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The influence of Josephinism upon the omission of text in Schubert's Mass in G

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THE INFLUENCE OF JOSEPHINISM UPON THE OMISSION OF TEXT IN SCHUBERT'S MASS IN G

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By

Louis Michael De La Rosa

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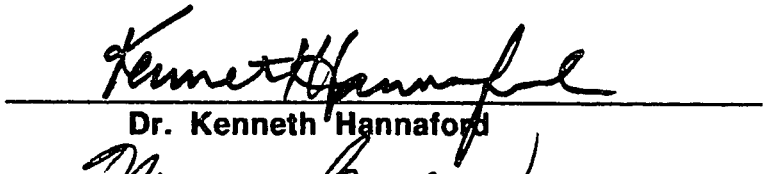

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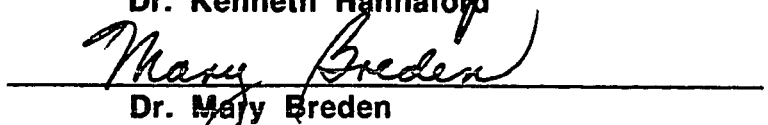

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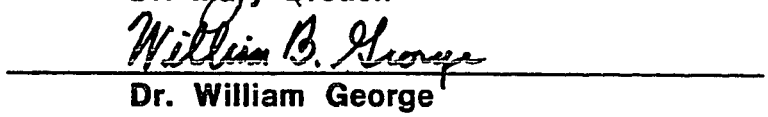

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ABSTRACT:

THE INFLUENCE OF JOSEPHINISM UPON
THE OMISSION OF TEXT IN SCHUBERT'S MASS IN G

by Louis Michael De La Rosa

During and after the reign of Joseph II of Austria (1765-90), the text of the Roman Catholic Mass was altered by several Viennese composers. Franz Schubert in particular omitted the same text, "et in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam," from the Credo of each of his six masses, in direct violation of Roman canon, yet suffered no repercussions.

This study investigated whether there was a correlation between the sociopolitical climate in Vienna and the liberalization within the Church, as a result of the reforms of Joseph II (Josephinism), which may have encouraged toleration within the Church. Schubert's philosophy and music were examined in order to reduce the possible reasons for his alterations.

The evidence indicated that the liberal attitude of the Viennese Church toward non-conformity and dissension was a direct result of Josephinism. The plausible reasons for Schubert's textual omissions were limited to defiance of orthodoxy or carelessness.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The enlightened reforms of Emperor Joseph II of Austria affected virtually every aspect of daily life within his realm. These reforms, and the resulting *Zeitgeist*, are referred to as Josephinism. Through the Edict of Toleration issued by Joseph II in 1781, freedom of religious thought became a reality in Imperial Vienna. In addition, by closing the monasteries and placing the Church under authority of the emperor in all matters extra-religious, Joseph II lifted the heavy veil of church ritual from his subjects. In doing so, the position of the Church within the culture was changed, particularly in Vienna.

Statement of Problem

It appears that the liberalization engendered by Joseph II grew to include not only the form, but the content of the Roman Catholic service in Vienna. Contrary to all edicts from Rome, the text of the Mass was altered in many compositions of this era by such composers as Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, and Franz Schubert. Schubert in particular omitted the same text, "et in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam," (and [I believe] in one holy catholic and apostolic church) from the Credo of the six masses he wrote. How could this have been permitted by the church authorities?

This and other related questions are addressed in this study in an effort to clarify the role of Josephinism upon the Mass in Vienna: What is the definition of Josephinism? How did Josephinism and Josephine Catholicism affect sacred music? Are textual omissions in the masses of Schubert in fact a result of Josephine Catholicism, and if so, to what extent?

Purpose of Study

Composers of choral music often impose upon music their own beliefs and biases which emanate from the text. Occasionally, the composer may edit the text either to bring it into closer accord with those beliefs, or simply to fit the musical context. The text of the Mass, however, is considered by the Roman Catholic Church to be sacrosanct. For centuries, it was considered near-heresy to add to or delete from any portion of the text. Yet, in Vienna this practice was not viewed as such.

This study addresses whether there is a positive correlation between the sociopolitical climate in Vienna, and the liberalization of the Church as a result of Josephinism, which may have encouraged a climate of toleration of musical dissent within the Church. Furthermore, this study investigates Schubert's philosophy in an attempt to understand the possible reasons for his alteration of the Mass text.

Limitations

For purposes of clarity, this study focuses primarily upon the masses of Franz Schubert, specifically his Mass in G, although other music is cited in the

investigation of textual deletions. The period of musical history under examination is limited from circa 1780, prior to the Edict of Toleration which reformed the Roman Catholic Church in Austria, through 1828, the year of Schubert's death. The musical practices of Catholic churches outside Vienna are not addressed.

Related Literature

While there is much written about the sociopolitical and economic climates of Vienna at this time, there is very little primary source material available regarding specific religious practices within the churches of Vienna, owing to fire and war. Therefore, this study relies upon secondary sources in determining the religious climate. Such sources include Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik (1976) by the eminent musicologist Karl Gustav Fellerer, as well as a much shorter translation of an earlier edition of this work, The History of Catholic Church Music (1961). Neither work addresses the incongruity of Schubert's text omissions and their toleration by the Church, however.

Although Bruce Mac Intyre's published dissertation The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period (1986) concentrates primarily upon the form and style of masses from 1740 to 1783, utilizing excerpts of 72 masses from 28 different composers, an entire chapter is devoted to the conditions of church music during that period. Martin Cooper briefly but cogently synthesizes the social, political and religious background of Vienna in Beethoven: The Last Decade, 1817-1827 (1985). Reinhard Pauly specifically addresses a topic of this paper in his article, "The Reforms of Church Music under Joseph II" (1957),

yet focuses upon church music in general rather than masses in particular.

Will and Ariel Durant provide a broad picture of life under Maria Theresa and Joseph II in Rousseau and Revolution (1967), a significant volume from their 11-volume opus, The Story of Civilization (1935-1975). Although they have provided a comprehensive narrative, it lacks immediate documentation. Robert Kann's book A History of the Habsburg Empire: 1526-1918 (1974), on the other hand, is a well-documented work which describes the whole of the Habsburg dynasty, political and cultural. Its strength lies in its breadth, tying together the disparate threads of 400 years of rule. The most complete source, however, is Derek Beales' Joseph II, Vol. 1 (1987), an exhaustive well-documented work which provides great insight into the reigns of Joseph II and Maria Theresa. Its strength lies in the depth with which it covers this era.

The most important literature available regarding Schubert's philosophy is that which has been provided by the late Schubert scholar Otto Erich Deutsch. These works include translations of Schubert's letters, The Schubert Reader (1947), and those of his friends, Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends (1958), as well as the two thematic catalogs (1951, 1978), of Schubert's collected works.

Three doctoral dissertations are of particular importance to this study, in providing both general and specific information not found elsewhere. David Gramit provides an interesting and insightful dissertation, The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert's Circle (1987) which explores the influence this circle of friends had upon Schubert's philosophy and his treatment of text. Much of the information concerning Schubert comes from letters not found in previous works about Schubert.

