

EISENSTÄDTER
HAYDN-BERICHTE

13

HAYDN, SACRED MUSIC,
AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE
VIENNESE CLASSICAL TRIAD

HOLLITZER
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Haydn, Sacred Music,
and Perspectives of the Viennese Classical Triad

Eisenstadt 2025

EISENSTÄDTER HAYDN-BERICHTE

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Herausgegeben von
Walter Reicher

BAND 13

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Reassessing Haydn's sacred works, with contributions
on the interrelationships of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven

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Walter Reicher & Michael E. Ruhling

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Walter Reicher and Michael E. Ruhling

Foreword

The Internationale Joseph Haydn Privatstiftung Eisenstadt (IHS) and Haydn Society of North America (HSNA) co-sponsored the conference “Joseph Haydn & Die Sakralmusik – Reassessing Haydn’s Sacred Music” June 12–14, 2023, in Eisenstadt. The conference featured an international group of scholars from Austria, the United States, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Japan, and Slovenia speaking on topics of liturgical, theological, and stylistic influences on Haydn’s sacred repertoire, aesthetics, sources, reception, and Haydn’s impact on later sacred music in Eisenstadt and abroad. The present volume of “Eisenstädter Haydn Berichte” presents expanded and more fully developed versions of the papers from this conference, along with some additional brief sacred music discussions. It concludes with three studies on interrelationships among the Viennese “triad” Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, which had been the proposed subject for a 2020 IHS conference that had to be cancelled due to COVID-19 restrictions.¹

Aspects of ordinary and extra-ordinary liturgical practices in the Vienna region and within the Esterházy court are reviewed in Jakob Johannes Koch’s “Changing Liturgical Practices in the Habsburg Lands and the Impact on Haydn’s Sacred Oeuvre” and James I. Armstrong’s “Joseph Haydn’s Church Music in Esterházy Religious Practice”, with each of these authors offering conclusions on specific Haydn works based on internal evidence and archival information. In “Catholic Enlightenment Eucharistic Perspectives and Self-Quotation in Haydn’s Masses” Michael E. Ruhling theorizes that Haydn’s self-quotation of secular vocal music in his masses reflects Catholic Enlightenment views of a sensual nature of Eucharistic engagement akin to marital bonds. James Webster focuses on the *Missa in Angustiis* (“Lord Nelson” Mass), Hob.XXII:11 to demonstrate Haydn’s “earnest” and “witty” personalities as working together to effectively convey an aesthetics of salvation, despite a reception history that includes disparaging remarks regarding the propriety of witty musical gestures, in “The Two Personalities of Haydn’s Masses”.

¹ The planned symposium was to accompany the exhibition „Die Trias Der Wiener Klassik: Haydn – Mozart – Beethoven. Gemeinsamkeiten – Parallelen – Gegensätze“, curated by Walter Reicher, which was shown at the Mozart House Vienna from February 18, 2020 to January 30, 2022.

Baroque stylistic influences in Haydn's masses are the topics of chapters by James MacKay and Ryuichi Higuchi; MacKay describes similarities two of Haydn's early masses (the *Missa Brevis*, Hob.XXII:1 and *Missa Cellensis*, Hob.XXII:5) have with contrapuntal techniques of Johann Joseph Fux and galant characteristics of Georg Reutter in "Joseph Haydn's Baroque Heritage: The Influence of Johann Joseph Fux and Georg Reutter on Two Early Haydn Masses", and Higuchi's "Haydn's Kirchenmusik und Johann Sebastian Bach" describes the access Haydn had to a score of Bach's Mass in B minor, and how the fugal writing in that mass influenced Haydn's own masses.

Following these chapters looking at Baroque influences on Haydn's music, the next three chapters continue to use archival materials to explore Haydn's own influence on future composers and sacred performance practices, both in Eisenstadt and abroad. In "Anmerkungen zur Kirchenmusik am Hofe des Fürsten Nikolaus II. Esterházy nach Joseph Haydn's aktivem Dienst – Schloss Pottendorf als Aufführungsort, Annäherungen an das Kapellknaben-Institut und Johann Nepomuk Fuchs" Mikhail Kuchersky uses sources from the Forchtenstein collection and Széchényi National Library to give a picture of liturgical practices at the Esterházy court during the last years of Haydn's tenure there, and how these practices were carried on by Haydn's successor Johann Nepomuk Fuchs and in the princely Kapellknabeninstitut from 1804–1811. Molly Cryderman-Weber's "Coming to America: Haydn's Hymn Tunes in the American Presbyterian Church" traces the use of Haydn's tune "Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser" Hob.XXVI:43 – by far the most prominent among 72 Haydn melodies used – in Presbyterian hymnals printed in the U.S. during the 19th and 20th centuries. Marko Motnik describes the presence of Haydn's sacred music in Slovenia, particularly as represented in the collection of the Philharmonic Society of Laibach (Ljubljana), from the early years of the 19th-century, in "Joseph Haydn und die Philharmonische Gesellschaft zu Laibach – Die Überlieferung von Haydn's (Kirchen-) Musik im heutigen Slowenien". Despite 19th-century Cecilian reformist efforts to eliminate sacred music of the Viennese classicists, Haydn's music has maintained a presence there.

Although not part of the 2023 international conference, the next three studies fit nicely with the other chapters in their careful consideration of archival materials, compositional analysis, religious practices, and changing mores. Klaus Petermayr offers insights into the first performances of two of Haydn's early sacred compositions. "Neue Überlegungen und Erkenntnisse zu Joseph Haydn's „Missa Cellensis“, Hob.XXII:5" and "Joseph Haydn's „Applausus“. Gedanken zu einem unterschätzten Werk" review the materials regarding aspects of the genesis of these works and conditions surrounding earliest performances, and in the case of the *Applausus Cantata*, suggests other orchestral works that may have been performed alongside the cantata based

on archival and internal evidence of probable instrumentation availability. Performance history and Cold War politics are drawn together by Thomas Baust in “Haydn’s ‘Schöpfung’ als politisches Fanal”. Haydn’s “The Creation” received its first Leipzig performance in 1800 at the Paulinerkirche, which had served as the Leipzig University chapel since the Reformation. Almost 270 years later, Haydn’s great oratorio was at the center of controversy related to the destruction of the Paulinerkirche to “improve” the Karl-Marx-Platz, ordered by officials of the GDR.

The final three chapters look at Haydn among the Viennese Classical “Trinity” Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, which was the topic of a IHS conference planned for 2020. Thomas Tolley’s “Consigning Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven to the Grate? Satirical Perspectives on the Triumvirate from Regency Britain” gives an insightful, in-depth interpretation of how Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, among other composers, were thought of in early 19th-century London, by carefully analyzing the satirical iconography of Edward Burney’s painting “Amateurs of Tye-Wig Music”. This oil painting by the nephew of the music historian Dr. Charles Burney hangs in the Tate Gallery in London and is given the date c.1836–c.1840. However, Tolley presents evidence that 1817 is a more plausible date, thereby giving a significantly earlier dating to any reception implications regarding to the Viennese Classical Triade than the Tate London date would suggest. Using stylistic analysis, James MacKay argues that Beethoven’s Op. 18 string quartets show interesting similarities with, if not outright modelling of, some of Haydn’s early quartets. In “Beethoven’s Haydnesque Heritage: Echoes of Haydn’s Opp. 17 and 20 String Quartets in Beethoven’s Op. 18”, MacKay traces compositional designs and fugal techniques in the Haydn works that seem to have directly influenced Beethoven’s earliest set of quartets, especially Op. 18 nos. 3 and 4. Mikhail Kuchersky places Haydn’s Eisenstadt successor Hummel within the context of Viennese Classicism in “Johann Nepomuk Hummel and the Triad of Viennese Classicism”. While Hummel’s connection to Haydn would seem likely, Kuchersky uses documents from various archives to demonstrate Hummel’s debt to all three Viennese Classical composers.

