 843. Of course, Gottfried Van Swieten's concerts of the music of Bach and Handel revived the interest of Mozart and others in earlier contrapuntal music during the 1780s.

35 Beales, *Joseph II*, pp. 230-6, 316; Hartz, *Mozart's Operas*, ch. IV.

36 Landon, *Mozart*, p. 33; H.-J. Irmen, *Mozart Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften* (Neustadt, 1988), p. 245 and n.

37 Hartz, *Mozart's Operas*, pp. 133-8, and Landon, *Mozart*, pp. 155-62 and 243, discuss and largely vindicate the librettist, Lorenzo da Ponte's, account in his *Memoirs*, ed. A. Livingston (New York, 1967), pp. 149-51, 159-61.

38 Deutsch, *Mozart*, pp. 261-3.

39 Anderson, *Letters*, p. 911.

40 One example is K. Thomson, *The Masonic Thread in Mozart* (London, 1977), p. 124.

41 Deutsch, *Mozart*, pp. 305-7, 430, 445. See for fresh interpretation of this gesture Irmen, *Mozart Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften*, pp. 246-9. Robbins Landon's description of Joseph's motives as 'negative' (*1791: Mozart's Last Year* [London, 1988, p. 41]) strikes me as curious.

42 *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, pp. 453-9.

43 Mozart's debts are notorious, but it is impossible to calculate them precisely. Cf. J. Moore, 'Mozart in the Market-Place', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 114 (1989): 18-42. Dr C. R. Wilson kindly supplied me

with a copy of this article. For a re-evaluation of Viennese concert life see M. S. Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1989). The situation in Britain was of course much more favourable to the performer.

44 It was said of King Edgar. See F. M. Sterton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1947), p. 363.

45 I have tried to show that it was less aggressive and expansionist than has often been maintained in my *Joseph II* and in my article, 'Die auswärtige Politik der Monarchie vor und nach 1780. Kontinuität und Zäsur', in R. G. Plaschka and G. Klingenstein (eds), *Österreich im Europa der Aufklärung* (2 vols, Vienna, 1985), vol. I, pp. 567-74.

46 P. G. M. Dickson, *Finance and Government under Maria Theresia* (2 vols, Oxford, 1987), vol. I, pp. 318-19.

47 See Chapter 5, 'The False Joseph II'. [BCC note: not in the website]

48 See Chapter 11, 'Was Joseph II an Enlightened Despot?'. [Also not in the website.] The main authority remains P. von Mitrofanov, *Joseph II* (2 vols, Vienna, 1910).

49 Archivio segreto vaticano: Nunziatura di Vienna [hereafter ASVNV] 182, Garampi's despatch, 5 May 1783. Garampi was nuncio until the middle of 1785, Caprara thereafter. Their despatches were addressed to a succession of papal secretaries of state. I should like to thank Mgr C. Burns for his generous guidance in the Vatican Archives.

50 Zaslav, *Mozart's Symphonies*, ch. 13. A. Arblaster, *Viva la Libertà.: Politics in Opera* (London, 1992) asserts that historians of opera are too inclined to treat the genre as apolitical. This is simply not true for Mozart. See W. Weber, 'The Myth of Mozart, the Revolutionary', *Musical Quarterly*, 78 (1994): 34-47, in which he argues that musical historians get Mozart wrong because they are out of touch with recent scholarship on the French Revolution. Professor Weber kindly sent me a copy of this article.

51 Anderson, *Letters*, e.g., pp. 734-5, 757-8, 779.

52 Ibid., p. 828; Zaslav, *Mozart's Symphonies*, pp. 526-7.

53 Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 558, 833.

54 The utopian hymn is KV 619. For a judicious discussion of Freemasonry in *The Magic Flute* see P. Branscombe, *Die Zauberflöte* (Cambridge, 1991), esp. ch. 2.

55 For enthusiastic appraisals see Thomson, *Masonic Thread*; P. A. Autexier, *Les oeuvres témoins de Mozart* (Paris, 1982); and H. Reinalter's numerous and repetitive works. Irmen's *Mozart Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften* has brought to light much new material, the significance of which has yet to be evaluated.

56 *Österreich zur Zeit Kaiser Josephs II* (catalogue of the Melk bicentenary exhibition, 1980), p. 592. H. Dopsch and H. Spatzenegger (eds), *Geschichte Salzburgs*, vol. II, part 1 (Salzburg, 1988), p. 409.

