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The ‘Virtue’ Mass in Early Eighteenth-Century Austria: Beyond the Viennese Imperial Court

Within the Mass repertory of eighteenth-century Austria, one may identify a subgroup of works titled after exemplary human traits, for example, *Missa Charitatis*, *Missa Fortitudinis*, and *Missa Humilitatis*. These ‘virtue’ Masses, as I shall call them, occupy a significant portion of the terrain of sacred music in this period; their composers include such central figures as Johann Joseph Fux, Antonio Caldara, and Gregor Joseph Werner, and they formed a part of the liturgy of prestigious institutions such as the Viennese imperial court chapel, St. Vitus’ Cathedral in Prague, and the abbeys of Heiligenkreuz, Herzogenburg, Göttweig, and Kremsmünster. Appendix I presents a preliminary overview of this body of works, not including those which have been transmitted solely in manuscript sources located today in the Austrian National Library in Vienna (in order to emphasize the broad institutional and geographical perspective of this paper).¹ These virtue Masses present a basic interpretative challenge in accounting for their titles, which seem to demonstrate little obvious connection to matters of either liturgical usage or musical style. The question of how a given *Missa Humilitatis* actually conveys humility, for example, lends itself to no readily forthcoming answers. A further complication lies in the circumstance that a single work may be named after different virtues at two or more ecclesiastical institutions, or may not even be designated as a virtue Mass in all of its extant manuscript copies. Thus a *Missa Charitatis* by Johann Joseph Fux in the archives of the Knights of the Red Cross monastery in Prague and a *Missa Refrigerii* also by Fux in the archives of St. Vitus’ Cathedral are in fact one and the same composition.²

¹ The greater part of the manuscript materials of the archives of the Viennese imperial court chapel were transferred to the Austrian National Library during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

² The Mass is number 16 in the thematic catalog in Andreas Liess, *Johann Joseph Fux* (Vienna, 1948) and number 76 in Thomas Hochradner, Martin Czernin, and Géza-M. Vörösmarty, *Johann Joseph Fux: Thematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke* (forthcoming).

If one adopts a broad historical and cultural perspective, however, then one can locate the significance of the virtue Mass in relation to the Habsburg imperial ideal of *pietas austriaca*. This ideal, as has been described by Anna Coreth, corresponded to a belief held by the Austrian monarchs according to which active cultivation of the virtues, and of piety above all, tangibly contributed to the power of the Habsburg dynastic house by strengthening the divine legitimation of their rule.³ Regular observance of the virtues thus possessed a quality of political efficacy, in the Habsburg view of things. In this paper, I argue that the performance of virtue Masses fulfilled a similar function through specifically musical means. I shall develop this argument first by briefly outlining a number of aspects of the Austrian culture of piety of direct relevance for the present topic; then by reviewing my own earlier research on the repertory of virtue Masses at the Viennese imperial court chapel and summarizing its conclusions; and finally by examining the dissemination of the genre beyond the confines of the chapel into diverse territories of the empire and examining the implications of the promotion of virtue in regions and institutions not intimately tied to the Habsburg court in Vienna. Of particular importance in this regard is Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel's notion of *Reichstil*, which considers a core of cultural ideals and practices centred at the Austrian capital to have radiated outwards and left its imprint throughout the imperial realm.⁴ This process helped to reinforce an ideology of unbounded Habsburg might whose aspect of orthodoxy took form in what I call an anonymous style, in music and other domains of the arts. The apparent absence of individualized representation of specific virtues in the Masses titled after them underscores a de-personalized culture of piety in which music's aim was not differentiated affective expression but the transmission of a universalizing view of the permanence of Habsburg sovereignty.

The essential work on the significance of piety in the political self-conception of the Austrian monarchs, Anna Coreth's *Pietas Austriaca*, examines a series of primary written sources that articulate a belief in the legitimizing force of an intense devoutness. Coreth notes that 'Catholic-Habsburg political theorists and publicists of the Counter Reformation and of the baroque period viewed piety and Christian virtues as the fundamental bases of sov-

³ Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, trans. William D. Bowen and Anna Maria Leitgeb (Indianapolis, 2004).