In his dissertation, The Masses of Franz Schubert (1964), Ronald Stringham explores Schubert's masses individually and collectively. Each mass is formally analyzed and evaluated in light of Schubert's philosophy. The question of Schubert's omission of text is raised, hypotheses are presented, yet the mystery is left greatly unanswered. Stringham provides a comprehensive scholarly work, which is cited in numerous bibliographies. Finally, in The Masses of Haydn and Schubert: A Study in the Rise of Romanticism (1971), Kenneth Nafziger provides a platform from which these works can be compared and contrasted in relation to classicism and romanticism. Although his treatment of each of their masses is necessarily superficial, his arguments for the recognition of a single classical-romantic period are convincing.

Several studies have been valuable in providing specificity in various areas. Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna (1985), by Alice Hanson, provides concise documentation of all forms of Viennese music from 1815 to 1830. A transcription of a roundtable discussion by several respected German musicians, "Schubert-Rätsel" in Franz Schubert Sonderband der Musik-Konzepte, edited by Heinz-Klaus Metzger (1979), deals in part with Schubert's treatment of Mass texts, and explores various ideas about his philosophy. Katharine Thomson presents a concise, well-documented study of The Masonic Thread in Mozart (1977), which clarifies the position that Freemasonry held in society, and consequently, in music. Of particular value is Jesuits and Jacobins: Enlightenment and Enlightened Despotism in Austria (1971), by Paul Bernard, in which he proposes that Josephinism was more than a one-person political movement; that there were people who followed the path which Joseph set

forth. Much background information is provided about the Austrian literary scene, and the effects of the Church and censorship upon Austrian culture.

Need for Study

Knowledge of the religious climate in Vienna may influence choral conductors in future concert programming, and in approaches to performance practices of Schubert's masses. Although many scholars have addressed Schubert's omission of text in all of his masses, none have addressed the question of how these masses could have been permitted in the liturgy, considering Church Canon which prohibits the alteration of the Mass text. Furthermore, few studies give much weight to Beethoven's tonal obliteration of texts with which he disagreed, or to the omissions of text by Haydn and Mozart, citing them as curiosities. Yet it is known that all of their works were (or were intended to be) performed in liturgical services of the Roman Catholic Church. There is a need for clarification of these apparent contradictions.

Many studies have speculated upon the reasons for Schubert's alteration of the Mass text. Gerald Abraham has reduced the plausible reasons for Schubert's textual omissions to three possibilities which include "carelessness, defiance to orthodoxy, [and] conformity with some local practice -- all possible but none completely convincing" (Abraham, 1985, p. 663). The intent of this study is not to specifically determine why Schubert chose to omit text in his masses; this likely will remain a mystery. Instead, the answers to the questions posed here serve to offer further clarification of the existing possibilities as described by Abraham.

CHAPTER 2

JOSEPHINISM

It is difficult to overstate the importance and breadth of the many political, social, and ecclesiastical reforms instituted by Joseph II. These reforms equally affected the daily lives of the clergy, nobles, and peasants. In order to grasp the significance of these changes, and appreciate the magnitude of their effects, specifically upon religious practices in Vienna, several of them are cited herein.

An account of Josephinism must begin with an explanation of the fundamental sociopolitical movement which encompassed nearly all of Europe in the eighteenth century: the Enlightenment. According to The Encyclopedia of Religion, the Enlightenment was an intellectual movement ". . . affiliated with the rise of the bourgeoisie and the influence of modern science; it promoted the values of intellectual and material progress, toleration, and critical reason as opposed to authority and tradition in matters of politics and religion" (Wood, 1987, p. 109).

The eighteenth-century German philosopher Immanuel Kant defined enlightenment as "the human being's release from self-imposed tutelage." Wood (1987) explains Kant's definition as follows:

> . . . by 'tutelage' he means the inability to use one's understanding without guidance from another, the state of a child whose spiritual life is still held in benevolent bondage by his parents. Tutelage is self-imposed when it results not from immaturity or inability to think for oneself, but rather from a lack of courage to do so. Thus enlightenment is the process by which human individuals receive the courage to think for themselves

> about morality, religion, and politics, instead of having their opinions dictated to them by political, ecclesiastical, or scriptural authorities. (p. 113)

Yet, as Bernard (1971) notes, the policies of Joseph II were "only distantly related to the *Aufklärung* [Enlightenment]" (p. 172). This position will be explored in greater depth.

Joseph II and Maria Theresa

Joseph II was the eldest son of the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa (reigned 1740-1780) and her husband Francis I (1745-1765), Holy Roman Emperor. Born in 1745, Joseph ruled with his mother as co-regent for fifteen years (1765-1780) prior to his ascension to the throne as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1780-1790). His education, guided by Prince Bartenstein, was centered upon an in-depth study of history, to the exclusion of studies in the "enlightened" philosophies. His parents, in particular Maria Theresa, were primarily concerned that Joseph should be a devout Roman Catholic, defender of the monarchy, that "he should make himself personally agreeable to his subjects, choose his servants with great care and treat them generously" (Beales, 1987, p. 57). Many of Joseph's enlightened views come directly from Maria Theresa, although as an adult, against his mother's wishes, he did read and concur with Voltaire.

Although Maria Theresa supported a general education for her subjects, this enlightened attitude was strongly tempered by her pious views and a fear of "the revolutionary influence of enlightened ideas" (Kann, 1974, p. 192). Maria Theresa had been raised in a time of ultra-conservativism in the Church. In fact,

during the 1730's "the Austrian Church was thought to be so conservative that even the papal nuncio, Passionei, expressed a desire to see it somewhat liberalized" (Bernard, 1971, p. 10). Yet her Christian charity was not shared with those of other religious denominations: she treated Protestants within her empire with contempt, favoring those who converted to Roman Catholicism, whereas her Jewish subjects were submitted to virulent anti-Semitism (Beales, pp. 465-466).

Joseph, on the other hand, was more civil in his relations with both Jews and Protestants. This civility is evident by his Edict of Toleration (1781), and Toleration Patent (1782), which "secured near-equality to the Protestants, . . . allowed even the conversion of individuals . . . from Catholicism to Protestantism," and enabled Jews to settle in previously outlawed communities and enroll in universities (Kann, 1974, p. 191). Thus while Maria Theresa's subjects benefited by her enlightened policies toward education, they also benefited by Joseph's aversion to her religious dogma.

Whereas Joseph may have inherited his aversion to formality and ritual from his father, Maria Theresa herself was much less rigid in her daily life than her piety might indicate (Beales, 1987, pp. 34-36). Even in religious matters, Maria Theresa could be coldly pragmatic: regarding the practice of donating lands to the clergy, she found it "culpable to give or transfer more property. . . . For first they do not need it, and secondly, they do not - alas! - use what they have as they should, and so they constitute a heavy burden upon the public" (Beales, p. 53).

Maria Theresa's pragmatism was shared by Joseph. Indeed, "his hatred of formality and ceremony was integral to his whole approach to ruling" (Beales,

p. 37). Joseph was quick to make decisions often based upon whims, without or against the advice of counsel. He was headstrong and impatient, attempting to change in a matter of years a way of life which had existed for centuries. Yet, at all times, Joseph sought to centralize power in an effort to streamline both government and the Church for the welfare of the empire. The spirit of this era of change and reform is referred to as Josephinism.