Two additional papers on Marian devotion from the 2023 “Reassessing Haydn’s Sacred Music” conference appear in volume 14 of “HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America” (<https://remix.berklee.edu/haydn-journal/>), along with the table of contents and abstracts of the chapters from this “Eisenstädter Haydn Berichte” volume. The conference also included introductory remarks by Walter Reicher and Prof. Otto Biba, a concert presented by students of the Joseph Haydn Konservatorium at the Barmherzigen Brüder Convent Church, and a lively roundtable discussion among the presenters and audience regarding the state of current and future

research in Haydn sacred music. As was clearly evident at the conference, and the chapters included in this book from the conference and elsewhere will demonstrate, there is still much research to be done in moving towards a better understanding of Haydn's oeuvre and the theological, liturgical and cultural contexts surrounding it. Furthermore, international Haydn conferences such as that held in 2023 are necessary to help scholars throughout the world be better informed of the many pockets of research already accomplished and ongoing. Along with the Internationale Joseph Haydn Privatstiftung Eisenstadt and Haydn Society of North America, we thank the following organizations for their support of the 2023 "Reassessing Haydn's Sacred Music" conference: Government of Burgenland, Botstiber Institute for Austrian-American Studies, Raiffeisenlandesbank Burgenland, School of Performing Arts of the Rochester (NY) Institute of Technology, and the Barmherzige Brüder Hospital and Convent.

Eisenstadt and Rochester, NY, Fall 2024

The Editors

Abkürzungen

Abb.	=	Abbildung
A-Ee	=	Fürstliche Esterházy'sches Musikarchiv, Eisenstadt
A-GÖ	=	Benediktinerabtei, Musikarchiv, Stift Göttweig
AM	=	Acta Musicalia, Sammlungsbestand in H-Bn
AmZ	=	Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung
A-MZ	=	Basilika Mariazell, Benediktiner-Superiorat, Bibliothek und Archiv, Mariazell
Anh.	=	Anhang
A-Wgm	=	Sammlungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien
A-Wn	=	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
A-Z	=	Zisterzienserstift, Bibliothek und Musikarchiv, Zwettl-Niederösterreich
Bd. / Bde.	=	Band / Bände
Col(s).	=	column / columns
CZ-Pu	=	Prag, Nationalbibliothek der Tschechischen Republik
ders.	=	derselbe / dieselbe
Diss.	=	Dissertation
Ebd. / ebd.	=	ebenda
ed.	=	Ediert / editor(s) / edited by (Herausgeber / herausgegeben von) / edition
e.g.	=	exempli gratia / for example

EHB plus jeweiliger Band-Nummer	=	Eisenstädter Haydn-Berichte, Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Joseph Haydn Privatstiftung Eisenstadt, hrsg. von Walter Reicher u.a., Tutzing 2002–2013, Wien und Eisenstadt ab 2016
EHB 10-online	=	Online Datenbank zu Pratl/Scheck (EHB10) unter www.haydnstiftung.at/EHB10/
Ex.	=	Example
EPA	=	Esterházy Privatstiftung Archiv Burg Forchtenstein vormals EWBF = Esterházyisches Wirtschaftsarchiv auf Burg Forchtenstein)
EPA (FS) CC	=	Central Directions Haus Cassa
EPA (FS) CD	=	Central Directions Kanzley
EPA (FS) ED	=	Eisenstädter District oder Hof und Domainen Buchhaltung
EPA (FS) GC	=	General Cassa oder Hof- und Hauptzahlamts Rechnung
FS	=	Siehe EPA
H-Bn	=	Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Theatre History and Music Collection, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (OSZK)
HJB / HYB plus jeweilige Band-Nummer	=	Das Haydn Jahrbuch / The Haydn Yearbook, Bände I - XXII, hrsg. von H.C. Robbins Landon u.a., Wien u.a. 1962–1998
HLex	=	Das Haydn Lexikon, hrsg. von Armin Raab, Christine Siegert und Wolfram Steinbeck, Laaber 2010
Hob.	=	Joseph Haydn. Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis, zusammengestellt von Anthony van Hoboken, drei Bände, Mainz 1957–1978
Hrsg. / hrsg.	=	Herausgeber / herausgegeben
Hs.	=	Handschrift

HST	=	Haydn-Studien, Veröffentlichungen des Joseph Haydn-Instituts Köln, München ab 1965
ibid.	=	ibidem (ebenda) / the same
id.	=	idem (derselbe) / the same
JHW	=	Joseph Haydn Werke, herausgegeben vom Joseph Haydn-Institut, Köln, München ab 1958.
KV	=	Köchelverzeichnis
mm	=	measures
Ms.	=	Manuscript
N/A	=	not available
n.d.	=	no date
no(s).	=	number(s)
Nr.	=	Nummer
ÖNB	=	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
Op., Opp.	=	Opus
OSZK	=	Siehe H-Bu
p., pp., Pag.	=	page/pages, Pagina, (Seite / Seiten)
rev.	=	revised
RISM	=	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
RO-Bn	=	Biblioteca Națională a României, București
S.	=	Seite
SI-Ls	=	Slowenien, Ljubljana, Archives of the cathedral choir, Katedralski glasbeni arhiv
vgl.	=	Vergleiche
Vol(s).	=	Volume/volumes (Band/Bände)
WoO	=	Werk ohne Opus-Zahl

Jakob Johannes Koch

Changing Liturgical Practices in the Habsburg Lands and the Impact on Haydn's Sacred Oeuvre

Around the time of Joseph Haydn's birth in 1732, Western European sacred music was undergoing a complex and momentous upheaval. In the Habsburg lands Catholic liturgical practices were quickly changing to reflect emerging religious principles, and at the same time new approaches to the dramatic possibilities of musical composition in general were developing from what has been labelled the Baroque style into the Classical style. These parallel developments in both liturgy and music led to particular challenges in liturgical music practices, or the prevailing "musical-liturgical"¹ outlook, that can be demonstrated clearly in Joseph Haydn's sacred works. This essay offers an overview of some of the prominent liturgical and musical shifts in the 18th century that impacted the musical-liturgical approaches of Haydn's day, and an introduction to the ways such approaches impacted Haydn's sacred oeuvre.

THE LITURGY BEFORE AND IN HAYDN'S TIME

Joseph Haydn was a Christian, or more precisely a Roman Catholic all his life, and was among the most important composers of liturgical music within the 18th-century context described above. Catholic worship as he experienced it in the years of his childhood and youth was in principle a reformed Tridentine liturgy. During the Counter-Reformation in the 16th century, the Council of Trent (1545–1563) wanted to give the Catholic Church a common identity worldwide again. This also concerned the liturgy. The Council declared that the canon of the Roman Mass was "ab omni errore

¹ The neologism "musical-liturgical" refers to all the liturgical factors that are pertinent to the music performed during a worship service, considering the authentic liturgical regulations. These factors include the dramaturgy and functional adequacy of the service, liturgical rubrics specifically related to the music in worship, the architectural arrangement of the church space in relation to the liturgy, and more. While the previously existing German adjective "kirchenmusikalisch" ("in terms of pertaining to sacred music") assumes a difference between liturgy on the one hand and sacred music on the other, the term "musical-liturgical" coined by the author, Jakob Johannes Koch, signifies the inseparable reciprocity of liturgy and liturgical music.

purum”², i.e. free from all error. As a result, the Roman canon of the Mass was established worldwide as the authoritative liturgy of the Mass. With only a few exceptions, the peculiarities of the liturgy of the Mass in individual churches in other countries that deviated from the Roman canon had to be brought to an end. Beginning with Pius V (Antonio Michele Ghislieri, 1504–1572, Pope 1566–1572), the Tridentine “Missale Romanum”, also known as the “Unified Missal”, replaced the many different missals of the particular churches and became binding for all dioceses worldwide. Subsequent popes decreed a similarly binding worldwide standard for the other liturgical books of the Catholic Church. Until the pontificate of John XXIII (Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, 1881–1963, Pope 1958–1963), the “Missale Romanum”, which had been slightly further developed in the meantime, retained its worldwide validity in the sole Latin language.