⁴ Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, 'Der "Reichstil" in der deutschen Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts', in Georg Reichert and Martin Just (eds.), *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Kassel 1962* (Kassel, 1963), 33–36.

ereign rule.⁵ Elaborating upon the practical, temporal aspect of this notion through the example of the author Nikolaus Vernulaeus, she observes that 'with these publications [*Virtutes Augustissimae Gentis Austriae libri tres* (1640) and the *Historia Austriaca* (1651)], Vernulaeus wanted to prove that world power belonged to Austria not only because of its special lineage and far-flung territories, [...] but also because of its virtues, above all its piety.'⁶ Because the profound religious faith of the Habsburg emperors was so indelibly tied to their political hegemony, representations of the virtues abounded, in a notable variety of manifestations. For example, Charles VI adopted a personal motto of 'constantia et fortitudo', and these paired traits later found embodiment in the twin pillars of Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach's Church of St. Charles Borromeo and in Fux's opera *Costanza e fortezza*, performed in 1723 in Prague on the occasion of Charles' coronation as King of Bohemia. More broadly within the realm of music, the regular performance of Masses designated after virtues served as a potent aural realization of a central instrument of Habsburg validation. A sense of the diverse range of significant virtues within the Habsburg context can be gained through Guilielmi Lamormaini's *Ferdinandi II. Romanorum Imperatoris virtutes*, published in 1638 as part of a planned biography of the recently deceased Emperor. This work's listing of Ferdinand's exemplary qualities is given in appendix II. The enumeration of some thirty virtues provides an approximate but useful indication of the scope of the Austrian culture of piety.⁷

⁵ Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, 1.

⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁷ Guilielmi Lamormaini, *Ferdinandi II. Romanorum Imperatoris virtutes* (Vienna, 1638). Other contemporary works concerned with the virtues of members of the Habsburg clan include Justus Lipsius, *Monita et exempla politica, qui virtutes et vitia principum spectant* (Antwerp, 1605); Nikolaus Vernulaeus, *Virtutes Aug. Gentis Austriacae lib. tres* (Louvain, 1626); *Regia virtutes seu initia regni Salomonis pietate & justitia, consilio & industria, duce sapientia semper felicia* (Vienna, 1656), a Jesuit drama centered around five virtues, four of which formed the mottos of Ferdinand III ("pietate et justitia") and Leopold I ("consilio & industria"); Leopold Avancini, *Pietas victrix sive Flavius Constantinus Magnus, de Maxentio Tyranno Victor* (Vienna, 1659), another Jesuit drama written for the celebrations surrounding the assumption by Leopold I of the imperial throne; Leopold Avancini, *Leopoldi Guilielmi Archiducis Austriae Principis pace et bello inclyti virtutes* (Antwerp, 1665); Josephus Scalletari, *Recentissima Pietatis Austriacae Monumenta Leopoldi Primi* (Vienna, 1693); and Adalbert Czerwenka, *Annales et acta pietatis [...] Habsburgo-Austriacae* (Prague, 1696). A majority of these works are cited by Coreth in *Pietas Austriaca*. For the reference to the Jesuit drama of 1656, I am indebted to Andrew Weaver.

