

- Günther G. Bauer

A note of introduction: The question of Mozart's finances in his Vienna years has long preoccupied Mozart biographical research. Scholars as diverse as Julia Moore, Maynard Solomon, and Volkmar Braunbehrens have sought for understanding. For his income in these years, there is some documentation; for his outgo, there is much less.

*This detailed analysis by Prof. Günther G. Bauer focuses on Mozart's day-to-day expenditures, those having to be made virtually daily: to keep him and his family warm, to have the light needed by the nocturnal Mozart to work, indeed, to buy the day's food and drink for the family, the servants, and the guests day in, day out. By and large, these were expenditures that had to be made **in cash**. Payment of the rent could be postponed, new clothes could be bought on credit, but firewood, candles, and food had to be paid for cash on the barrelhead. And, with Mozart's cash flow problems, that could sometimes be difficult. Prof. Bauer's meticulous examination of this aspect of Mozart's life in Vienna is a significant contribution to a better understanding of his financial picture.*

Mozart's High Costs for Light and Heat, 1781-1791

... den doppelten leuchter mit wachs vor meiner! der friseur ist accurat um 6 uhr gekommen – und Primus hat schon um halb 6 uhr eingefeuert, und mich um $\frac{3}{4}$ geweckt.
Mozart, Vienna 1791

ON SATURDAY, THE 8TH OF OCTOBER 1791, a week after the premiere of *Die Zauberflöte*, Mozart was again at his desk writing to his wife Constanze, who was in Baden taking the waters. He had already written the day before, about life in Vienna without her: "You should have seen me at suppertime yesterday! – I couldn't find the old tablecloth, so I took out a new one, white as snow – and set the double candelabra with wax candles in front of me! –" And then, a couple lines later: "– the barber came on the dot at 6 – and Primus had already lit the fires at 5:30, and gotten me up at 5:45, [...] – keep yourself cosy warm so you don't catch cold, I hope the waters will make this winter a good one for you [...]"¹

For Mozart, this winter – little did he suspect it would be his last – had begun even in early October with days that were cold and dark. Already at 5:30 in the morning, he had had the fires lighted in his rooms and in the kitchen of the apartment on the second floor of Rauhensteingasse 8 – the barber would need hot water to do his work – and then, by candlelight, he played two games of billiards against himself, drank his coffee black, smoked a "wonderful pipe of tobacco" and finally got down to work composing – still by candlelight – the

This is a translation of the article "Mozarts hohe Licht- und Heizkosten 1781-1792" by Univ.Prof. Dr. Günther G. Bauer published in the Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde, Salzburg 2008, pages 147-186. The article, somewhat abbreviated and with illustrations, will appear as a chapter in Prof. Bauer's forthcoming book, "Mozart Geld, Ruhm und Ehre", to be published by Verlag K. H. Bock, Bad Honnef, Germany, in September 2009. ISBN 978-3-86769-001-4.

ENDNOTES BEGIN AT PAGE 31. A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF MOZART'S 13 VIENNA RESIDENCES BEGINS AT PAGE 35.

rondo for Anton Stadler². When evening came, he dined alone by the light of two wax candles in the warm rooms, adding to the letter to Baden and working for another couple hours until almost midnight – as was his custom – on the clarinet concerto K.622 for his impatiently waiting friend and colleague³.

These few lines from his letter, hitherto given little attention in the realm of Mozart research, lead in fact to a series of interesting questions and considerations; after all, the abiding financial difficulties of the composer are well known. Could he really afford a servant, and the barber, and the wax candles, and – already in October – the expensive firewood? How many candles did his household use as a whole, with a billiard room no less, and what in fact did a pound of candles cost? What was the servant "Primus" (Joseph Deiner) paid for his service and – including tips – the barber? How much wood did the old stoves swallow in the course of a winter, especially when continuous heating had to begin already in October? In Vienna in those days, one cord of hardwood, cut and split, cost 11 Gulden 47 Kreuzer (roughly 350 Euro today) and in the course of six months, a large apartment would need around six to eight cords⁴.