57 See the impressive article by F. Wehrli, 'Der "Neue Geist"'. Eine Untersuchung der Geistesrichtungen des Klerus in Wien von 1750-1790', *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* [hereafter *MOSA*], 20 (1967): 36-114. He concludes on p. 107: 'If a cleric attended a Lodge, that must. . .not be taken as evidence that his orthodoxy was dubious, still less that he was irreligious.'

58 Even L. Abafi, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Österreich-Ungarn* (5 vols, Budapest, 1890-99), e.g. vol. IV, pp. 73, 138, acknowledges this, although it does not stop him writing as though all lodges were politically radical. For relevant extracts from the *Journal für Freymaurer* and other documents, see E. Lessing et al. (eds), *Die Übungslogen der gerechten und vollkommenen Loge ZUR WAHREN EINTRACHT im Orient zu Wien 1782-1785* (Vienna, 1984).

59 Anderson, *Letters*, p. 907.

60 R. Porter, *The Enlightenment* (London, 1990) is a strident example.

61 Branscombe, *Zauberflöte*, p. 6.

62 ASV, Nunziatura di Vienna 184, 3 Jan. 1785. Some students of Casti have been aware that the opera lampoons Gustavus III, e.g. L. Pistorelli in *Rivista musicale italiana*, vol. II (1895), pp. 37-45 (who actually cites on p. 41 a passage quoted by Garampi in which the king takes pride in his clothes) and G. Muresu, *Le occasioni di un libertino* (Florence, 1973), pp. 132-47. But I am not aware that any modern writer has understood the rather elaborate references to oysters (it is suggested to Teodoro that he raise money by granting an oyster monopoly, which the king refuses to do, saying he needs them all for his own table). Nor has the following quatrain, said by Garampi to mock Gustavus for travelling incognito and rejecting etiquette, been picked out:

I Ceremonial, sorella mia,
Pei gran Principi è vér che sono inezie.
Ma per li Ré miei pari,
Indispensabil sono, e necessari.

This might be thought to have struck as much at Joseph as at Gustavus.

The text of the libretto in *Opere Varie di Giambattista Casti* (6 vols, Paris, 1821), vol. VI, pp. 59-132, contains all the points mentioned by Garampi. The text published in London in 1787 for a King's Theatre performance, with an English translation, lacks most of them.

On the influence of this opera on Mozart, see Heartz, *Mozart's Operas*, pp. 127-8 and nn.

63 Deutsch, *Mozart*, pp. 245, 247-8; Irmen, *Mozart Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften*, pp. 153-7. *Die Maurerfreude* is KV 471.

64 ASVV, 184, dispaccio straordinario of 24 Apr. 1785. Section G: 'Liberi Muratori'. Cf. Irmen, *Mozart Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften*, pp. 147-52.

65 This is a constant theme of the nuncios' despatches, as of modern writings such as H. Reinalter (ed.), *Joseph II. und die Freimaurerei* (Vienna, 1987).

66 See Beales, *Joseph II*, pp. 477, 486; H. Wagner, 'Die Lombardei und das Freimaurer Patent Joseph II', *MOSA*, XXXI (1978): 143.

67 Reinalter, *Joseph II. und die Freimaurerei*, reproduces Joseph's rescript and the main pamphlets it provoked. See Irmen, *Mozart Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften*, pp. 168-79.

68 KV 483. Irmen, *Mozart Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften*, pp. 180-2.

69 Philipp Cobenzl to Joseph, late Nov./Dec. 1787, HHSA, Staatskanzlei, Vorträge 144, with the emperor's reply and the memorandum from the informer, Ponte Leon. Cobenzl had himself been involved with the Illuminati.

70 The story of the Turkish war is garbled by many writers. For a reliable account of its origins see K. A. Roeder, Jr, *Austria's Eastern Question, 1700-1790* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 160-2, 174-5.

71 E.g. Mitrofanov, *Joseph II*, vol. I, pp. 211-22; Irmen, *Mozart Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften*, pp. 250-4, 259-63; Thomson, *Masonic Thread*, chs 14 and 15.

72 On Meyer(n) see P. Horwath, 'The Altar of the Fatherland: William Friedrich von Meyern's Utopian Novel *Dya-Na-Sore*', *Austrian Studies*, I (1991): 43-58; L. Bodi, *Tauwetter in Wien* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1977), pp. 313-17, 320-1. It has been generally supposed that Johann Pezzl, another Mason, wrote the *Neue persische Briefe* (see G. Gugitz, 'Johann Pezzl', *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft*, xvi [1906]: 195-7), but the book has been attributed to Meyern in J. Kunisch, 'Das "Puppenwerk" der stehenden Heere: Ein Beitrag zur Neueinschätzung von Soldatenstand und Krieg in der Spätaufklärung', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* (1990): 49-83. Professor E. Wangermann kindly gave me the reference to this important article.