Because of its quintessentially imperial associations, the repertory of virtue Masses connected specifically with the Viennese court necessarily forms the starting point for an investigation of the genre. In a paper presented in 2004 at the Eleventh Biennial Conference on Baroque Music in Manchester, England, I examined a group of works by Fux which epitomizes this category of sacred music as it was cultivated at the court chapel, or *Hofmusikkapelle* (see appendix III).⁸ The summary that I now offer of the paper includes updated information gathered since then. Of Fux's eleven virtue Masses, four are extant in manuscripts in the former archives of the chapel, now the Austrian National Library. Three of the manuscripts preserve a history of performances extending over several decades on their enclosing covers, and the fourth, for the *Missa Confidentialiae*, likely did so as well before its original cover was discarded and replaced shortly before 1740.⁹ This record demonstrates the general utility of the Masses as a kind of non-specific, ubiquitous music. The *Missae Constantiae*, *Humilitatis*, and *Temperantiae* featured in the liturgy of the court chapel every year between the earliest dates notated on their manuscripts (1725, 1733, and 1716 respectively) and the death of Emperor Charles VI in 1740, with the sole exceptions of 1732 and 1738 for the *Missa Constantiae* and 1734 for the *Missa Temperantiae*. In addition, each of the Masses was typically performed several times per year, on occasions distributed throughout the twelve months of the church calendar except in the case of the *Missa Constantiae*, an *a cappella* composition principally suited to the penitential seasons of Advent and Lent. The frequent repetition of this music provides an indication of the fundamental importance of the virtues in the religious and political life of the imperial court. Heard on a regular basis, the Masses undoubtedly served to cement the link between the divine and the temporal which legitimized Habsburg rule.

Though seven of the eleven works are preserved in collections other than the former archives of the *Hofmusikkapelle* and chiefly in Prague, a copy of the *Missa Fiduciae* in the hand of Jan Dismas Zelenka, who studied with Fux during the late 1710s, suggests that they too originated at the Viennese court. Riedel's identification of the handwriting of imperial copyists

⁸ Jen-yen Chen, 'The Virtues Masses of Johann Joseph Fux: Constancy and Fortitude at the Court of Charles VI', paper for the Eleventh Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, Manchester, England, 15–18 July 2004. A substantial portion of this paper is adapted in the foreword of my edition of Fux's *Missa Constantiae* (*Johann-Joseph-Fux: Sämtliche Werke* I/9).

⁹ For a full enumeration of the performance dates, see page X of the aforementioned foreword.

in sources now in Prague offers broader evidence of an active transfer of manuscripts northwards.¹⁰ He thereby provides a concrete confirmation of his notion of *Reichstil*, though the notion posits the dissemination not only of musical materials but also of the significances and meanings derived from the musical styles associated in the first place with Vienna. From such a perspective, the Habsburg court profoundly shaped not only the content of culture but also the mindset of culture's participants. This assumption forms the starting point for my consideration of the virtue Mass in contexts beyond that of the imperial chapel.

The preliminary listing of virtue Masses in appendix I assembles information drawn from contemporary inventories of sacred music collections as well as from modern scholarly studies.¹¹ It offers only an overview of the works that I have thus far identified, and by no means represents a complete accounting of the entire repertory of virtue Masses. Nevertheless, the listing affords a sense of the wide reach of the virtue Mass beyond the confines of the Habsburg court chapel. In all, twenty-three separate virtues are covered by this body of music; eleven of these appear in Lamormaini's *Ferdinandi II. Romanorum Imperatoris virtutes*, or in a few instances at least approximate one of the categories enumerated in this work, as in the similarity between Lamormaini's 'Reverentia in Sacerdotes' and Johann Joseph Fux's *Missa Reverentia Divini nominis*.

Because not all of the inventories and catalogues I have consulted provide incipits and I also have not yet had the opportunity to examine all of the manuscript sources listed in appendix I, this overview does not fully resolve the identity of Masses with different titles, as in the aforementioned *Missa Charitatis* and *Missa Refrigerii* by Fux, or, conversely, the existence of distinct compositions when several manuscripts in different collections contain the same title and composer, as is the case with two works both called *Missa Fortitudinis*, one in the archives of the Schottenstift in Vienna and the other

¹⁰ Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, *Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls. VI, 1711–1740* (Munich and Salzburg, 1977), 22, 147.