Perhaps we should think the matter through in detail: For his work as composer, conductor, piano virtuoso and teacher, as a writer and a reader of letters as well as books and libretti, and not to forget, as a "passionate gamester", Mozart needed a large, quiet, warm, well lit and orderly place with a very good instrument. In this environment, often for hours at a time and well into the night, he had to work without interruption, writing, reading, composing, piano playing, even sometimes having to hold rehearsals and give lessons, receive friends and colleagues, and, for rest and diversion, to be able to join with them in a game of Tarock. There he could also perform his latest works for patrons and colleagues and, last but not least, receive visitors and admirers from home and abroad. Moreover, he was in constant need of a good instrument – either one of his own or a borrowed one – in other words, a *Hammerflügel* and/or a cembalo and other instruments, as well as his violin, his viola, et cetera. What this meant, of course, was that these instruments themselves needed a place with constant temperatures. On 22 September 1785, for example, Leopold Mozart had written (to his daughter in St. Gilgen): "As far as the fortepiano is concerned, it most certainly should not stand near the stove. [...] If it is very cold, you can move it a bit nearer to the side of the stove, only the instrument must not feel the heat of the stove too strongly."⁵

It was not only the sensitive and costly instruments, however, that needed to be brightly lit, warm, and well-treated but the discriminating and demanding young artist and musician as well. After all, he was always (don't forget, that means a total of 13 apartments in Vienna!) in need of a wood stove that worked well and of sufficient dry wood, chopped and ready at hand, as well as a substantial supply of good candles. In the autumn, in the prolonged winter, and the often late-arriving springtime, cold temperatures persisted, mornings were dark, and afternoons early lost the light of day. It is well known that Mozart often wrote and composed half the night away. Many of his letters (and that applies to his father too) were mostly written at midnight and later. And it was by candlelight too that he read his books and newspapers as well as his librettos and theater pieces, and devoted the extensive time needed in his study of the works of other composers such as Bach, Händel, and Haydn.

From the many letters Leopold Mozart wrote to Nannerl in St. Gilgen, we are well informed concerning lighting and heating requirements at the Tanzmeisterhaus in Salzburg. Unfortunately, we possess not nearly so much information for all 13 apartments taken together in which Mozart and his young wife Constanze had to endure many a hard winter. In addition, as regards Salzburg, we also have the interesting account of Leopold Mozart's estate from the autumn of 1787⁶, in which, for example, 18 various candlesticks and candelabra are enumerated, being what a large household needed as a minimum in those days⁷ (although strangely enough, there is no mention of ceiling and wall candelabra). The Mozart domicile on the Hannibal- or Ballhausplatz (today the Makartplatz) consisted of a total of eight rooms of different sizes: the Tanzmeistersaal, six rooms, a kitchen, and a storage room. All the rooms could be well heated. At the time, the Tanzmeisterhaus had eight wood stoves. The size of the chimneys tells us of four or five larger stoves, partly served from outside the rooms, and three smaller (iron?) stoves. In January 1779 when Leopold Mozart was seeking to prevent or postpone the visit of the Bäsle from Augsburg, he wrote to his son, then in Munich: "[...] if my niece wants to honor me with her presence, then she can come on later with the *Postwagen*, and in the meantime we will have to prepare the room where Mitzerl was, because as you know full well, the other rooms in front are not heated because of the terribly large woodstoves."⁸ The Tanzmeistersaal itself was sure to have had a "terribly large woodstove", but this must have been an allusion to the large range in the kitchen as well as the range used for laundry purposes that had a larger chimney on the inner court. The amount of wood required for the whole of Leopold Mozart's household must have been correspondingly great.⁹

During his years in Salzburg, 1774-1777 and 1779-1780, Mozart had his own room next to that of his then unmarried sister Nannerl, who occupied the corner room opposite the theater. Even the relatively large Tanzmeistersaal itself, in which Father Mozart had set up pianos destined for sale and where target shooting took place on Sundays and holidays, could be heated and for various reasons (such as music and dance rehearsals during carnival times before the start of Lent) was kept at a pleasant temperature throughout the cold months of the year. Family life apparently took place in a living room where music was played and guests were received, while a guest room provided accommodations for pupils such as the Marchand children¹¹ and musician colleagues passing through.

In 1785, after Grandfather Leopold had taken in his young grandchild "Leopoldl" for upbringing, he was reporting to the anxious mother in St. Gilgen on 14 October: "[...] because we're still having more September weather and the loveliest of days, little Leopoldl has not yet been moved into his room for the winter. It's certainly good we don't need to heat these days because we can't get any wood yet, and have to pay 3 Gulden for what does come in — there's a big ruckus in town because there's no wood yet; the farmers simply have other work to do."¹² And a week later: "[...] today again very cold, and now the freezing wind has brought snow [...]. 21st. Today in the morning, the child — who is feeling fine, thank goodness — moved over into a warm room."¹³

And then, three weeks later, the Grandfather was furious: "It's amazing how you have to beg for wood. A farmer promised to bring us 15 cords cheaper if we would take them a little at a time. Now he's gone and sold it at his farm to another farmer to make a profit from it."¹⁴

If the Mozart household needed 15 cords of firewood for the winter, then they would (under favorable circumstances) have had to pay 45 Gulden. In addition, you have to add the same amount again for bringing the wood to the house as well as for cutting and chopping it up, because eventually all the wood had to be stored in a woodshed ready for use. In years that were especially cold, moreover, the living quarters in the Tanzmeisterhaus would certainly have needed even more fuel.