The Tridentine Unified Missal emphasizes above all those elements that the Reformers had denied: the Mass as an expiatory sacrifice, Mass celebrations in honour of saints, the celebration of Mass in a low voice and entirely in Latin. Thus, in contrast to the Lutheran agendas, the liturgy in the Catholic Habsburg Empire remained a ceremonial for “insiders”. The complexity of its laws and redundant theology made it comprehensible only to initiated “professional Christians”, i. e. clerics. For the normal churchgoers, however, who often lacked knowledge of Latin, the liturgy of that epoch may seem like a sacred and highly complex theatrical spectacle.

Consequently, the church service, as Joseph Haydn experienced it as a child and adolescent, is a “Gesamtkunstwerk” (holistic work of art) full of powerful theatricality for those who are able to perceive something of it. This is also because in many churches, the rood screen, or choir screen – a partition between the nave and the apse – blocks part of the view. Behind the rood screen, the liturgy of the clergy takes place. In front of the rood screen, the laity occasionally tries to catch a glimpse or a word behind it. And because the people do not notice much of the liturgy, they pray the Rosary, delve into devotional books or have a lector stand in front of the rood and read pious texts to them (Plates 1 and 2).

At that time, only what the priest did was officially considered liturgy. From the official point of view, the text of a vernacular hymn, for example, was

² Sacrosanctum Oecumenicum Concilium Tridentinum, Decretum de observandis et evitandis in celebratione Missae, in: Concilii Tridentini Actorum pars V, Sessio XXII, p. 963, lin. 13–16, accessible at: Norman P. Tanner, Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils Vol. II. London and Washington DC 1990, No. 734; Florentius Romita, *Jus Musicae Liturgicae*, Rome 1947, pp. 60–61.

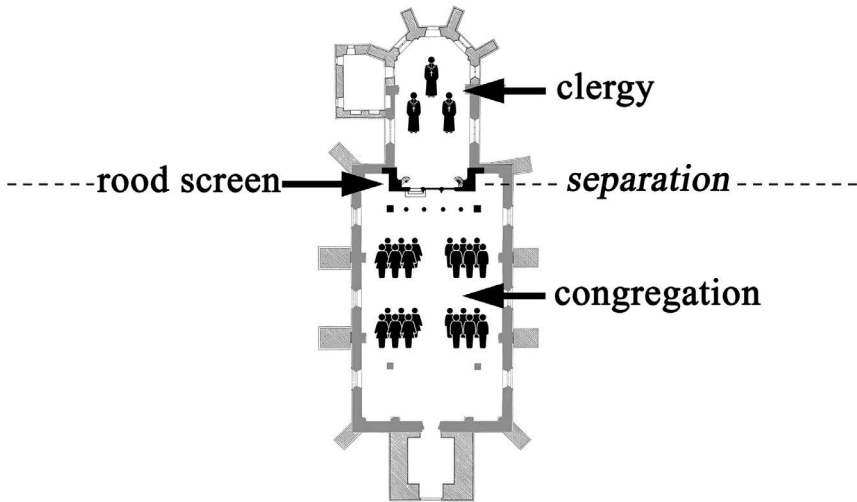


Plate 1: Clerical Liturgy and Popular Piety. Graphical illustration. © Jakob Johannes Koch, 2023.

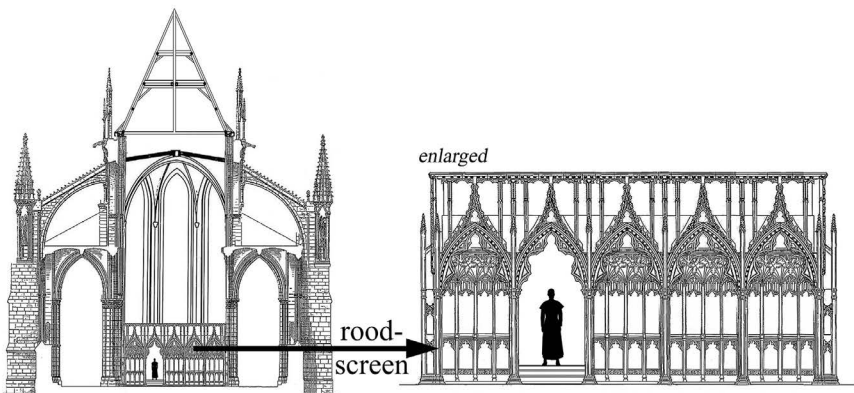


Plate 2: Clerical Liturgy and Popular Piety. Rood Screen. © Jakob Johannes Koch, 2023.

the least important thing about the entire service. It was more important to fulfil liturgical and ritual functions, and less so to advance the spiritual edification of the congregation.

In view of the discrepancy in this period between the official church service and the forms of devotion accessible to ordinary churchgoers, it is not surprising that many Catholics intensively cultivated extra-liturgical

forms. For this reason, pilgrimages and processions had been part of Joseph Haydn's paraliturgical experiences since his childhood. The visual curiosity of people was particularly pronounced in Lower Austria. During processions, the desire for a sensory experience could be satisfied by paraments, floral decorations, candles, incense, processional choreographies and collective singing accompanied by brass music.

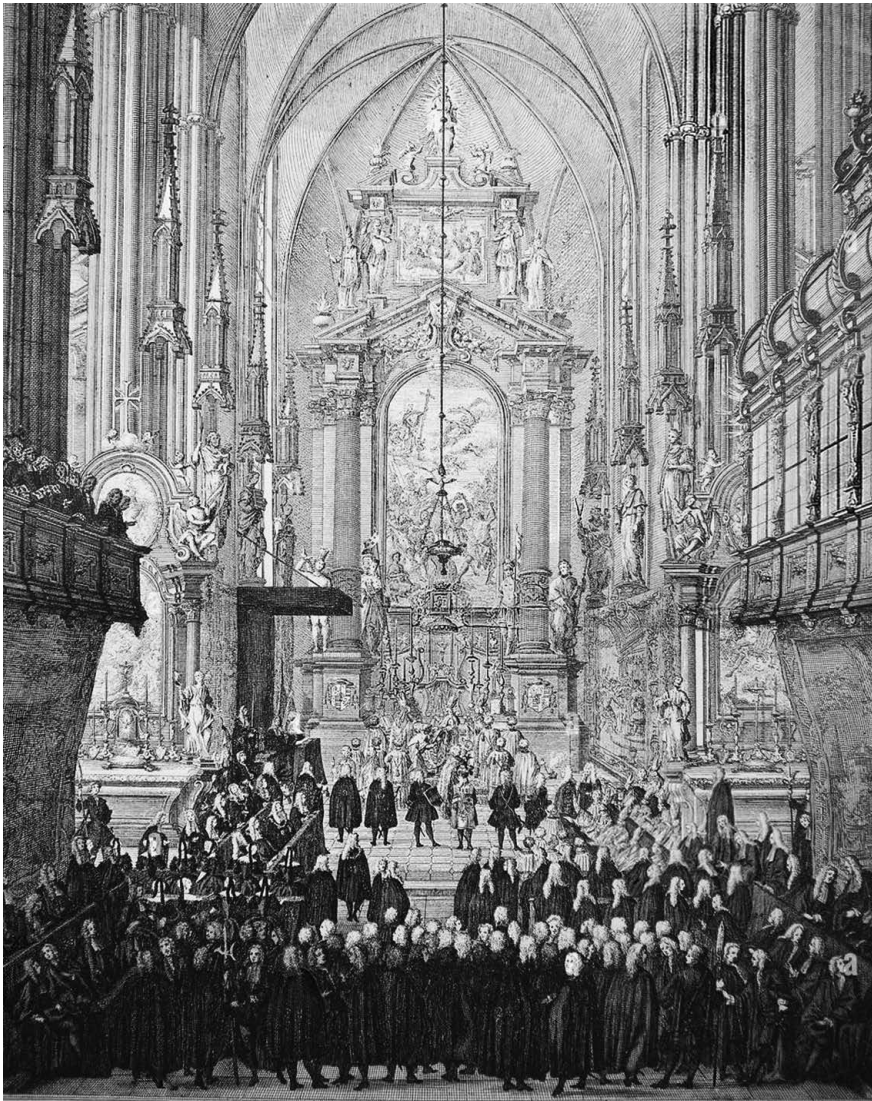
While Haydn had become acquainted with the normal forms of parish services in Lower Austria, he advanced to something higher in the summer of 1740, when he became a choirboy at St Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna. In the cathedral of Vienna during the reign of Archduchess Maria Theresa (1717–1780), the atmosphere was of course late Baroque (Plate 3). The practice of worship in the cathedral church at that time had little in common with today's situation: at the 39 altars of St Stephen's Cathedral, 54,558 masses were celebrated in a single year, an average of 150 per day. Highly solemn liturgies were celebrated not only on the Lord's Feasts – the church feasts around the highlights of Jesus' biography – but also on the feasts of the Virgin Mary and on national political holidays such as commemorations of military victories, or the ceremonial opening of the regional state parliament.