¹¹ The sources of information consulted include institutional thematic catalogs such as *Catalogus Selectiorum Musicalium chori Ducumburgensis* (inventory of the collection of Herzogenburg Abbey, 1751) and Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, ed., *Der Göttweiger thematische Katalog von 1830* (Munich, 1979); the thematic catalogs contained in repertorial and composer studies such Georg Reichert, *Zur Geschichte der Wiener Messkomposition in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Ph.D. diss., Univ. Vienna, 1935) and Felix von Kraus, *Biographie des k.k. Vice-Hof-Kapellmeisters Antonio Caldara* (Ph.D. diss., Univ. Vienna, 1894); and the RISM database.

in the archives of St. Vitus' Cathedral.¹² Nevertheless, I am able mostly to clarify the situation for what may well constitute the largest repertory of virtue Masses outside of Vienna, that of St. Vitus' Cathedral. In the following discussion, I shall concentrate upon a group of seventeen of these Masses by Antonio Caldara preserved in this institution's collection (see appendix IV). The flexible naming of works illustrated by this body of music underscores a distinctive attitude towards the function of musical sound and the aural representation of extramusical qualities that I suggest reflects the notion of an anonymous, universal style according with the hegemonizing worldview of the Habsburg emperors.

In examining the significance of the seventeen Masses, one may of course begin by noting generally the extensive links between Vienna and Prague, which certainly corroborate Riedel's concept of *Reichstil*. The Bohemian capital's status as the centre of one of the four kingdoms for which the Habsburg rulers wore a crown makes the connection a natural one, and the early eighteenth century witnessed such remarkable musical displays in Prague as the performances of Fux's *Costanza e fortezza* in 1723 and of Caldara's *Missa Sanctificationis Sancti Joannis Nepomuceni* for the canonization celebrations of Jan Nepomucky in 1729. A more specific reason for the presence of the large number of virtue Masses by Viennese composers in the archives of St. Vitus' Cathedral lies in the extensive collecting and copying activities of Joseph Anton Sehling, who served as second violinist and frequent substitute for Kapellmeister Jan Frantisek Novak and himself supplied the opera *Judith* for the coronation of Empress Maria Theresia as Queen of Bohemia in 1743.¹³ In contrast to the court manuscripts of Fux's virtue Masses, Sehling's copies unfortunately contain extremely sparse information about dates of performance, and thus a detailed picture of the uses of these works within the liturgy of the cathedral must remain largely speculative for the time being. Nevertheless, this source material offers a different but complementary perspective on the function of the virtue Mass in the Habsburg context.

¹² The work in the Schottenstift is titled *Missa á 5. da Cap[ella] con canoni diversi* in a source in the Austrian National Library which originates from the imperial court; that in St. Vitus' Cathedral survives also in the archives of Salzburg Cathedral as a *Missa brevis in G* (a manuscript of only the Kyrie is located in the collection of the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin).

¹³ Antonín Podlaha, *Catalogus collectionis operum artis musicae quae in bibliotheca capituli metropolitani pragensis asservantur* (Prague, 1926), 95; Milan Postolka, 'Sehling, Josef Antonín', in *New Grove II*.

Appendix IV shows that seven of the seventeen Masses by Caldara are alternatively named in other collections of sacred music. In three instances, the work refers to a second virtue, while in a fourth, namely, the *Missa Fidei vivae*, a single composition even served to represent faith, hope, or gratitude, depending on whether it was performed at St. Vitus' Cathedral, the Knights of the Red Cross monastery, or the Schottenstift. In addition, the *Missa Jucunditatis* functioned as a different virtue Mass, the *Missa Venerationis in honorem Beatae Mariae Virginis*, in Vienna and in Salzburg, but as a 'non-virtue' Mass, the *Missa Integra*, at the Knights of the Red Cross. Three further works have a 'non-virtuous' meaning, and formed part of the observance of the feast days of saints for the most part. In all, nearly half of the seventeen Masses do not possess unique designations, and the near-certain loss of manuscript material of this kind of music, as of sacred genres in general, has probably lowered the true proportion.