Joseph II and Josephinism

Josephinism can be defined in general as the trend of liberalization and the centralization of power which occurred during the reign of Joseph II. More specifically, "it was the doctrine of Joseph's chancellor, Prince Kaunitz, that in all questions not directly related to dogma the Church must be subservient to the state and that its clergymen were to lay claim to no privileges not accessible to the ordinary citizen" (Brauer, 1971, p. 461). This liberalization was a result of many factors, ranging from a personal distrust of the clergy, specifically the then-banned Jesuit order, to a realization that in order to keep peace within his widely disparate empire, he must seek to centralize his power. Thus, Joseph struggled with the Church for supremacy.

This should not imply an anti-religious tendency on his part, however. Ferdinand Maass (in Kann, 1974) proposes that "Joseph II seriously entertained the idea of establishing an Austrian state church," not as a means of diminishing the role of the Church, but as a vehicle for promoting his belief "that its profound ideological importance required close association with and supervision by the state. Centralism was a means to that effect in this as in all other fields" (p. 184). Indeed, centralization was the primary focus of Joseph's reign.

As stated above, Josephinism was related to the German Enlightenment, or *Aufklärung*, although less than might be expected. The main emphasis of Josephinism was that of centralization primarily for means of power, not as a process of release from Kant's "tutelage." For instance, when asked to comment upon the revolution of the American colonists against the British monarchy, enlightened intellectuals were disappointed by Joseph's remark: "My trade is to be a royalist" (Beales, 1987, p. 385).

Joseph focused upon economic and strategic concerns for his empire, rather than a social reordering, although he was genuinely concerned about the social welfare of his subjects. The strong censorship which existed under Maria Theresa was lifted under Joseph, but replaced by strict licensing restrictions which limited the printing of materials not deemed essential to governmental objectives, effecting no real difference (Kann, 1974, p. 195). Joseph supported a secular general education for his subjects, but "only to the extent that the material benefits for society were demonstrable" (Kann, p. 192). Furthermore, his reduction in the number of religious holidays (an action which the workers resented) was not an effort to free his subjects from their servitude to the Church, but an attempt to increase the gross national product.

In describing Josephinism, Kann (1974) maintains that "at the center of the original philosophy was the system of the enlightened police state: everything for the people, nothing by the people" (p. 184). The numerous reforms of Joseph II are examples of his interpretation of an enlightened monarchy. These are mandates which echoed his philosophy as well as his simplistic thinking; for in issuing his proclamations, Joseph believed they would come to pass simply by his command, and would result in prosperity and

contentment among his people. Durant (1967) states that "Joseph's confidence in the justice of his aims led him to impatient intolerance of criticism or debate" (p. 355). In reality, his many reforms and his style of leadership created such resentment among both peasants and nobility, that he was eventually forced to rescind all but the Edict of Toleration shortly before his death in 1790.

It is significant that most recent scholars attribute Josephinism less to Joseph II than to Maria Theresa and her advisor, Prince Wenzel Anton Kaunitz. For without the important reforms of Maria Theresa, which are outside the scope of this paper, the stage would not have been set for Joseph's reforms.

Religious Reforms

The portions of his reforms which created the most resentment dealt with religion. Joseph's primary focus was to improve the economic stability and consequently the military and political strength of his empire. He viewed the immense wealth of the Austrian Catholic Church as an obstacle to economic development, and the control of education by the Church, specifically the Jesuits, as an impediment to the expansion of Austrian culture.

Joseph was encouraged as co-regent by the writings of Justinus Febronius, the pseudonym of Nikolaus von Hontheim, auxiliary bishop of Treves, who asserted the supremacy of the council of bishops over the pope, the equality of individual bishops with the pope, and the right of national churches to govern themselves. As a result, with the help of Prince Wenzel Kaunitz, Joseph persuaded his mother to join with the other Catholic powers in agreeing to dissolve the powerful Society of Jesus in Austria. In 1774, they confiscated the property of the Jesuits, and applied it toward educational reform.

This reform, entitled the *Allgemeine Schulordnung*, provided a compulsory general education for all children. Catholics, Jews, and Protestants were admitted not only as students, but also as teachers. Thus the strict control of education which the Jesuits had possessed, passed from the Church to the state.

One of Joseph's most significant reforms was the requirement that all ecclesiastical mandates issued within the empire, including papal regulations and decrees, must have the prior approval of the government. This strengthened a previous proclamation by Maria Theresa. As a further blow to the sovereignty of the Church, Joseph demanded and was conceded the right to approve the investiture of bishops, much to the chagrin of the pope. The new bishops were required to pledge an oath of obedience to the government, which enabled Joseph to seat bishops who were more closely aligned with his views than would otherwise have been possible. To further this goal, he built new churches, supported candidates to the priesthood, and opened new seminaries. These new seminaries provided an education in science and enlightened philosophy, in addition to the standard fare.

On November 29, 1781, Joseph increased his control of church affairs by closing a significant number of monasteries and convents, citing the fact that they "neither operate schools, nor care for the sick, nor engage in studies" (Durant, 1967, p. 358). Approximately 700 monasteries and convents in the Habsburg lands, or roughly one-third of the total number, were closed (Kann, 1974, p. 191). This translated to the retirement of 27,000 of the 65,000 monks and nuns in the Habsburg lands (Durant, p. 358).

In 1782, Joseph named a commission to regulate ecclesiastic matters, excepting purely religious ones. Jurisdiction over such matters as marriage, divorce, and most pertinent to this study, the simplification of the liturgy, were given to the state. Joseph has been compared to Luther in defying the Pope, to Henry VIII in attacking the monasteries, and to Calvin in his effort "to cleanse churches by ordering the removal of . . . most statuary, . . . stopping the touching of pictures, the kissing of relics, . . . and [regulating] the character of church music; the litanies were hereafter to be recited in German, not Latin" (Durant, 1967, p.360). These changes in their manner of worship was an inadvertent affront to the people.

Joseph's mandate for the simplification of church music has often been cited as the reason for the dearth of Mass compositions written between 1783 and 1790, although there were other secular forces such as the metamorphosis of the orchestra which may have had an impact. Actually, Joseph II did not forbid the composition of instrumentally accompanied masses, as is often stated. Rather, he sought to restrict the frequency of instrumental participation in the Mass, in part by limiting High Masses to Sundays and specific holidays. Joseph's underlying purpose was to eliminate the inclusion of purely instrumental secular music in the Mass, as well as florid solo works. Nonetheless, the effect was the same: the composition of new instrumental masses in Vienna was virtually halted during these years. The decree in question became law on April 20, 1783, and reads in part:

> In the Cathedral of St. Stephen and in those churches that have a regular choir one Mass will be celebrated daily. This will be a chanted Mass, with or without organ accompaniment, according to the season.

> On Sundays and holidays High Mass will be celebrated in each parish church with instrumental participation, or, if instruments are not available, it will be chanted. (Pauly, 1957, p. 378)

The hiatus in Mass composition during this time by Haydn and Mozart is often credited to Joseph's decree. Yet, instrumentally accompanied masses continued to be performed every Sunday where they lived, thereby destroying this hypothesis.