At all high festivals and the numerous public processions in Vienna at that time, church music was inevitably rich and abundant. However, the over-abundant church music obligations meant that the quality level of sacred music could not be maintained in the long term. Even the Viennese city council complains that in St Stephen's Cathedral "... the church music is more of a distraction and a disgust to the people waiting for devotion than a graceful Christian edification".³

In the midst of this late Baroque worship practice, the Catholic Enlightenment intervened. It dared to do the previously unthinkable: it critically questioned how worship takes place. Baroque liturgy seemed too incompatible with utilitarian rationalism. That is why the Catholic Enlighteners strove to purge the liturgy of actually or supposedly disturbing elements. For the reformers, if people are to become morally and politically mature, then the Enlightenment does not want to exclude the Catholic liturgy from this process; after all, the widest access to the people is found in the liturgy. If the divine service was previously a pure clerical liturgy, it is now to become a fully congregational liturgy.

The intentions of the Catholic Enlightenment of the 18th century were to foster simplification and to build a community character. The simplification

³ Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Joseph Haydn*, Vol. 1, Leipzig 1878, p. 31, translated by author.



Das Hoch Amt in St. Stephans Dom Kirchen
 Thro. König. Kan. 2. Fürst. Erb. Bischof Ordin. 3. Substitu. Erb. Hoff. Caplan. Probst zu Kloster Neuburg. 4. Erb. Erb. Marschal.
 Hartschier. Hauptmann. 6. Trabanten. Hauptmann. 7. Erb. Erb. Kanonik. 8. Erb. Erb. Kuchler. 9. Erb. Erb. Leuchter. 10. Erb. Erb. Kammerer. 11. Erb.
 Erb. Schützbeger. 12. Erb. Erb. D. Herold. 13. Erb. Erb. Hofmeister. 14. Erb. Erb. Stallmeister. 15. Erb. Erb. Jägermeister. 16. Erb. Erb. Faltmeister. 17. Erb. Erb.
 Habmeister. 18. Erb. Erb. Prälatur. 19. Erb. Erb. Herren. 20. Landt. Marschall. 21. Achme. Nähe und Kammer. Herren. 22. Erb. Erb. Dantz. 23. Erb. Erb.

Plate 3: Clerical Liturgy and Popular Piety. Solemn High Mass with Maria Theresa in St Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna, mid-18th century, Engraving by Jacob Matthias Schmutzer. Photograph by Silke Reinhard-Krischer, courtesy of the photographer and the private owner 2023.

campaign was put into action wherever Baroque liturgical practice prevailed in ways that seemed akin to a competitive sport: that is in pilgrimages, processions, and Catholic lay confraternities. Other targets of reform were the abuse of blessings and exorcisms, the overuse of sacramental blessings, the excessive number of feast days and observances within the liturgical calendar, the fragmentation of Christ-centred devotion, and the frequent bizarre mixture of the veneration of saints and of the Virgin Mary. One can summarize the reform goals of the Catholic Enlightenment of the 18th century in the formula: “edification through understanding”. Obviously, this reform maxim starts with the liturgical language: the Enlightenment’s highest requirement is that the liturgy be conducted entirely in the participants’ native language, but then settles for congregational hymns in German.

When Haydn arrives in the imperial city of Vienna in 1740, he encounters a cultural and religious atmosphere shaped by Maria Theresa’s perspective on worship, which aligned with the late Baroque “*Pietas Austriaca*”.⁴

However, her church policy measures – a reorganization of parishes, a partially trimming of public holidays, restrictions on pilgrimages, and action to be taken against superstition, etc. – nevertheless made her a forerunner of the later radical reforms. With the beginning of the sole reign of Emperor Joseph II (1741–1790) in 1780, the phase of the Josephinian state church began. This had a noticeable effect on Joseph Haydn’s liturgical work. The liturgical reform deliberately started in Vienna in order to serve as a model for the rest of Austria. On December 14, 1782, the emperor issued a resolution that, among other things, decreed the abolition of singing at weekday masses (with the exception of conventual masses and offices for souls). In addition, the emperor forbade all high masses, sermons and devotions in monasteries, abolished instrumental music in vespers and litanies, etc. Mass celebrations could now last no longer than a total of half-an-hour.

Joseph II’s liturgical reform reached its climax with the “*Gottesdienstordnung*” (Order of Divine Worship) of April 20, 1783, which elevated all the regulations of the Resolution of 1782 to state law for the Austrian lands and thus enforced a whole number of additional decrees.⁵ With the prohibition

⁴ Cf. Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca. Austrian Religious Practices in the Baroque Era* (Central European Studies). West Lafayette 2004; Johannes Leopold Mayer, Haydn, Bruckner und die “*Pietas Austriaca*”, in: Theophil Antonicek, Andreas Lindner und Klaus Petermayr (eds.), *Anton Bruckner und die Wiener Klassik* (conference report). Wien 2013, pp. 93–100.

⁵ Cf. Hans Hollerweger, *Die Reform des Gottesdienstes zur Zeit des Josephinismus in Österreich* (Studien zur Pastoralliturgie Vol. 1). Regensburg 1976.

of the Catholic confraternities, the state also unintentionally restricted the scope of action of the so-called laity as a whole.

When Emperor Leopold II (1747–1792) succeeded his late brother Joseph II in 1790, many hoped that the reform would be stopped. In fact, the emperor gave in slightly on a few points, thus diminishing open resistance from the people. Surprisingly, in the minutes of the Ecclesiastical Court Commission of December 18, 1790, it is stated that instrumental music in church was not generally forbidden but depended only on whether the church's assets were sufficient to finance it. The emperor adopted this recommendation in a resolution of December 29, 1790. Court officials increasingly turned a blind eye to attempts by individual parishes to exceed the prescribed duration of services. This was a first step towards the reauthorization of large-scale orchestral masses. Haydn must have been pleased about this since he made use of it again several times (Plate 4).