The seemingly casual, unsystematic approach to the titling of the Masses, perhaps frustrating for persons whose attitudes and assumptions about music's meanings derive from more recent historical eras, reflects a representational practice that does not rely upon modern notions of highly individualised sound or inherent musical content. Indeed, too particularized a brand of musical expression in which single compositions clearly stood out from their environment would have been anathema to a culture that favoured the universal over the personal. The principal stylistic variety in Austrian church music of the early eighteenth century derived above all from the liturgically motivated classification of works into *solemn*, *mediocre*, and *alla cappella* categories.¹⁴ These categories helped to shape a religious ceremonial notable in its entirety for an impressively architectural quality, as Riedel has argued.¹⁵ Thus the virtue Masses by Caldara in the collection of St. Vitus' Cathedral includes both *messe solenni* and *messe mediocri*, while works of the *alla cappella* type are to be found elsewhere, as in Fux's *Missa Constantiae* in the court chapel archives and the *Missa Fortitudinis* by Caldara so named in the manuscript in the Schottenstift. Beyond this cultivation of a suitably elaborate structure of worship, pronounced distinctiveness of musical character did not have a place. This situation may well relate to what Anna Coreth has written in *Pietas Austriaca* about the nature of Habsburg religious orthodoxy:

¹⁴ See Riedel, *Kirchenmusik*, 67–69; Jen-yen Chen, 'Catholic Sacred Music in Austria', in Simon Keefe (ed.), *Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2009), 63–65.

¹⁵ Riedel, *Kirchenmusik*, 222–228.

[...] the unification of subjects under one shepherd and in one fold follows not only from zeal for the church and concern for souls, but also from a conception of the Holy Roman Empire as the secular incarnation of the one true kingdom of heaven in which differences in religious faith are a monstrosity. The Habsburg dynasty, which long ago had taken on the empire's political mantle, now assumed more and more its spiritual mission. Religious diversity was perceived as a disease, which disturbed the well-being, unity, and peace of the state.¹⁶

Applied to the musical sphere, this powerful universalizing impulse helped to produce a depersonalized idiom that I describe as anonymous. Thus, a given Mass could variously convey faith, hope, charity, or another virtue at different times and in different locales; taken as a whole, the repertory of virtue Masses aimed at a common goal, namely, the continuing legitimization of Habsburg imperial might as a divinely ordained privilege of the Habsburg dynasty.

APPENDIX I

Virtue Masses in eighteenth-century Austria in collections other than the Austrian National Library, Vienna

Benignitas

Caldara, Antonio	<i>M. Benignitatis</i> (CZ-Pak)
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Charitas

Caldara, Antonio	<i>M. Adolorata Charitatis perfectae</i> (CZ-Pak); <i>M. Perfectae caritatis</i> (CZ-Pkriz)
Fux, Johann Joseph	<i>M. Charitatis</i> (CZ-Pkriz)
Prustmann, Ignaz	<i>M. Charitatis ingenuae</i> (CZ-Pak)
Öttl, Matthias	<i>M. Charitatis</i> (A-KR, A-Ws)
Tuma, Franz	<i>M. Brevis charitatis</i> (CZ-Pak)

Confidentia

Candus, Franz Anton	<i>M. Confidentiae</i> (A-GÖ)
Fux, Johann Joseph	<i>M. Confidentiae</i> (A-H)

Devotio

Caldara, Antonio	<i>M. Devotionis</i> (CZ-Pak)
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Diligentia

Caldara, Antonio	<i>M. Diligentiae</i> (CZ-Pak)
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¹⁶ Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, 3.

Fiducia

Caldara, Antonio	<i>M. Fidei vivae</i> (CZ-Pak)
Fux, Johann Joseph	<i>M. Fiduciae</i> (CZ-Pkriz)
Öttl, Matthias	<i>M. Fidei</i> (A-KR, A-Ws)
Werner, Gregor	<i>M. Fiducia in Deum</i> (CZ-Pak); <i>M. Fiduciae in Deum</i> (A-Ed); <i>M. piae Fiduciae</i> (A-Ed)

Fortitudo

Caldara, Antonio	<i>M. Fortitudinis</i> (A-Ws, CZ-Pak)
Fux, Johann Joseph	<i>M. Fortitudinis</i> (CZ-Pkriz); <i>M. Fortitudinis, et Prudentiae</i> (CZ-Pkriz)
Donberger, Georg	<i>M. Dominus fortitudo mea</i> (A-H)
Tuma, Franz	<i>M. De dono fortitudinis</i> (CZ-Pak)