Joseph mandated a reduction in the number of sung Requiems, and allowed only singing of the new vernacular hymns for those masses which remained. His ban of all musical settings of litanies, benedictions, and vespers resulted in strong clerical opposition, particularly from Cardinal Migazzi of Vienna. In answer to his request for modification, Joseph replied, "The archbishop may celebrate vespers as he pleases, with all instrumental music, especially if he defrays the musical expenses out of his own pocket" (Pauly, 1957, p. 377). Thus, the changes which Joseph II instituted in the Catholic liturgy caused more resentment among the clergy and laity than his more significant reforms.

Perhaps the most far-reaching innovation however, and one which survived through the tumultuous years of Prince Metternich (ca. 1814-1848), was the Edict of Toleration, issued October 12, 1781. In it, Joseph beseeched his people to "forbear all occasions of dispute relative to matters of faith, . . . and to treat affectionately and kindly those who are of a different communion" (Durant, p. 357). The edict was Joseph's attempt to reduce and limit the role of the Catholic Church in Austria, Hungary and Bohemia; his "hereditary" lands. Protestants and Orthodox Catholics were allowed to maintain their own

churches, schools, and traditions. In addition, they were allowed to own property, enter professions, and hold political and military offices.

A further *Toleranzpatent* issued on January 2, 1782, bestowed similar rights to Jews: they were given the right to send their children to the state-controlled schools and colleges; they enjoyed economic freedom, short of owning real estate or entering a guild (which required an oath of Christian faith); Christian subjects were admonished to respect the Jews and their customs; and there would be no compulsory conversions to Catholicism (Durant, pp. 631-632). Nevertheless, deep-seated fears and ignorance continued to fuel the fires of anti-Semitism within the empire for many years to come.

In an earlier attempt to effect toleration within the Holy Roman Empire, Joseph wrote to Maria Theresa stating his definition of toleration:

> For me toleration means only that in purely temporal matters, I would, without taking account of religion, employ and allow to own lands, enter trades and become citizens those who are competent and who would bring advantage and industry to the [Monarchy]. Those who unhappily have false beliefs are much less close to conversion if they stay in their own countries than if they move to one where they are exposed to the impressive truths of Catholic religion, just as the undisturbed practice of their cult at once makes them better subjects and discourages them from irreligion, which is so much more dangerous a temptation for our Catholics than the exercise of their [religions]. (Beales, 1987, p. 469)

There is, to be sure, a measure of hyperbole in this statement, yet it does symbolize Joseph's philosophy in dealing with religious reform: toleration was imperative for the welfare of the people and the future of the empire.

Freemasonry

With this era of toleration came the expansion of Freemasonry in Austria. By 1781, the first lodge was organized in Vienna. Many of Vienna's prominent citizens and artists were initiated, as well as many Catholics including Mozart and Haydn. It is unclear when Freemasonry first came to Austria, but it was probably sometime in the late 1720's (Bernard, 1971, p. 17). Maria Theresa's husband, Francis Stephen, was an adherent to Masonry prior to his ascension to the throne, despite the papal bull *In eminenti* (1738), in which Clement XII "condemned Masonry and all its works" (Bernard, p. 17). He was initiated into the society on a trip to England and Holland, and probably engaged in lodge activity in Vienna, although it was outlawed there at that time (Beales, 1987, p. 34).

There is evidence that Joseph was an admirer of Freemasonry as well, although it is doubtful that Freemasonry had a significant effect upon his subsequent reforms. Nonetheless, in a memo to Kaunitz (1777), Joseph protested the prince's advice to Maria Theresa that she prohibit lodge meetings in Belgium:

> I have the honour to tell her that whatever methods are employed to prevent and harass such clubs tend only to make them more attractive and, since their innocence is recognised by all sensible persons in society, to bring ridicule on governments and on those who, by forbidding things that they believe to be bad simply because they don't know anything about them, endow them with a measure of importance. (Beales, 1987, p. 486)

There was a limit to Joseph's tolerance, however. When he suspected the Masons of political conspiracy, Joseph acted to reduce the influence of

Freemasonry within the empire; in December 1785, he ordered the eight lodges in Vienna merged into two, and limited the number of lodges in provincial capitals to one.

Josephine Catholicism and the Redemptorists

The term "Josephine Catholicism" describes the transformation within the Roman Catholic Church in Austria, which occurred as a result of Josephinism. Cooper (1985) defines Josephine Catholicism as a "dry Erastian form of religion, strongly influenced by nationalism and administered by a clergy which could reasonably be described as a branch of the civil service." He further states that Josephine Catholicism "appealed to a number of the educated classes and was passively accepted, with varying degrees of distaste and infidelity, by the remainder" (p. 107).

In reaction to Josephine Catholicism, and with the advent of the political, economic, and emotional distress caused by the Napoleonic Wars, a religious sect known as the Redemptorists emerged to address the perceived spiritual needs of the uneducated populace. Under the leadership of Clemens Maria Hofbauer, a priest ordained in Rome rather than in Joseph's state-controlled seminaries, the Redemptorists preached a spirituality which was at odds with the cold bureaucracy of Josephine Catholicism. This spirituality was exemplified by Hofbauer's work in military hospitals during the French attack upon Vienna in 1809, and in his ministry among the poor and uneducated, by whom he was admired for "the selflessness of his personal life" (Cooper, 1985, p. 108).

> Hofbauer understood that the weakness of Josephine Catholicism lay in its aridity. . . . [He] observed that 'the Reformation was spread and maintained not by heretics and philosophers, but by men who really demanded a *religion for the heart'.* The type of simple, popular devotion spread by Hofbauer and the Redemptorists had much in common with Wesley's Methodism -- a strong insistence on penance, a deeply emotional relationship to the person of Christ, a lively fear of Hell and hope of Heaven, and in general a language and style of piety well suited to the uneducated but calculated to repel the ordinary educated man. (Cooper, p. 109)

Together with the Papal delegate and the Archbishop of Vienna, Hofbauer successfully lobbied the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) against the plans of the Febronists, followers of Febronius, who proposed nationalizing the Church. Although the Redemptorists were protected by the Archbishop of Vienna, and hence Emperor Francis II (1792-1806, thereafter Francis I of Austria until 1835), their philosophy was viewed by some as "bigoted -- more hypocrisy than real piety" (Cooper, p. 110).

The Effects of Josephinism

What the preceding information implies is crucial: Within the Catholic Church in Vienna, there was a significant level of controversy and discussion concerning the role which religion and the state should play in the lives of the people. With the advent of Josephinism, it was no longer considered heresy in Vienna to question the authority of Rome, as is evident by the described concessions won by Joseph from the Pope. As a result of the restrictions Maria Theresa placed upon certain actions of the Church, Joseph II promulgated state control of the Church in the name of centralization, and his successors, for various reasons, continued this policy.

However, whether done to consolidate power, or to protest the influence of another sovereign within his lands, Joseph's reform had a long lasting, significant effect. Indeed, many of the differing views regarding the place of the Church in society came not from without, but from within the Church -- a phenomenon which would not previously have been possible. Whereas the Austrian Church was effectively governed by the Emperor rather than the Pope in all but matters of pure dogma, those who chose to disagree with the Roman Catholic Church were likely to receive little, if any reprimand. This point is illustrated by the fact that even excommunications required governmental approval (Kann, 1974, p. 188).