Joseph Haydn was no longer in Vienna when the resolution and the “Gottesdienstordnung” came into effect. He had been active in Eisenstadt since 1761 and at Esterházy since 1766. Of course, “Cuius regio, eius religio” (“whose realm, their religion”, i. e. the religious confession of the ruler was to dictate the religious confession of those ruled) also applied there: the Princes Esterházy de Galantha were territorial lords in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and had to align themselves with the emperor in cultic matters. Consequently, the liturgical reform in Vienna of that time also extended in principle to Eisenstadt and Esterházy. But there was no mention of this when Haydn came to Eisenstadt in 1761. For the first 20 years, the service there was conducted in the usual late Baroque, Tridentine manner. Then, when the Josephinian liturgical reform begins in 1780, the end came for the larger-scale symphonic sacred compositions, at least in the official structures of the archdioceses and dioceses. But far away from the imperial residence, the powerful regional nobility took little notice. The princes and counts continued to attach importance to the fact that the church services reflected their power in a glamorous way, and to this purpose, they generously funded extravagant musical instruments and equipment for their palace churches and private chapels more than ever before.

The situation was different in the Bergkirche in Eisenstadt. Its sacred musical life largely ceased after 1783, after Joseph II had forbidden larger pilgrimages. So groups of pilgrims from outside the city were discouraged to come to the shrine image in Eisenstadt. The effects of the reform were not quite as dramatic in the Eisenstadt parish church St Martin; the innovations were implemented here rather moderately. Furthermore, the Bergkirche, which

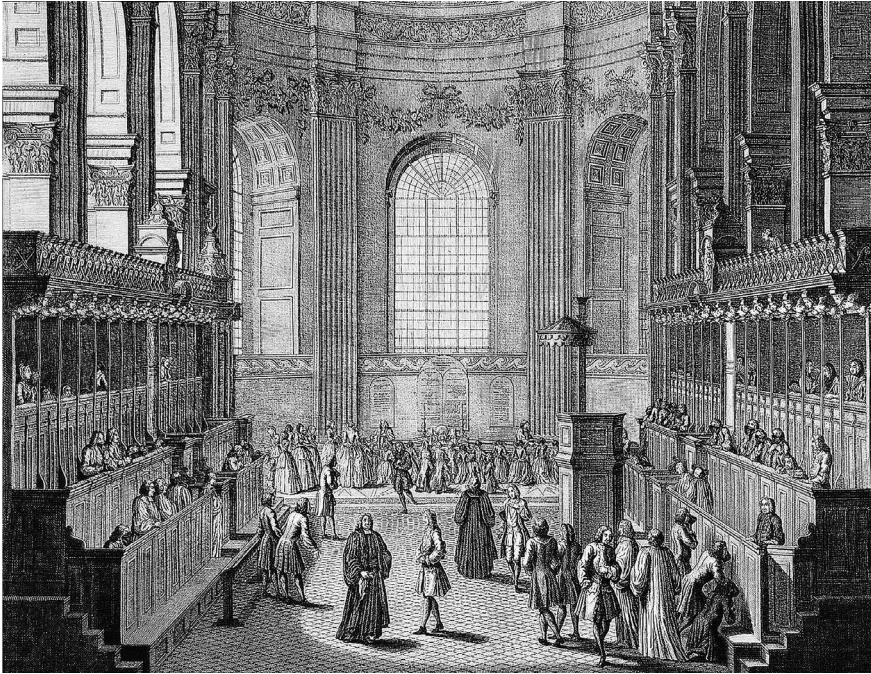


Plate 5: Jacobus van der Schley (1715–1779), *Le Communion des Anglicans*, 18th century, Scan of an original copper engraving from a private collection, courtesy of the private owners 2024.

can be considered the primary liturgical center for Haydn's late Mass compositions, was not established as a parish church until 1794, and so would have reflected any accepted Josephine reforms from its beginning.

The fact that Haydn did not write any festive sacred compositions for many years after 1782 should not automatically be interpreted as if he sympathized with the Josephinian liturgical reform. Rather, this is due to the fact that Prince Nicholas I Joseph Esterházy de Galantha, Count of Forchtenstein (1714–1790), ordered primarily operas, symphonies, and chamber music from his music director; the existing sacred repertoire fully sufficed his courtly purposes. Thus, Haydn's long abstinence from sacred music is simply due to a lack of opportunity; he was by no means a front-line fighter for liturgical reform.

While at first Joseph Haydn left all Catholic reforms and reforms of reforms behind, he would be confronted again with another reform: namely the reformed church of the Church of England. During his first trip to

England in 1791 and 1792 he became acquainted with Anglicanism. In the island state, the Anglican Church was relatively harmoniously united at that time, but two different currents – protestantizing and catholicizing – could still be recognized. Haydn became acquainted with the latter in London. In terms of structure and rites, the Anglican liturgy there differed only slightly from the Roman Catholic Mass. What was new for Haydn was that not a single word of Latin was used. Anglicans celebrated services entirely in their native English (Plate 5).

LITURGICAL SPACES

Sacred music of the 18th century had to adapt to a variety of different church spaces and acoustics (Plate 6).

The floor plan of the then brand-new rococo churches shows three longitudinal ellipses (a small one as the entrance, a large one as the congregational worship space, and another small one as the altar space). Side aisles in the conventional sense no longer exist, and transepts only in the form of choir apses (Plate 7).

Due to the opulent, sound-absorbing stuccowork, the reverberation is considerably shorter than in older architectural eras; this is generally conducive to symphonic church music, but at the same time the sound image is also more diffuse in echo and frequency distribution due to the nested floor plans. The few classicist churches, which were likewise brand new at the time, are well suited for organ music because of their resonant reverberation. The Josephinian hall churches are also suitable for smaller vocal ensembles because of their good text intelligibility.

As an experienced and well-traveled musician, Joseph Haydn was very familiar with the various structurally constructive types of church buildings of his time. He was well acquainted with the respective acoustic advantages, but also with the resonance problems of the rooms. We can assume with great certainty that Haydn adapted his sacred compositions very precisely to the specific acoustic conditions of the churches in which they were premiered.

A case in point is the aforementioned Bergkirche (Haydnkirche) in Eisenstadt, an acoustic challenge for choral church music with vocal soloists when accompanied by an orchestra. The church's interior is almost circular with a dome-shaped ceiling. The Bergkirche⁶ originally was not planned as

⁶ For the architectural history and the sacred-artistic furnishings of the Bergkirche cf. Monika Soffner-Loibl/Miriam Windsheimer, Eisenstadt-Oberberg – Bergkirche-Haydnkirche. Passau 2009; André Csatkai/Dagobert Frey, Die Denkmale des politi-

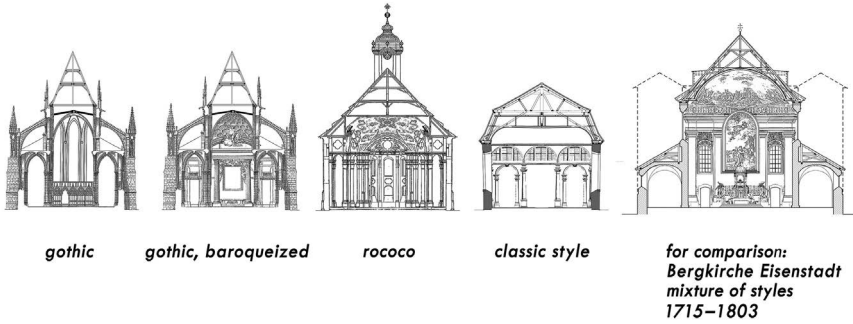


Plate 6: Variety of Different Church Spaces in Austria in the late 18th century, cross sections. © Graphic synopsis by Jakob Johannes Koch, 2023.