Gratitudo

Caldara, Antonio	<i>M. Deo gratias</i> (A-GÖ, A-KR); <i>M. Gratiarum</i> (A-Ws); <i>M. Gratitudeinis</i> (A-H, CZ-Pkriz)
Donberger, Georg	<i>M. Gratiiosa</i> (A-H, A-Ws)
Fux, Johann Joseph	<i>M. Divinae Gratiae</i> (A-Ws); <i>M. Gratiarum actionis</i> (CZ-Pkriz)
Pruneder, Franz Gerhard	<i>M. Pro Rorate brevis et Gratiiosa</i> (CZ-Pkriz)
Reinhardt, Johann Georg	<i>M. Gratiiosa et dominicalis Benedicat nos Deus</i> (CZ-Pak)

Humilitas

Caldara, Antonio	<i>M. Humilitatis</i> (CZ-Pak)
Fux, Johann Joseph	<i>M. Humilitatis</i> (A-H)

Jucunditas

Caldara, Antonio	<i>M. Jucunditatis</i> (CZ-Pak)
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Justitia

Caldara, Antonio	<i>M. Justitiae</i> (CZ-Pak)
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Largitas

Caldara, Antonio	<i>M. Largitatis</i> (CZ-Pak)
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Modestia

Tuma, Franz	<i>M. Brevis Modestiae</i> (CZ-Pak)
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Patientia

Caldara, Antonio	<i>M. Patientiae</i> (CZ-Pak)
Tuma, Franz	<i>M. Patientiae</i> (A-Ws)

Pietas

Caldara, Antonio
Tuma, Franz

M. Pietatis (CZ-Pak)
M. De dono pietatis (CZ-Pak)

Promptitudo

Caldara, Antonio

M. Brevis Promptitudinis (CZ-Pak)

Prudentia

Caldara, Antonio
Fux, Johann Joseph

M. Brevis prudentiae (CZ-Pak)
M. Fortitudinis, et Prudentiae (CZ-Pkriz)

Resignatio

Ziani, Marc' Antonio

M. Resignationis (A-H)

Reverentia

Caldara, Antonio
Prustmann, Ignaz

M. Reverentia Divini nominis (CZ-Pak)
M. Summae reverentiae (CZ-Pak)

Satisfactio

Caldara, Antonio

M. Satisfactionis (A-Ws)

Spes

Caldara, Antonio

M. Bonae Spei (A-Ws); *M. Bonae Spei* (CZ-Pkriz); *M. Concertata Spei firmae* (CZ-Pak); *M. In spe resurrectionis* (A-Ws)

Carl, Anton

M. Spera in Deum (A-H, A-HE)

Donberger, Georg

M. Bonae Spei (A-H), *M. Bonae Spei* (A-HE)

Fux, Johann Joseph

M. Bonae Spei (A-Ws)

Holzbauer, Ignaz

M. In Deo spes mea (A-GÖ)

Öttl, Matthias

M. Spei (A-KR), *M. Spei Solemnissima* (A-Ws)

Sehling, Joseph Antonin

M. Bonae spei (CZ-Pak)

Werner, Gregor

M. Bonae spei (A-Ed, A-GÖ, A-SEI, CZ-Pak);
M. Melioris Spei (A-Ed, A-H, A-HE)

Temperantia

Fux, Johann Joseph
Ziani, Marc' Antonio

M. Temperantiae (A-H)
M. Temperantiae (CZ-Pkriz)

Veneratio

Caldara, Antonio

M. Venerationis in honorem Beatae Mariae Virginis (A-Sd)

APPENDIX II

*Wilhelm Lamormaini, Ferdinandi II. Romanorum Imperatoris virtutes
(1638), table of contents*