Thus, Church leaders watched as their influence eroded under Maria Theresa (1740-80), Joseph II (1765-90), Leopold II (1790-92), and Francis II (1792-1835). Whereas Leopold was merely a custodian seeking to stabilize an empire plagued by territorial losses and an unstable economy, under the rule of the inept Francis II, Josephinism was modified so that the Church acted as "an arm of government to promote and enforce its policies" (Kann, 1974, p. 284). Yet even with this mutation of purpose, the spirit of Josephinism lasted over 50 years, until the Revolution of March 1848.

One of Beethoven's conversation books from 1820 contains the following entry, probably written by Joseph Karl Bernard, a friend of Beethoven, and editor of the official Wiener Zeitung. The comments made are in reference to the political climate in Vienna, and have implications for the effect of Josephinism in that context.

> Before the French Revolution [1789] there was great freedom of thought and political action. The revolution made both the government and the nobility suspicious of the common people, and this has led by degrees to the present policy of repression. (Cooper, 1985, p. 93)

It is ironic to note from these comments, that the French philosopher Voltaire, who inspired Joseph II to strengthen his empire through enlightened reforms, indirectly hastened the decline of the empire. For it was Voltaire, among others, whose ideals inspired the French Revolution of 1789; the same revolution which promoted within the Austrian government a distrust of the common people, and resulted in the repressive Metternich police-state against which the March Revolution of 1848 was directed.

CHAPTER 3

SCHUBERT: HIS MUSIC, HIS PHILOSOPHY AND THE SPIRIT OF HIS TIMES

Franz Peter Schubert was born in the Himmelpfortgrund district of Vienna, on January 31, 1797. His father, Franz Theodor Florian Schubert, was a poor, but pious schoolmaster, who strove to provide a comfortable living for his wife and numerous children, only four of whom survived infancy. Little is known of his mother, Maria Elisabet Katherina Vietz other than the fact that she married her husband six months after the conception of their first child, Ignaz (1775-1844). Apparently, Franz Theodor's piety was not all-consuming. It must be stated, however, that the societal view of premarital sex was very much the same in 19th-century Vienna as it is today; officially frowned upon, but not unexpected. Nevertheless, Franz Peter was reared a strict Catholic.

Following his initial musical instruction by his father and older brother Ignaz, Schubert was sent for further study to Michael Holzer, the organist at the parish church of Liechtental. It was here in the local church that he began to blossom as a musician, first mastering the piano and violin, then organ, singing, and harmony. Under Holzer, Schubert became known in the parish for his violin playing and singing.

He soon outgrew Holzer's ability to teach him anything new, and in 1808 was admitted to the *Kaiserlich-königliches Stadtkonvikt* (Imperial-Royal City Seminary). This came as a result of being accepted as a choirboy in the

Hofkapelle (Imperial court chapel), by the court musicians Antonio Salieri, Phillip Körner, and Joseph Eybler. As an aside, Eybler was conservative to the point of refusing in 1825 to perform one of Schubert's masses due to its text alteration. Although Schubert's teachers were members of religious orders, the school was one of the state-controlled schools established by Joseph II, therefore not subject to the Church itself. While the quality of his general education was insured by his enrollment in the *Konvikt*, the development of his musical skills was guaranteed by the director of the school, Dr. Innocenz Lang, an amateur musician who encouraged Schubert.

Musical Style

Written between March 2 and 7, 1815, Schubert's second mass, the Mass in G, is the product of an eighteen-year old former choirboy raised in post-Josephine Vienna when the spirit of Josephinism, nascent nationalism, and the concept of democracy met the authoritarianism of Metternich's police state. In the face of a rapidly deteriorating political climate, the young Schubert wrote a simple *Landmesse*, free of the complexities of the day, and imbued with an almost pastoral quality.

Lang (1942) encapsulates the young Schubert's style of ecclesiastical composition as follows:

> His early masses are the works of a pious Austrian Catholic, unobsessed by doubts or by metaphysical speculations, writing church music intended to fulfill practical needs. While these early masses exhibit the same inequalities that characterize the other works of this period, they are distinguished by a genuine, unaffected warmth and a fine lyric tone. (Lang, 1942, p. 784)

This analysis is partially corroborated by Hadow (1931/1973). However, he also suggests that Schubert was an agnostic who treated the text of the Mass as poetry:

> Schubert appears to have possessed little or no religious belief: . . . he treated the words of the ritual with far more appreciation of their value as poetry than understanding of their deeper and more intimate meaning as expressions of worship. . . . His counterpoint was instrumental rather than vocal; his fugues are often the perfunctory accomplishment of an unwelcome task. On the other hand, the solo numbers are of an inherent beauty which even his greatest songs can hardly surpass. (Hadow, p. 165)

Hadow's interpretation of "Schubert-the-disbeliever" was proffered by the Roman Catholic Church, which, in the encyclical Motu Proprio (1903), banned the performance of all symphonic masses, particularly those in which the text was modified. A later dispensation was granted to the Archdiocese of Vienna for the liturgical use of symphonic masses, including Schubert's. Since the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), which unilaterally approved the liturgical use of symphonic masses, Schubert's sullied reputation within the Church has been cleansed.

Musical Models

Schubert wrote his first mass between May 17 and July 22, 1814, and quickly followed with his second, the Mass in G. Although he was not commissioned to do so, both of his first two masses were premiered in his parish church in Liechtental, as part of the liturgical service. It is not unusual that his first works, excepting his songs, were primarily sacred, for this is the genre in which he was immersed daily. In considering the liturgical works to

which he likely was exposed, it is agreed that they would have included traditional music such as masses, offertories, hymns, and vespers. The motets and anthems of the Renaissance, which were just beginning to be rediscovered, were probably not known to Schubert. His style imitated the music with which he was surrounded, "born of an instrumental spirit, which Schubert followed quite ingenuously, for the good reason that he knew no other" (Einstein, 1951, p. 12).

Schubert was exposed equally to the greater and lesser composers of the day. According to Joseph von Spaun, a friend of Schubert since their days in the Stadtkonvikt, Schubert was "passionately fond" of Mozart's G minor Symphony No. 40, and of Beethoven's Second Symphony (Einstein, 1951, p. 11). Yet the composer who seems to have had a significant impact upon the young Schubert was Michael Haydn, the younger brother of Joseph Haydn. Upon his visit to Haydn's grave in Salzburg in 1825, Schubert wrote, "It seemed to me as if your gentle, serene spirit breathed upon me, dear Haydn, and even though I cannot aspire to your gentleness and serenity, there is certainly no one on earth who admires you more deeply than I do" (Einstein, p. 12). Indeed, he bypassed Mozart's birthplace in order to visit Haydn. With his early tutoring at the *Konvikt* by the court composer Antonio Salieri, Stringham (1964) concludes that the two Haydns, Mozart, and Salieri were probably the most influential upon Schubert's early career (p. 143).