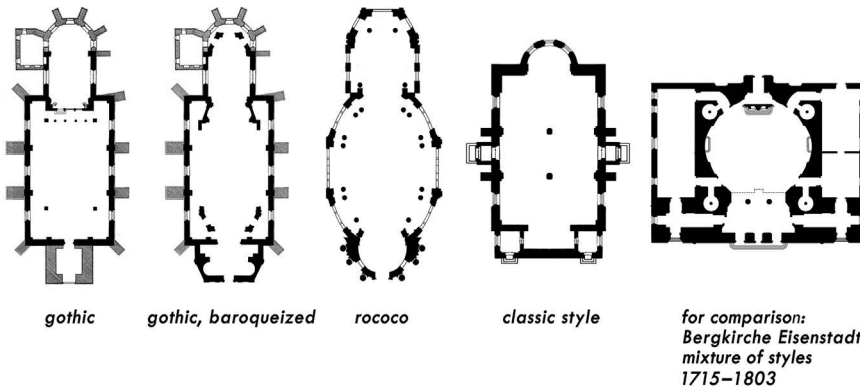


Plate 7: Variety of Different Church Spaces in Austria in the late 18th century, floor plans.⁷ © Graphic synopsis by Jakob Johannes Koch, 2023.

a circular building: Prince Paul I. Esterházy de Galantha, Count of Forchtenstein (1635–1713), who commissioned its construction, actually wanted to have a pilgrimage church built in the form of a large longitudinal ca-

schen Bezirkes Eisenstadt und der freien Städte Eisenstadt und Rust (Österreichische Kunsttopographie Vol. 24), Wien 1932, p. 109 ff.

⁷ The floor plans 1–4 (Gothic to Classical) are stereotyped supraindividually. The floor plan 5 of the Bergkirche Eisenstadt is a digitally reconstructed drawing of a historical plan from ~ 1800, cf. André Csatkai/Dagobert Frey, Die Denkmale des politischen Bezirkes Eisenstadt und der freien Städte Eisenstadt und Rust (Österreichische Kunsttopographie Vol. 24), Wien 1932, p. 109.

thedral. Prince Paul died shortly before the foundation stone was laid, and although his heirs had the huge apse (also known as the presbytery) built in the shell in the first construction phase, the large cathedral was never completed due to growing costs. As a result, the rudimentary apse towering into the sky was the structure Joseph Haydn knew during his tenure in Eisenstadt.

From 1765, the new prince from the House of Esterházy de Galantha, Nicholas I Joseph (1714–1790), known as “the splendor lover”, ordered work on the unfinished Bergkirche to be resumed after the long interruption. The huge apse, which had remained open to the west, was now closed. The architect cleverly concealed the torso-like nature of the building by juxtaposing the rounding in the east with semi-circular structural elements inside the building. This gives the church the impression of having originally been planned as a round domed church.⁸ (Plates 8 and 9).

When Prince Nikolaus II Esterházy de Galantha (1765–1833) had the Bergkirche provisionally completed in 1798 and after the scaffoldings were removed, this church became a permanent church music venue for Joseph Haydn. In 1799, Joseph Haydn reported that he had been commissioned by the prince “... alljährlich eine neue Mess zu Componiren ...”⁹ i.e. to compose a new *Missa solemnis* every year.¹⁰ From then on, the commissioned name-day masses always took place in the Bergkirche. Haydn premièred the masses and conducted the choir, orchestra and soloists himself.

Prince Nikolaus II’s very intelligent and experienced court composer and ensemble leader would likely have been aware of the acoustical challenges of the domed Bergkirche, and taken utmost care in addressing these challenges for the eminent aristocratic and highly educated audience that would have been in attendance for his last mass settings (five of the last six were likely premièred in the Bergkirche). What specific acoustic challenges did Joseph Haydn face in this space? It has long been known that delicate echoes and acute focal points cannot be avoided in a circular or almost circular domed hall. The acoustical challenges of these spaces are

⁸ Despite its abbreviated final form, the Bergkirche fulfilled Prince Paul’s desire as a pilgrimage spot. Its magnificent Kalvarienberg and miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin Mary have been visited daily by up to 2,500 devoted Catholic pilgrims.

⁹ Letter to the music director Cornelius Knoblich dated August 10, 1799, in: Dénes Bartha (Hrsg.), *Joseph Haydn, Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen, unter Benützung der Quellesammlung von H. C. Robbins Landon*. Kassel et al. 1965, p. 331.

¹⁰ The “*Missa in angustiiis*” (Mass in D minor Hob. XXII:11 for soloists, four-part choir, orchestra and organ concertante) was the only one of Haydn’s six late masses not to be premièred in the Bergkirche.

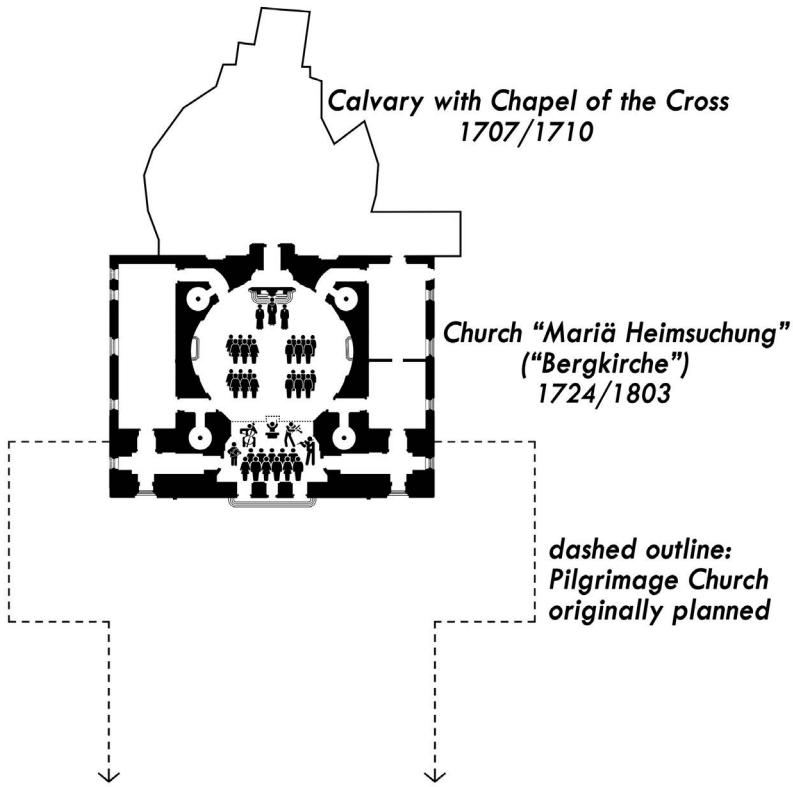


Plate 8: Variety of Different Church Spaces in Austria in the late 18th century, floor plan of the Bergkirche in Eisenstadt.¹¹ © Graphic by Jakob Johannes Koch, 2024.

more concerning and prominent for audiences than for performers; listeners' experiences of performance depend largely upon where they are seated. According to the laws of psychoacoustics, the type of sound propagation during the first 15 milliseconds of a sound event determines how positively or negatively the human ear perceives it.¹² If the direct sound is too strong and the reverberation too weak, music is generally considered unpleasant. A circular building leads to strong direct sound components in the first critical milliseconds without special room acoustics measures. This is due to the multiple overlapping sound reflections of the dome-shaped ceiling and

¹¹ The floor plan of the Bergkirche Eisenstadt printed here is a digitally reconstructed historical plan from ~ 1800 with additional icons, cf. André Csatkai/Dagobert Frey, p. 109.