- Cap. 1. Fides & Catholicae Religionis Zelus
- Cap. 2. Spes & Fiducia in Deum
- Cap. 3. Charitas in Deum
- Cap. 4. Pia Sacramentorum frequentorum, ac Eucharistiae cultus
- Cap. 5. Oratorio, & Lectio Sacra
- Cap. 6. Conformitas Voluntatis cum divina
- Cap. 7. Devotio erga Virginem Dei Matris
- Cap. 8. Devotio in Sanctos
- Cap. 9. Reverentia in Sacerdotes
- Cap. 10. Pietas erga Parentes, & suos
- Cap. 11. Humilitas, & sui ipsius Contemptus
- Cap. 12. Sinceritas & animi Candor
- Cap. 13. Contemptus honorum & opum
- Cap. 14. Mortificatio, & Penitentiae
- Cap. 15. Castitas
- Cap. 16. Patientia
- Cap. 17. Constantia, in adversis aequae ac prosperis
- Cap. 18. Labores
- Cap. 19. Recreationes
- Cap. 20. Prudentia & gubernandi ratio
- Cap. 21. Charitas in proximos & inimicos
- Cap. 22. Humanitas & Benignitas in omnes
- Cap. 23. Justitia cum clementia
- Cap. 24. Liberalitas ac Munificentia
- Cap. 25. Amor ac Beneficia in Clerum, ac Religiosas Familias
- Cap. 26. Beneficia in Pauperes
- Cap. 27. Studium Literas promovendi
- Cap. 28. Quaedam in Ferdinando mira
- Cap. 29. Singularis divinae Protectionis argumenta
- Cap. 30. Summorum Virorum Testimonia

APPENDIX III

Virtue Masses by Johann Joseph Fux

- a) Works surviving in the archives of the imperial court chapel (now Austrian National Library)

M. Confidentiae
M. Constantiae
M. Humilitatis
M. Temperantiae

- b) Works surviving in collections other than the archives of the imperial court chapel

M. Bonae Spei (Vienna, Schottenstift)
M. Charitatis (Prague, Knights of the Red Cross; Prague, St. Vitus' Cathedral as *M. Refrigerii*)
M. Divinae Gratiae (Vienna, Schottenstift)
M. Fiduciae (Prague, Knights of the Red Cross; Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek)
M. Fortitudinis (Prague, Knights of the Red Cross)
M. Fortitudinis, et Prudentiae (Prague, Knights of the Red Cross)
M. Gratiarum actionis (Prague, Knights of the Red Cross)

Lost: *M. Temperantiae* (listed in 1751 catalog of Herzogenburg Abbey)

APPENDIX IV

Virtue Masses by Antonio Caldara in the archives of St. Vitus' Cathedral

M. Benignitatis (solenne)
M. Brevis Promptitudinis
M. Concertata Spei firmae
M. Devotionis (solenne)
M. Fortitudinis
M. Humilitatis (solenne)
M. Justitiae
M. Largitatis
M. Patientiae (solenne)
M. Satisfactionis (solenne)

Masses designated after other virtues in other collections

<i>M. Brevis prudentiae</i>	<i>M. Deo gratias</i> (A-GÖ, A-KR)
<i>M. Fidei vivae</i> (solenne)	<i>M. Bona spei</i> (A-Ws); <i>M. Gratitudeinis</i> (CZ-Pkriz)
<i>M. Pietatis</i> (solenne)	<i>M. Bonae spei</i> (CZ-Pkriz)
<i>M. Jucunditatis</i> (solenne)	<i>M. Venerationis in honorem Beatae Mariae Virginis</i> (A-Wgm, A-Sd); <i>M. Integra</i> (CZ-Pkriz)

Masses with 'non-virtuous' titles in other collections

<i>M. Adolorata Charitatis perfectae</i> (solenne)	<i>M. Sancti Augustini</i> (A-Ws); <i>Messa panis quotidianis</i> (CZ-Pkriz)
<i>M. Diligentiae</i>	<i>M. Sancti Francisci</i> (A-Wn, A-KR); <i>M. Aulica</i> (CZ-Pkriz)
<i>M. Reverentia Divini nominis</i> (solenne)	<i>M. Sanctae Scholasticae</i> (A-Wn, A-Ws, A-Sd); <i>M. Speciosa</i> (CZ-Pkriz)