Hadow's opinion, that Schubert was more skilled at poetic interpretation than the rules of counterpoint, although partially validated by Gramit (see below), is evidence of a certain lack of appreciation of Schubert's compositional techniques. While it can be argued that Schubert was a mere adolescent trying

to determine his own style, it must be noted that his masterpiece in Lieder, Gretchen am Spinnrade, was composed just months prior to the Mass in G. Although Schubert was not imitating the style of others in his Lieder, he was emulating the music of Michael Haydn in his church compositions to a great degree. Yet he did not limit himself to Haydn's style; just as he questioned his father's religious dogma, so too did he question the ecclesiastical style of composition set down before him by the two Haydns, and Mozart. Thus, although he was able to write strict counterpoint, albeit stiffly, he felt no compulsion to adhere to a strict contrapuntal design and the obligatory fugato in the "et vitam venturi."

It has been suggested that Schubert wrote his masses in an almost obligatory manner. This impression is reminiscent of the practices of church music composers at the end of the previous century:

> Two basic conditions of church music at this time [ca. 1740-1783] should be recognized. First, sacred music - like most types of music then - was still a ware, a commodity that was composed in the performance of a duty or the execution of a commission. Indeed, church music was Gebrauchs-musik in the best sense of the term. Secondly, the composer as "free creator," a type better associated with the following century, was exceedingly rare. One did not live from composing alone; composition was a sideline for musicians. (Mac Intyre, 1986, p. 30)

It is interesting to note that Schubert was one of the first musicians not beholden to a patron. This is not to imply that he shunned this feudal system; indeed, he lobbied Emperor Francis II in 1826 for the position of Vice-Musical Director to the Court Chapel, but did not succeed in obtaining a post as a musician (Stringham, 1964, p. 31). He was consigned instead, to a career as a free-lance composer, with all the freedom and poverty inherent therein.

Schubert's Circle of Friends

At the *Stadtkonvikt*, Schubert was given the opportunity to develop socially as well as musically. For it was from here that Schubert's circle of friends came into being, most central of whom was the young law student Josef von Spaun. Spaun introduced Schubert to many of his other lifelong friends, all of whom had an impact upon Schubert's intellectual and aesthetic development (Gramit, 1987, p. 30). These friends included Josef Kenner, Johann Mayrhofer, Anton Ottenwalt, Anton Spaun (Joseph's brother), Franz Schober, Johann Senn, and Franz Bruchmann. His relationship with this intellectual circle became particularly close from 1814 onward, and it provided the fodder for his intellectual development.

Maynard Solomon (1989) suggests that the relationship with this circle of friends may have been more than platonic, however. Citing several letters from the circle, it is apparent that Schubert may have been led toward homosexual liasons by and with Franz Schober. However, it is doubtful that this revelation has direct bearing upon Schubert's omission of text from his masses, although it may shed some light upon his aversion to traditional Catholic dogma.

The purpose of the circle, according to Anton Ottenwalt, was described in a letter to Franz Schober in July of 1817: "It was in the year of the comet of 1811 that we declared that we wanted to be known as brothers because of our common love of the good" (Gramit, p. 32). As Gramit states, the circle had a missionary zeal in spreading their message of "the good," especially to other youths, whom they hoped would adopt their doctrine of self-improvement. He quotes a lengthy letter by Spaun, who describes their goals. The portion most

pertinent to this study concerns the purpose of the arts:

> Beauty, too, influences human hearts powerfully, refreshingly, and upliftingly, and the sounds of music ... pull heavenwards [sic] with an unknown power; therefore let us, too, dedicate our lives and flea [sic] nothing so much as an excess of destructive passions and the deficiency and emptiness of an indolent spirit. (Gramit, 1987, p. 35)

Schubert, unlike Beethoven, left us relatively few examples of his ideas in writing; he did not keep a journal regularly, and obviously had no need for conversation books. However, one entry in his diary from June 15, 1816 summarizes his reaction to an art exhibit. In it, he recognizes the care needed to appreciate art: "For the rest, I admit that it is necessary to see such things several times and at leisure, if one is to discover the proper expression and receive the right impression" (Gramit, p. 81). Gramit concludes that this passage is evidence that Schubert agrees with a basic tenet of the circle; that taste is an objective rather than subjective matter.

> For a given work of art, there is a proper reaction, a correct impression after which to seek. This point is particularly significant for our understanding of Schubert's songs, works of art that depend heavily on the composer's reaction to another work of art, the pre-existing text. The passage suggests that, at least in the case of the early songs, we should seek first to understand them not as highly personal statements but rather as embodiments of Schubert's perception of the true nature of the poem. (Gramit, 1987, p. 81)

This passage has strong implications for our understanding not only of his settings of the Mass, but, of Schubert's omission of particular texts in each of his masses. Taken to its logical conclusion, this quotation would imply that we should look upon Schubert's settings of the Mass as his impressions of the spirit of the text. Yet which text are we to consider; that of Schubert, or of the Church?

Schubert and Religion

Every one of Schubert's masses lacks the fundamental statement of belief "in one holy, catholic and apostolic church." This has been summarized by Abraham (1985) as "an omission for which various explanations have been offered -- carelessness, defiance of orthodoxy, conformity with some local practice -- all possible but none completely convincing" (p. 663). This omission, along with others cataloged by Stringham (1964, p. 87), has been the source of countless hypotheses regarding Schubert's religious philosophy.

Schubert was not the first Austrian composer to alter the text of the Mass. In his Missa Solemnis, Beethoven treats the same text which Schubert omits in an almost cursory fashion, confounding the listener with sound so as to make the words difficult to understand. Both Mozart and Haydn altered texts, sometimes "telescoping" for brevity, occasionally deleting for musical reasons; yet no such excuse appears in Schubert's masses. It should be remembered that Haydn's masses were written in the relative isolation of Esterhazy, and Mozart's masses, in all subject to only one textual omission, were written in Salzburg for the liberal Archbishop Colloredo. Thus while they are indirectly relevant to this study, it is not particularly enlightening to compare the masses of Haydn and Mozart directly to Schubert's masses.

Music historians are at a loss to explain Haydn's frequent alterations of text in his masses, for with Haydn, "no conflict existed between his art and his religion" (Nafziger, 1971, p. 64). The same cannot be stated with certainty about Schubert. Therefore, in order to properly address Schubert's philosophy, we

must look at his writings and those of his friends and family concerning his religious beliefs.

Schubert's father was adamant in his insistence that his children adhere to the strict letter of Church law. This was a source of friction between the elder Schubert and his sons, Ignaz, Ferdinand, and Franz Peter. In particular, Ignaz was vehement in his opposition to his father, probably due to his daily contact with him as Franz Theodor's assistant in the schoolhouse (Stringham, 1964, p.12). In a letter written to Franz Peter on October 12, 1818, Ignaz relates some of the tension in the household, and cites an example of the "free-thinking" that was prevalent at that time:

> You will be surprised when I tell you that it has got to such a pitch in our house that they no longer even dare to laugh when I tell them a funny yarn about superstition in the Scripture class. You may thus easily imagine that in these circumstances I am often seized by a secret anger, and that I am acquainted with liberty only by name. . . .

The letter continues:

> The next day the feast of our holy patron-saint Franciscus Seraphicus was kept with great solemnity. . . . [A] litany was addressed to the saint -- a litany the oddity of which astonished me not a little. At the end there was singing, and a relic of the saint was given to all present to kiss, whereupon I noticed that several of the grown-ups crept out at the door, having no desire, perhaps, to share in this privilege. (Deutsch, 1947, pp. 103-104)

His use of the word "privilege" is no doubt tongue-in-cheek. It is apparent that the prospect of kissing an object such as a bone fragment was a ritual for which Ignaz held no great enthusiasm.