¹² Cf. Ernst-Joachim Völker, *Zur Bedeutung der ersten 15 ms bei der Beurteilung von Schallaufnahmen*, Berlin 1965.

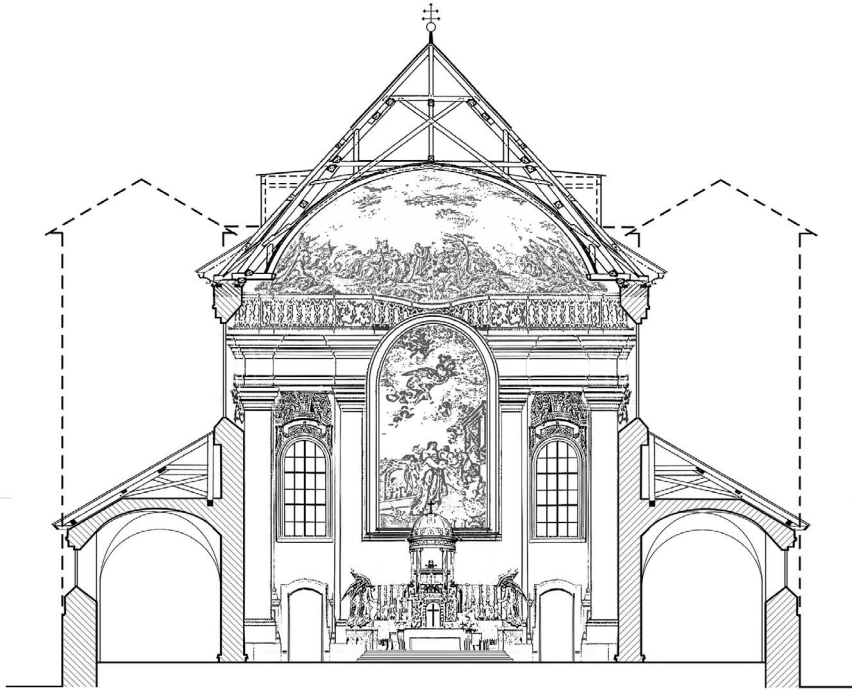


Plate 9: Variety of Different Church Spaces in Austria in the late 18th century, cross section of the Bergkirche in Eisenstadt.¹³ © Graphic by Jakob Johannes Koch, 2024.

the circular walls.¹⁴ With the strong direct sound of the circular building, the text intelligibility of the singing is better overall than in a longitudinal church with a high ceiling. From a theological and liturgical perspective, this is fundamentally welcome. However, most people find it much more aesthetically pleasing when the reverberation is stronger. This gives them the feeling of being completely surrounded by sound. In contrast, this pleasant effect does not occur in the decentralized places of a circular building.

Nevertheless, the musical acoustics of the Bergkirche benefit from the fact that the oval of the room is interrupted by the organ and choir gallery. When

¹³ The cross sections 1–4 (Gothic to Classical) are stereotyped supraindividually. The cross section of the Bergkirche Eisenstadt is a digital reconstruction based on photos and plans from the archives of the Diocese of Eisenstadt, with kind assistance of diocesan archivist Bernhard Weinhäusel.

¹⁴ Cf. Walter Kuhl, *Das Zusammenwirken von direktem Schall, ersten Reflexionen und Nachhall*, in: *Rundfunktechnische Mitteilungen* 9 (1965), pp. 3 ff.

the symphonic masses are performed from the gallery (which takes place during the church services), the acoustic problems described above do not become excessive. But whenever the musicians play in front of the high altar (which is often the case at church concerts), the acoustics become critical.

Today, secular historical circular buildings that are used as concert halls can be improved in terms of resonance through targeted room acoustics measures (surface structures and reflectors in the stage area and in front of it, sound absorbers and sound barriers). This allows a better mix as well as a better fade-out and more pleasing reverberation of the sound. These acoustic reflections are useful for the artists on stage, because they provide “feedback” and acoustic monitoring serving as a connection to the auditorium. Discreet electro-acoustic amplification is also increasingly being used as further support¹⁵. There are limitations to all of these measures in a Catholic church. It is not compatible with the specific nature of Catholic worship for the church to look like a recording studio or a philharmonic hall. Therefore, compromises must always be accepted when performing symphonic church music such as Haydn’s in a Catholic church. This is especially the case when it is a circular building.

BEYOND PLAINSONG: SACRED MUSIC’S 18TH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

By the early 18th century Gregorian chant had degenerated into a truncated form known as plainsong (“cantus planus”), and in some places had even fallen out of use entirely. By contrast, a new style of monodic chant accompanied by instruments was now finding its way into church services. The compositional characteristics of galant opera, along with the progressive structure of the symphony based on the dynamic concept of the sonata movement, were permeating the realm of church music. Thus, the orchestra was finding its way into the Roman Catholic church, primarily to accompany choral and solo singing, but also for shorter instrumental, and in some way “absolute” pieces of music such as instance church sonatas, epistle sonatas and elevazioni.

During the latter half of the 18th century, the Baroque church orchestra was undergoing a significant transformation, finally reshaped into a standard ensemble we now discuss as the “Classical” orchestra. There was an increase

¹⁵ Cf. Ernst-Joachim Völker und Wolfgang Teuber, Akustische und elektroakustische Konzepte für große und kleine Säle. Prinzipien und Probleme, in: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Akustik e.V. (ed.), Conference proceedings of the DAGA 2007, Annual conferences of the German Working Group for Acoustics, Berlin 2007, pp. 581 ff.

in the number of string instruments, and while there had been restrictions placed on the use of trumpets (and timpani) for mass, they were still often called for, particularly for solemn occasions. The most notable change was a growing consistency in the use of wind instruments. Mid-century developments in the construction of wind instruments improved flexibility in technical skill and in their use in various keys. Influenced by symphonic and operatic music, composers began to call upon the distinct timbres of oboes, flutes, bassoons, horns of various keys, and even clarinets, often as solo instruments, strategically utilizing their conventional associations for enhancing the dramatic message of the liturgical texts.

In the first half of the 18th century, the word-tone-relationship in sacred compositions still relied on established topoi. This can be observed in the orchestral mass, which is considered as the “supreme discipline” of sacred music. For example, in the traditional descent motif of “descendit de caelis” (He descended from heaven), we encounter the traditional musical technique known as *catabasis*, which represents a descending melodic phrase. Similarly in the Credo, in the corresponding ascent motif of “et ascendit in caelum” (And He ascended into heaven), we find the *anabasis*, depicting an ascending melodic phrase. Another notable example is the idyllic pastoral shepherd music in the Benedictus. There are numerous other instances that could be cited at this juncture. These topoi are not inherently inferior. Rather, they can be seen metaphorically as vessels that can be filled either with water or with wine. In the works of composers such as Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725), Francesco Durante (1684–1755), Giovanni Pergolesi (1710–1736) Giovanni Paisiello (1740–1816), and, naturally, the young Haydn, they are, figuratively speaking, filled with wine.

In the course of the advancing Enlightenment, the word-tone-relationship of sacred music becomes more individual and subjective. Sacred music during this time consciously pursued two distinct paths, with a delightful alternation between the two. One aspect of this is that, following the symphonic approach, a distinct atmospheric portrayal of the text breaks through in several passages. This means that musical “mood pictures” are drawn that are not tied to individual words. At the same time, the composers, displaying confidence and maturity in their faith, are now venturing into new territory in the way they set liturgical texts to music, bringing in a personally colored interpretation, or “exegesis”. Although the ecclesiastical text is preserved, the music conveys a different message, so what they are doing is actually developing their own independent theological subtexts.

