This second and final volume of Derek Beales’s magisterial biography of the emperor Joseph II describes the period when he was sole ruler of the Austrian Monarchy. Influenced partly by Enlightenment ideals, Joseph relaxed censorship, introduced wide-ranging religious toleration and fostered a ‘new Catholicism’, whilst Mozart’s music, the greatest cultural achievement of his reign, owed much to Joseph’s patronage. He also abolished personal serfdom and diminished the nobles’ power, seeking to achieve full personal control over all his provinces. Opposition became serious when his hyperactive foreign policy landed him in war against the Turks, and he died with his Belgian provinces in rebel hands and Hungary threatened by revolt and invasion. Though these pressures forced Joseph to withdraw some of his measures, Derek Beales argues that he left an indelible mark on the history of all his lands, which now form part of more than a dozen modern states.

Frontispiece. Joseph II, in uniform, holding his general’s baton, with his decrees on toleration, censorship and serfdom. The picture is presumed to have been painted, probably in 1782, by F. H. Füger, who produced several similar portraits, though with different props. Melk abbey collection. Photo: P. Lukas Roitner, Stift Melk.
JOSEPH II

II

Against the World

1780–1790

DEREK BEALES
For Conrad and Tara

– a rather long story
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Preface

In the twenty years since the first volume of this biography was published, I have continued to receive most generous help from many institutions and individuals.

I was awarded a Leverhulme 2000 Emeritus Fellowship, which made possible a renewed assault on the archives, including a too brief foray to Moscow. I am grateful for the grants I received for travel and research expenses from the British Academy, Sidney Sussex College, the Faculty of History and the University of Cambridge.

I had the privilege of being shown by the Federal President of the Austrian Republic the room in the Hofburg which was Joseph II’s study.

I wish to thank the archivists and librarians who have taken much trouble on my behalf at the following institutions: in Austria the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, the Nationalbibliothek, the Kriegsarchiv, the Stadtbibliothek, the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien and the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, all in Vienna, and the abbeys of Melk and St Florian; in Hungary the National Archives and the National Library in Budapest and the abbey of Pannonhalma; in Italy the Archivi di Stato in Venice, Milan and Turin; in Russia the State Archive and the Foreign Policy Archive in Moscow; in Belgium the Royal Archives and the National Library in Brussels, the Library of the University of Ghent and the abbey of Tongerlo; the State Archive in Luxembourg; in Germany, first in Merseburg and then in Berlin, the Prussian State Archives; in Britain the British Library and the National Archives, the University and Seeley Historical Libraries at Cambridge, the Bodleian Library at Oxford and the Brotherton Library at Leeds; and in the United States the Austrian Studies Centres at the University of Minnesota and Stanford University. Lord Barnard generously enabled me to see his ancestor’s Vienna diary at Raby Castle. Count Johann Trauttmandorff kindly gave me permission to study the papers of his forebear Count Ferdinand in the Vienna archives.

I have been treated by other scholars with great generosity. A remarkably high proportion of those I am about to list have not only helped, encouraged and entertained me but have also given me copies of their
books and articles. The most moving case is that of the late Professor Éva Balázs, who, having assisted my work in many ways over more than thirty years, sent me the English translation of her Berzeviczy on the day of her death. I owe particular thanks to the following persons outside Britain: the late Count (Franco) Arese; Dr Leopold Auer; Dr J. Benda; the late Professor Kálmán Benda; Professor Paul Bernard; Dr Barbara Bowlus; Professor Wilhelm Brauneder; Professor Carlo Capra; Professor Herman Coppens; Professor Moritz Csáky; Fr. Umberto Dell’Orto; Professor Erich Donnert; Dr Eva Faber; Professor Andreas Fahrmeir; Mag. Elisabeth Fattinger; Dr Franz Fillafier; Dr Peter Frank; Dr Johannes Frimmel; Dr Klaus Fuchs; Professor Elisabeth Garms-Cornides; Dr William Godsey; Dr Martina Greščenková; Dr Waltraud Heindl; Dr Éva Hóos; Dr György Kelényi; Professor János Kálmár; Dr Olga Khavanova; Professor Harm Klueting; Professor László Kontler; the late professor Béla Köpeczi; the late professor Domokos Kosáry; Dr Elisabeth Kovács; Dr Eva Kowalska; Dr Bettina Krenn; Dr K. Kulczar; Dr Jaroslav Macék; Dr Matthew Mayer; Professor Lorenz Mikoletzky; Professor Ingrid Mittenzwe; Dr Ferenc Molnár; Professor Werner Ogris; Professor Gustav Otruba; Armgard Gräfin von Reden-Dohna; Professor Jan Roegiers; Professor Éva Ring; Professor Eda Sagarra; Professor Hagen Schulze; Professor Franz Szabo; Professor Hedwig Szabolcsi; Dr Orsolya Szákaly; Dr Antal Szántay; Dr Istvan Szijártó; the late Dr Christiane Thomas; the late Professor Istvan Tóth, the Marquis de Trazegnies; Dr Gábor Tüsksé; Dr Geert Van den Bossche; Dr L. C. Van Dijck; Professor J. A. van Houtte; Dr Marta Velladics; Professor Karl Vöcelka; Professor Grete Walther-Klingenstei; the late Professor Adam Wandruszka; Professor Ernst Wangermann; Professor Peter Wende; Professor William E. Wright; and Dr Renate Zedinger.