Perhaps more to the point, however, is the postscript to that letter: "If you should wish to write to Papa and me at the same time, do not touch upon any religious matters" (Deutsch, p. 105). This seems to indicate that at the time of

this letter, Ignaz and Franz Peter were of a common mind in opposition to their father's religious philosophy. This was not always the case, however. Stringham (1964) points out that because Ignaz was 23 years older than Franz Peter, his religious ideology had already matured by the time Schubert began to question authority. "Thus Franz was born into an atmosphere where the clash between strict dogmatism and free thinking was already established" (Stringham, p. 14). This, as Stringham observes, may have resulted in a dual ideology, demonstrated by Schubert's vascillation between "periods of apparent piety and periods when he gives the appearance of almost godlessness" (p.14). This dichotomy will be explored below.

Godlessness

Nearly all studies of Schubert include the quote from Ferdinand Walcher's letter to Schubert, dated January 1827, in which Walcher refers in passing to Schubert's supposed renunciation of Christian theology. In this letter, Walcher notates the Gregorian chant and words "Credo in unum Deum!" (I believe in one God). He follows with the comment, "Not you, I well know, but will you believe that Tietze will sing your Nachthelle at the Society tonight?" (Brown, 1965, p. 151; Trans. De La Rosa).

Yet, this cannot be cited as reliable evidence. Walcher was no more than a casual acquaintance of Schubert; he certainly did not know him well enough to know Schubert's true inner beliefs, as Brown (1958) seems to imply (p.255). But more important is the fact that this letter was lighthearted, and thus subject to exaggeration. Walcher may have been referring to Schubert's use of text in his masses as Stringham (1964) suggests (p.73), but this seems rather unlikely.

Although Schubert's songs were well known to the public, his masses were rather obscure; it is doubtful that Walcher was familiar with them. Infinitely more likely is the possibility that Walcher was reacting in a glib manner to comments regarding religion which Schubert may have made.

Piety

In a letter to his father, dated July 25, 1825, Schubert relates public reaction to his hymn Ave Maria, set to Walter Scott's text:

> They also wondered greatly at my piety, which I expressed in a hymn to the Holy Virgin and which, it appears, grips every soul and turns it to devotion. I think this is due to the fact that I have never forced devotion in myself and never compose hymns or prayers of that kind unless it overcomes me unawares; but then it is usually the right and true devotion. (Deutsch, 1947, pp. 434-435)

However, as Lewis (1982) states, "it required more than a spirit of devotion to stir his [Schubert's] creative energy, so it is fortunate that the opportunities for exploring choral texture afforded by the Mass evidently appealed to him strongly in certain moods" (p. 626). It is doubtful whether Schubert's letter to his father can be appraised at face value, in view of his numerous sacred compositions which by his claim would have necessitated many feelings of "devotion." More pertinent, however, is the fact that Schubert was writing a letter of apology to his father; he may have written what he thought his father would wish to hear.

Yet in a letter to his brother Ferdinand, dated September 21, 1825, Schubert describes his anger in viewing two war memorials in the midst of the beautiful Alps. On either side of a mountain pass was a giant cross, and a small chapel erected in memory of a carnage which had ensued:

> Thou glorious Christ, to how many shameful actions must Thou lend Thy image! Thyself the most awful monument to mankind's degradation, Thy image is set up by them as if they said "Behold! we have trampled with impious feet upon Almighty God's most perfect creation; why should it cost us pains to destroy with a light heart the remaining vermin, called Man?" (Deutsch, p.467)

These are not the words of a disbeliever. While Ferdinand held more closely to his father's point of view than either Ignaz or Franz Peter, there was no reason for Schubert to have included anything in the letter but his true feelings.

Schubert noted the celebration of Antonio Salieri's fiftieth year in Vienna, in his diary on June 16, 1816. At the time, Schubert was somewhat under the influence of Salieri, and so considered Beethoven, the unnamed composer, as an eccentric.

> It must be beautiful and refreshing for an artist to see all his pupils gathered about him, each one striving to give of his best for his jubilee, and to hear in all these compositions the expression of pure nature, free from all the eccentricity that is common among most composers nowadays, and is due almost wholly to one of our greatest German artists [Beethoven]; that eccentricity which joins and confuses the tragic with the comic, the agreeable with the repulsive, heroism with howlings and the holiest with harlequinades, without distinction, so as to goad people to madness instead of dissolving them in love, to incite them to laughter instead of lifting them up to God. To see this eccentricity banished from the circle of his pupils and instead to look upon pure, holy nature, must be the greatest pleasure for an artist who, guided by such a one as Gluck, learned to know nature and to uphold it in spite of the unnatural conditions of our age. (Deutsch, 1947, p. 64)

Although this entry has often been used as evidence of Salieri's influence upon Schubert, it is cited here as yet another example of Schubert's reverence of God. In the privacy of his diary, Schubert seems to rebuke Beethoven for the unappropriateness of his sacred music. Although his opinion of Beethoven eventually changed drastically, it is worth noting that at the time of

the composition of his first two masses, Schubert appears to demand a certain style of composition for liturgical church music.

On March 28, 1824, in the midst of serious illness, Schubert entered into his diary the following remarks about faith:

> It is with faith that man first comes into the world, and it long precedes intelligence and knowledge; for in order to understand anything, one must first believe in something; that is the higher basis on which feeble understanding first erects the pillars of proof. Intelligence is nothing else than analysed [sic] faith. (Deutsch, 1947, p. 337)

Whether he would have written this assessment 10 years earlier, when in perfect health, is uncertain. Schubert does not specify the object of his faith, nor does he intimate what his disagreements with his father's faith might have been. It is up to the scholar to speculate.

Stringham (1964) doubts that Schubert completely rebuked his faith, and states that "he does not seem the type that would turn completely away from the God he had been taught to know and to worship" (p. 74). His citation of Schubert's two applications for church music positions, and his oeuvre of liturgical compositions are evidence of the composer's intention to secure a regular position as a church musician. "It hardly seems likely that a man who no longer believed in God, or was agnostic, would be so interested in obtaining a regular church position" (p. 74). Instead, Schubert's faith was "a compromise: boldness in questioning certain aspects of belief, combined with a typically Viennese automatic observance of religious obligations and a reluctance to discard a comforting faith" (p. 74). This, it seems, is the most logical view of Schubert's religious beliefs.

The Spirit of the Times

In his book The secularization of the European mind in the nineteenth century (1975), Owen Chadwick traces the turn of European society away from religious-centered views to those centered upon intellectual philosophies. He admits the difficulty involved in tracing the steps which led to this change. Chadwick's words are equally fitting to this study.

> Enlightenment was of the few. Secularization is of the many. . . . To track the course of one man is hard enough for the historian. A single mind is mystery enough; what shall we say of the 'mind' of Britain or even the 'mind' of Europe? (Chadwick, 1975, p. 9)

Indeed, what shall be said about the mind of the Viennese during Schubert's time? There is scant evidence surviving which would truly indicate specific predilections of Viennese society as a whole in matters of philosophy. It is well known that the obtaining of banned books and treatises was not at all difficult, from the time of Maria Theresa's reign through the Metternich regime. It remains uncertain, however, what specific reactions were elicited from this banned literature.