73 Irmen, *Mozart Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften*, p. 252.

74 For a cool appraisal of Schikaneder's involvement with Freemasonry, usually greatly exaggerated, see Branscombe, *Die Zauberflöte*, pp. 43-4. See also S. Hock, 'Österreichische Türkenlieder (1788-1790)', *Euphorion*, XI (1904): 93-4; Anderson, *Letters*, p. 940.

75 Hock, *Euphorion* (1904): 101.

76 J. Pezzl, *Skizze von Wien* (2 vols, Vienna, 1789-90), vol. I, pp. 813-20; Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*, ed. G. Gugitz (2 vols, Vienna, 1914), vol. I, pp. 97-8; Jacobi to Hertzberg, 17 Oct. 1789 (Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg, Rep. 96 154H); Caprara in ASVNV, 200, 15 Oct. 1789.

77 The songs are KV 539, 552; the dances *Die Belagerung Belgrads* (or *La Bataille*) (23 Jan. 1788), KV 535, and *Der Sieg vom Helden Coburg* (Dec. 1789), KV 587; the mechanical organ piece (probably) KV 594 (late 1790).

78 I discuss this song briefly in my two Mozart conference papers (see the opening para. to these notes). Cf. Irmen, *Mozart Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften*, p. 253; Deutsch, *Mozart*, p. 311.

79 The song was originally published in the fourth volume of a (now very rare) periodical (to which Mozart subscribed) entitled *Wochenblatt für Kinder zur angenehmen und lehrreichen Beschäftigung in ihren Freystunden*, vol. IV. See Deutsch, *Mozart*, pp. 285-6, 326. The words were reprinted with related material in E. Mandyczewski, 'Kostbarkeiten aus dem Archiv der k.k. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien', *Der Merker*, IV (May 1913): 324-30.

80 In the original annotations to the song, it is stated that Joseph has accorded rights of citizenship in his states to both Turks and Jews, and indeed has given them one *Begünstigung* ('favour') after another. The writer sounds uneasy at this benevolence, and also apprehensive that many young men may not sympathise with it. They are urged to obey Joseph in this as in his foreign policy, since to be intolerant towards any fellow citizens is to sin against both God and emperor. Mandyczewski, *Merker* (May 1913): 329. Joseph's favours to Muslims seem to have been missed by historians, and I know of only two: (i) permission to bury their dead in a special cemetery (1. De Luca, *Politische Codex* [6 vols, Vienna, 1789], vol. II, p. 223) and (ii), after war broke out, an order that resident Turks should not be molested.

81 This paragraph derives from Mandyczewski (see n.79).

82 Curwen edn, London, 1960, ed. Jack Werner, words by Margaret Lyell.

83 Irmen, *Mozart Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften*, p. 261.

84 *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* (20 vols, 1955-91), vol. III, 8, pp. 56-7.

85 Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 2, 125, 222, 224-6; Barbican and Della Corte, *Mozart in Italia*, pp. 87-8, 187-90, 231.

86 J. A. Rice, *La Clemenza di Tito* (Cambridge, 1991) on this opera. On Mozart and *opera seria* in general, Hertz, *Mozart's Operas*, is fundamental. See also Landon, *Mozart's Last Year*.

87 A. Wandruszka, 'Die "Clementia Austriaca" und der aufgeklärte Absolutismus: Zu politischen und ideellen Hintergrund von "La Clemenza di Tito"', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, XXXI (1976): 186-93, is followed, e.g., by Rice, *Clemenza di Tito*, p. 14.

88 Hertz, *Mozart's Operas*, p. 272.

89 C. Beccaria, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, ch. XLVI, in *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Cesare Beccaria*, ed. L. Firpo (Milan, 1984), vol. I, pp. 127-8.

90 I have discussed these issues rather more fully in my article in Sadie, *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart*.

91 Rice in Zaslav, *The Classical Era*, pp. 159-61.

92 Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 957, 969, 971; Deutsch, *Mozart*, pp. 397, 409.

93 Anderson, *Letters*, pp. 949-50; Deutsch, *Mozart*, p. 395.

94 Cf. Chapter 3, 'Christians and *Philosophes*'. [Not in the website.]

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