Working in Russian archives poses special problems, about which Professor Anthony Cross, Professor Simon Dixon, Professor Isabel de Madariaga and Mr Simon Sebag-Montefiore gave me indispensable guidance. In Moscow I would like to acknowledge the help and kindness of Professor Alexander Kamensky, Professor Petr Stegnyi, Dr Galina Babkova, Dr Igor Grigorovitch and the staff in the State Archive.

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On Mozart and music I am indebted for help and instruction to a number of experts: Dr David Black, who most generously gave me a copy of his thesis and read and commented on my musical sections; the late Professor Peter Branscombe, who encouraged me over many years and also read these sections; Mr Bruce Cooper Clarke; Dr Dorothea Link; the late Dr John Rosselli; the late Dr Stanley Sadie; and Dr Julie-Anne Sadie. Professor Tim Blanning has read my text, having done everything he could over more than thirty years to advance the project. Professor Hamish Scott has been generous in numerous ways and commented on the chapters concerned with foreign policy. Discussions with Dr Tim Hochstrasser have illuminated many aspects of the subject, and he has read and criticised the Conclusion, to its advantage. Prof. Barry Nisbet has always been ready to discuss issues arising and has helped me with the translation of difficult German passages. Two others deserve special thanks for the inspiration of their writings, their never-flagging interest and their penetrating comments: Professor Peter Dickson and Dr Michael Hochedlinger. But of course neither they, nor any of the scholars mentioned, should be held responsible for anything in my final text.

I am grateful to the Cambridge University Press, and in particular to Mr William Davies, for maintaining their interest in this project for thirty years. Mr Michael Watson, Ms Helen Waterhouse and Ms Jodie Barnes have taken much time and trouble to ensure the appearance of the second volume in a format matching that of the first. Maps 2–5 are the product of Mr Ian Agnew’s skill and patience. The copy editor for this volume, Dr Rosemary Williams, by her exact and penetrating comments, has greatly improved the text and notes.

My daughter Kitty and my son Richard have always been ready to assist, especially with computing problems. My wife Sally has read the whole text and substantially improved it. But she has done and endured much more in order to help me to write and finish the book. My principal debt is again to her.
Abbreviations

AGR

Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels

AHP

Archivium Historiae Pontificiae

AHY

Austrian History Yearbook

ANL

Archives Nationales de Luxembourg

AÖG

Archiv für österreichische Geschichte

Arneth

Alfred Ritter von Arneth (ed.)

GMT

Geschichte Maria Theresias (10 vols., Vienna, 1863–79)

JuK

Joseph II. und Katharina von Russland: Ihr Briefwechsel (Vienna, 1869)

JuL

Joseph II. und Leopold von Toscan: Ihr Briefwechsel von 1781 bis 1790 (2 vols., Vienna, 1872)

MTuJ

Maria Theresia und Joseph II.: Ihre Correspondenz (3 vols., Vienna, 1867–8)

Arneth & Flammermont


AST

Archivio di Stato, Turin

ASV

Archivio di Stato, Venice

ASVNV

Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Nunziatura a Vienna, Vatican

BCRH

Bulletin de la Commission Royale d’Histoire

Beer, JLuK

A. Beer (ed.), Joseph II., Leopold II. und Kaunitz: Ihr Briefwechsel (Vienna, 1873)

BL

British Library, London

C.