Pope Benedict XIV (Lorenzo Prospero Lambertini, 1675–1758, pope 1740–58) took action to gain liturgical control over what he considered the

overly expansive and overly theatrical developments, including suppressing the growing influence of concertante music within church services. In his papal encyclical “Annus qui hunc” (1749), Benedict XIV objected to excessive pomp in church music practice and decreed that church music should be arranged with instruments in such a way that it sounded neither profane nor even operatic.¹⁶ The use of timpani, trumpets, woodwind instruments, and hunting horns was prohibited. In Vienna and the Austrian hereditary provinces, virtually no one complied. By 1770, if not earlier, the high clergy in that region once again began commissioning grand symphonic orchestral masses featuring trumpets and timpani, because Rome was far away.

But not all developments were rejected. For example, in accordance with Enlightenment moral and rational maxims that reached a pinnacle during the second half of the 18th century, edifying church hymns in the vernacular were introduced into the Catholic church service in Austria and southern Germany. It was often combined into ordinarium cycles under the name “Deutsche Singmesse” (German Singing Mass). The first official diocesan hymnals were published starting from 1768.

SACRED MUSIC IN HAYDN’S TIME

Joseph Haydn composed his liturgical music entirely for Roman Catholic worship. For Haydn, liturgical vocal music must not distort the sacred texts of worship. In view of his life as a practicing Catholic and professional church musician, it is clear that Haydn lived closely with and in Catholic worship. Every detail of the Catholic liturgy was deeply familiar to him. The Mass as liturgy was a constant in his life, so natural to him that, for example, he still attended the mass liturgy purely privately at Calais immediately before his first sea voyage to England.

This stage of development in the second half of the 18th century can be clearly seen in Haydn’s cycles of the Ordinary of the Mass from the 1770s onward, for example in the “Missa brevis Sancti Joannis de Deo” in B-flat major (vulgo “Little Organ Solo Mass”), Hob. XXII:7. In the setting of “Et resurrexit” (And [He] rose again) (mm. 97–100) in the Credo, the melodic motif from the beginning of the Gloria (mm. 1–4) returns: proof of God’s glory is, accordingly, the Easter revelation of God’s Creator power in the resurrection of Jesus Christ (Ex. 1).

¹⁶ For a more detailed discussion of the Catholic Enlightenment, Benedict XIV’s “Annus qui hunc”, and Haydn’s liturgical music response to emerging changes in liturgical-dramatic ideas, see Michael E. Ruhling, “Catholic Enlightenment Eucharistic Perspectives and Self-Quotation in Haydn’s Masses” in this volume.

Allegro (di molto)

Allegro

Example 1: Excerpts from Joseph Haydn, “Missa brevis Sancti Joannis de Deo” in B-flat major, Hob.XXII:7. – 1a: Gloria, mm. 1–4, 1b: Credo, mm. 97–100.

In the Credo movements of the “Paukenmesse”, *Missa in tempore belli* (Mass in Time of War), Hob. XXII:9, as well as in the “Missa in angustis” (Mass in fearful times, commonly known as the “Nelson Mass”), Hob. XXII:11, the “*Venturus est cum gloria*” (He is to come with the glory) motif from the Gloria movements surprisingly appears, and both times precisely at the text passage “*judicare*” (to judge) in the Credo. That is, at the Second Coming of Christ on the Last Day, the glory (“Gloria”) of the Son of God receives its final confirmation. When Haydn retains the major key and motif of “*et homo factus est*” (And He became man) (mm. 65–73) during the “*crucifixus*” (He was crucified) (mm. 74–76) in the Mass in B-flat major, “*Theresienmesse*”, Hob. XXII:12, he interprets the cross in

et ho - mo, et ho - mo factus est, et factus est, et ho - mo, et ho - mo fa - ctus... est.

et ho - mo, et ho - mo factus est, et factus est, et ho - mo, et ho - mo fa - ctus... est.

et ho - mo, et ho - mo factus est, et factus est, et ho - mo, et ho - mo fa - ctus... est.

mo fa - ctus, et ho - mo factus est, et factus est, et ho - mo, et ho - mo fa - ctus... est.

Cru - ci - fi - xus

Sub Pon - ti - o pi - la - to

Cru - ci - fi - xus

Cru - ci - fi - xus

Example 2: Excerpts from Joseph Haydn, Mass in B-flat major, “Theresienmesse”, Hob. XXII:12. – Credo “et homo factus est”, mm. 65–73, “crucifixus”, mm. 74–76.

the perspective of God’s plan of salvation, which already existed before Easter and before the dawn of time (Ex. 2).

Numerous other examples could be named. During that era, other composers such as Johann Ernst Eberlin (1702–1762), Florian Leopold Gassmann (1729–1774), Anton Cajetan Adlgasser (1729–1777), Mozart (both the father Leopold (1719–1787) and the son Wolfgang Amadé (1756–1791), and, of course, Michael Haydn (1737–1806), the younger brother of Joseph Haydn, were known for creating subjective settings that deviated from the traditional church music tradition.

Organ playing in Haydn’s time was one-sidedly focused on its role as an accompaniment to congregational singing. A logical consequence is that the organist’s profession is more or less reduced to sideline employment. There

were not many new and unique compositions specifically written for solo organ during the latter half of the 18th century in the Vienna sphere. The compositions that did exist followed a galant, rather straightforward homophonic movement. A few more demanding exceptions can be found, for example, in the works of Johann Ludwig Krebs (1713–1780), Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788), Georg Joseph Vogler (1749–1814) or Justin Heinrich Knecht (1752–1817).

A brief digression on the organ in the Bergkirche in Eisenstadt¹⁷, on which Joseph Haydn himself played in many church services, may be permitted. Towards the end of the 18th century, the “good” (“well-tempered”) unequal temperament had also replaced the “bad” mean-tone temperament in symphonic church music. From then on, the keys with natural tones could no longer sound physically correct and “pure”. Organs, however, were an exception: Organ builders boycotted the new tuning because it seemed unfavorable for vocal-instrumental mixed music. As a result, the “queen of instruments” remained tuned to mean tones well into the 19th century, even in the Bergkirche in Eisenstadt. The keys with b-flat accidentals therefore continued to sound particularly beautiful and pleasant on the organ. Joseph Haydn took advantage of this in his frequent choice of E-flat major in his sacred compositions accompanied by concertante organ. Incidentally, Haydn himself sat at the console for their première. He was an accomplished organist and wrote the virtuoso organ part for himself. Hence, for example, the title of the work “Great Organ Solo Mass” (“Missa in honorem B.V.M.” in E-flat major, also known as “Missa Sancti Josephi”, Hob. XXII:4 for soli, four-part choir, orchestra and organ concertante). In this work, the organ has charming solo parts in all the Mass Ordinary sections with the exception of the Sanctus.

¹⁷ Cf. Johannes Leopold Mayer: Die sieben „Haydn-Orgeln“ in Eisenstadt und ihre Dispositionen. Program book of the Haydn Festival 2010, Eisenstadt 2010, p. 17; Organ Index, freely accessible organ database wiki, data set Eisenstadt, Bergkirche († Joseph Haydn), accessible at: [https://organindex.de/Eisenstadt,_Bergkirche_\(†_Joseph_Haydn\)](https://organindex.de/Eisenstadt,_Bergkirche_(†_Joseph_Haydn)), (Accessed: 10 November 2024); id., Nachklänge aus Haydns Zeit – Die historischen Orgeln von Eisenstadt, in: Eisenstadt Bausteine zur Geschichte. Anlässlich der 350-Jahrfeier der Freistadterhebung, hrsg. von Harald Prickler und Johann Seedoch. Eisenstadt 1998, pp. 230–246.