There is much which can be inferred from the course of events at this time, however. Quoting from Werner's Aus dem Josephinischem Wien (1888), Bernard (1971) notes that "In 1783 Baron Tobias Gebler [a Mason] was able to write to Friedrich Nicolai that to his knowledge there had never been so complete and rapid a transformation of the essential opinions of a nation as had lately taken place in Austria" (p. 93). As noted in Chapter 2, Prince Wenzel Kaunitz was a prime motivator of the Josephinian reforms. It was Kaunitz who finally persuaded Maria Theresa to join the other Catholic countries in banning

the Jesuits whom she held in high regard, having received her education at their hands. His encouragement of the radical ecclesiastical reforms, first of Maria Theresa, then Joseph II, continued a tendency of reformism in Austria and set the stage for open conflicts within the Austrian Church.

> The dominions of the House of Habsburg had from very early times had a penchant for various manifestations of reform Catholicism, and it is at least possible that there is an unbroken line of contacts linking the Czech Hussites of the fifteenth century, the Bohemian Brethren, and the Austrian adherents of the Dutch reformer Cornelius Jansen [Jansenists], and later of his eighteenth-century disciple Johann Nicholas Hontheim (better known as Febronius). . . . (Bernard, 1971, p. 12)

Whereas Jansenists sought the primacy of the monarch over the Church, and the empowerment of national churches over Rome, Austrian Jansenists (Febronists) were "even more strongly anti-papal and, in particular, anti-Jesuitical" (Bernard, p. 13).

Of particular importance to this study are the effects upon the mass which occurred as a result of these Jansenists. Several leading Austrian clerics, including Archbishop Hieronymous Colloredo of Salzburg, received their religious training at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome, a "source of Jansenist infection" (Bernard, p. 13). Their rise to power within the Austrian Church facilitated open debate regarding basic tenets of the Church. When Archbishop Colloredo declared that Sunday masses would last no longer than 45 minutes (less than today's standard), he insisted that Mozart adjust his Mass compositions accordingly. This produced single movement settings of the Gloria and Credo rather than subdivisions by textual emphasis, and sometimes resulted in polytextual settings of these movements of the Mass, defying

previous decrees from Rome which stressed the preeminent importance of textual clarity.

This internal openness to debate, together with the effort of Prince Kaunitz to take all secular powers away from the Church, resulted in greater leniency toward works previously considered dangerous to Catholic teachings. Although ecclesiastical censorship was relaxed, dissidents were not given carte blanche.

> Attacking religion was a lottery, in which the odds were noticeably shifting in favor of the bold pens. But it was always possible to come up a loser at the most unexpected time. (Bernard, 1971, p. 25)

Nevertheless, the relaxation of censorship introduced during the co-regency was expanded under Joseph's sole reign. In fact, Joseph was quite tolerant when barbs were aimed toward him. For example, he personally approved the publication of an article entitled The Forty-Two-Year-Old Ape, which depicted Joseph as an ill informed, vascillating buffoon. However, as previously mentioned, he was much more sensitive to criticism of his administration, and particularly to that of his many reforms. "Joseph is said to have observed at the time that he would let anyone write what he pleased, so long as in turn he was permitted to do as he pleased" (Bernard, 1971, p. 71). Perhaps this is the key to the entire subject of toleration within the Church.

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY

The essential question remains: Was the cultural and religious climate such that the Catholic Church in Vienna ignored words and actions which elsewhere might have resulted in severe punishment? Aside from the fundamental question of Schubert's omission of text in his masses, could a Mass in which the text was altered have been used in the Catholic liturgical service? Finally, was this liberalization in policy a result of Josephinism? The evidence seems to answer all three questions affirmatively.

It has been shown that the reforms begun by Maria Theresa and fully developed under Joseph II, placed the Austrian Catholic Church under the direct influence of the monarchy in all but purely dogmatic matters. Maria Theresa unknowingly began the reformation by reducing the conservative influence of the Jesuits through the banning of that religious order. Joseph surpassed the enlightened reforms of his mother by boldly instituting the toleration of religion within the Habsburg Empire, and as a result, toleration of religious dissent. He demanded and received the authority from the Pope to approve or deny the investiture of bishops within Austria. This ecclesiastical right enabled Joseph to appoint prelates with views more closely aligned to his, and provided a platform for liberal dissent within the once ultra-conservative Austrian Church. Furthermore, the influence of Jansenists and Febronists within the state-dominated Church, who sought the equality of bishops with the

Pope and the complete nationalization of the Church, further reduced the power of Rome over the Austrian Church.

Outside the hierarchy of the Church, latitude for dissention had increased as well. According to Ignaz Schubert's letter (Chapter 3, p. 30), the attitude of common parishoners appears to have grown more liberal, to the point that some churchgoers felt little compunction in avoiding the veneration of holy relics during a particular church service. In addition, many Catholics, including Mozart and the pious Haydn, became Masons in defiance of a papal bull which denounced Masonry.

Finally, one need only look at the masses composed by Haydn and Mozart, both of whom altered texts, to see that their masses were performed in the liturgy. In fact, Mozart had virtually been instructed to modify the Mass by Archbishop Colleredo, who had philosophical and familial ties to the Imperial throne. Considering the known facts, it is reasonable to conclude that from 1780 until 1815, the liberal attitude of the Viennese Catholic Church toward non-conformity and even dissention was a direct result of the ecclesiastical and social reforms of Joseph II.

The definitive reason for Schubert's omission of text will probably remain a mystery, although the number of Gerald Abraham's theorized possibilities -- carelessness, defiance of orthodoxy, conformity with local practice -- has been effectively reduced by one-third. For the only local practice which Schubert may logically have been following was that of stretching the toleration of the Viennese Catholic Church to include alteration of the sacred text. Thus the possible reasons for his omission of text are reduced to carelessness, or defiance to orthodoxy. Yet in view of his careful treatment of secular texts, it is

difficult to imagine Schubert carelessly setting the text of the Mass. On the other hand, it is not at all difficult to visualize Schubert purposely defying the dogma of the Roman Catholic Church. Still, this is conjecture; the true answer will likely remain unknown.

However, the evidence does indicate that Schubert certainly was not an agnostic. Indeed, prior to his death, as his father would have wished, Schubert received the Last Rites of the Roman Catholic Church. Although he may have vascillated between piety and non-conformity in his religious beliefs and practices, it is the opinion of this writer that Schubert maintained his religious faith. Although his alleged homosexuality (Solomon, 1989) might suggest the opposite, in matters of faith he did not stray to the point of Godlessness.

Need for Further Study

Whereas this study deals primarily with the effects of Josephinism upon the religious climate in Vienna, there is need for further research into the effects which Josephinism may have had upon other regions of Austria. In order to comprehensively research this topic, it would be necessary to research original sources first-hand in Austria. In addition, a complete listing of composers, specifically during this era, who altered texts in their masses would be of great interest to musicologists investigating this area of study.

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