Catherine II of Russia

EcHR

Economic History Review

EHR

English Historical Review

E. L.

Eleonore Liechtenstein

F. II

Frederick II of Prussia

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List of abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>FRA</td>
<td>Fontes Rerum Austriacarum</td>
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<td>F. W. (II)</td>
<td>Frederick William (II) of Prussia</td>
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<tr>
<td>HHSA</td>
<td>Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (now National Archives), Vienna*</td>
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<tr>
<td>FA</td>
<td>Familien-Archiv</td>
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<tr>
<td>HBP</td>
<td>Handbilletenprotokolle</td>
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<td>NL</td>
<td>Nachlass Lacy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sbde</td>
<td>Sammelbände</td>
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<tr>
<td>SKV</td>
<td>Staatskanzlei Vorträge</td>
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<tr>
<td>StK</td>
<td>Staatskanzlei</td>
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<tr>
<td>TZ</td>
<td>Tagebuch Zinzendorf</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZA</td>
<td>Zeremonial-Akten</td>
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<tr>
<td>HJ</td>
<td>Historical Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>HMSW</td>
<td>Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hock, Staatsrath</td>
<td>C. von Hock and H. I. Bidermann, Der Österreichische Staatsrath (1760–1848) (Vienna, 1879)</td>
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<tr>
<td>HZ</td>
<td>Historische Zeitschrift</td>
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<td>IHR</td>
<td>International History Review</td>
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<td>J.</td>
<td>Joseph II</td>
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<tr>
<td>JbGrG</td>
<td>Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEH</td>
<td>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JGPÖ</td>
<td>Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich</td>
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<tr>
<td>JMH</td>
<td>Journal of Modern History</td>
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<td>JuLC</td>
<td>A. Beer and J. von Fiedler (eds.), Joseph II. und Graf Ludwig Cobenzl: Ihr Briefwechsel (2 vols., Vienna, 1901)</td>
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<tr>
<td>JuT</td>
<td>H. Schlitter (ed.), Geheime Correspondenz Josefs II. mit ... Ferdinand Grafen Trautmannsdorff, 1787–1789 (Vienna, 1902)</td>
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<td>K.</td>
<td>Kaunitz</td>
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<td>KAW</td>
<td>Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften</td>
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<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>Leopold II., Grand Duke of Tuscany 1765–90, ruler of the Monarchy and emperor, 1790–2</td>
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List of abbreviations

L. C. Ludwig Cobenzl
L. K. Leopoldine Kaunitz
LuMC A. Wolf (ed.), Leopold II. und Marie Christine. Ihr Briefwechsel (1781–1792) (Vienna, 1867)
MARB in-8o Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires, publiés par l’Académie Royale des Sciences et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, collection in-8o
M. C. Marie Christine, archduchess of Austria
M. F. Max Franz, Joseph’s younger brother
MIÖG/MÖIG Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung / Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung
Mitrofanov P. von Mitrofanov, Joseph II. Seine politische und kulturelle Tätigkeit, trans. from the Russian 1907 edn by V. von Demelic (2 vols., Vienna, 1910)
MOL Magyar Országos Levéltár (Hungarian National Archives, Budapest)
AG Acta Generalia
MÖSA Mitteilungen der österreichischen Staatsarchivs
M. T. Maria Theresa
MTIZ W. Koschatzky (ed.), Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit (2nd edn, Vienna, 1980)
MVGSW Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien
ÖAW Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
ÖGL Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur
ÖNB Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
OPBA Recueil des ordonnances des Pays-Bas autrichiens, 3e série, 1700–1794, vols. xii (1780–1786) and xiii (1786–1790), ed. P. Verhaegen
ÖZKJ Österreich zur Zeit Kaiser Josephs II. (catalogue of the exhibition held at Melk, 1980)
P. C. Philipp Cobenzl
Pf Preussische Jahrbücher
PRO Public Record Office, London (now National Archives)*
FO Foreign Office
SP State Papers
Relazione Leopold II’s account of his visit to Vienna, 1784 (HHSA FA Sbde 16)
List of abbreviations

RGADA  Rossiiskiy Gosurdastvenny Arkhiv Drevnikh Akhiv, Moscow

RH  Revue Historique

RSI  Rivista storica italiana

SIRIO  Sbornik imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva (St Petersburg, 1867–1916)

SOALpZ LRRA  Státni oblastní archiv v Litomericích, pobočka Zitenice (Czech state archives at Litomerice, Zitenice branch), Lobkowitz family archive

SR/SEER  Slavonic and East European Review (formerly Slavonic Review)

TAPS  Transactions of the American Philosophical Society

VKNGÖ  Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuer Geschichte Österreichs


WBGN  Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit

Wolf, E. L.  A. Wolf, Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein (Vienna, 1875)

Wurzbach  C. von Wurzbach, Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich 1750–1850 (60 vols., Vienna, 1856–91)

Z.  Count Karl von Zinzendorf

ZKG  Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte

ZStA  Zentral Staatsarchiv, Merseburg (now called ‘Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz’ and located in Berlin)*

* In referring to archive materials whose location and classification have changed since I wrote vol. I, I have adhered to the old descriptions, for the sake of consistency.