As for the big kitchen, by no means was its need for firewood insignificant – and that for the year round, of course. Here water for all imaginable needs of five to seven persons had to be heated every day, and breakfast, lunch, afternoon coffee, and supper had to be prepared. Meat and vegetables had to be boiled for hours till they were soft and the usual dessert pastries such as cookies, cakes, and other desserts were baked there.

Embers were kept glowing in the large iron stove in the kitchen, in the morning to make the fires, during the day for the heavy cast-iron clothes iron, and at night for the copper warming-pans to keep the occupants from freezing in the icy beds. At one point in November 1784, Father Mozart was even forced to put an end to his letter-writing: "[...] because Thresel (Thresel Pänckl, the maid and cook) wants to go to sleep and then I won't have any embers to warm the bed, [...]"¹⁵ How often it must have been in those early years that the good Thresel had to put a hot warming-pan in the bed of "Master Wolfgang" working away well into the night!

In short, firewood for the needs of the kitchen was no less important than for the numerous heating stoves in the living quarters. And of course, the maid doing the laundry also needed a great deal of firewood for washing all the bed and table linens and the clothing.

When one speaks about heating with wood in those long, freezing and snow-bedecked winters along the Alpine mountains, one must also give a thought to the "Kachelöfen" – the large, mostly tiled stoves – and to the well-regarded Salzburg oven builders and not least to the numerous chimneysweeps who had to clean and service the constantly-used chimneys once a month. (That cost 20 to 30 Kreuzer each time and could, in the course of a year, add up to 10 to 20 Gulden, when you include tips and a New Year's donation.)¹⁶

The Tanzmeisterhaus had at least six chimneys, the most important certainly being the kitchen chimney on the inner court that was in use the whole year long.¹⁷ When the Mozart family moved into the Tanzmeisterhaus in the late autumn of 1774, all the necessary stoves appear to have been there already and the Salzburg stove builders received no business from the family of musicians (at least so far as we can conclude from letters and documents). That was certainly not to be taken for granted, however.

Take for example Munich where Mozart was living from November 1780 to March 1781 while completing his work on "Idomeneo" and waiting for its first performance: the rented quarters where he was staying obviously lacked a stove in one of the rooms. Writing back and forth, father and son mulled over whether it would make sense to have one installed: "[...] we can all room together. In my first room I have a large alcove with two beds — that would be lovely for you and me. But for my sister, there would be no other way, except — to have a stove put up in the other room — that would be a matter of about 4 or 5 Gulden — then one could heat it till it burst, leaving the doors open — and even so it would still not be comfortable — for it is bitterly cold in there."¹⁸ As mid-December came, Mozart was still pushing his father for a decision: "[...] please let me know at least eight days before you come so I can have a stove put up in the other room."¹⁹ Father Mozart, however, wanted to spare himself and his son such a big expense and on 11 January he wrote: "[...] concerning the stove, it occurs to me that perhaps it wouldn't be necessary to have one installed. Couldn't we put a bed in the room where you've been composing? and there are already 2 in the alcove. Of course, I'm not familiar with the place. But we can certainly make do with some inconvenience for such a short time: and anyways we'll not be there often. Your sister and I can sleep in the alcove, and you outside. We can live like gypsies and soldiers: that will be nothing new for us; do we expect it to be like home? — hopefully we can get something to eat in your rooms or somewhere in the vicinity. — Well, just do what you can."²⁰

This suggestion appears to have only partially satisfied Mozart, for he wrote his father in reply: "[...] there is nothing to be done about a stove, it costs too much — I'll have another bed put up in the room where the alcove is. We'll just have to make the best of things. —"²¹

From these three excerpts concerning the "Munich stove affair" we learn facts previously taken little into account in Mozart research: In the winter of 1780/81, Mozart was not living in the "Gasthof zur goldenen Sonne" of Herr Bogner in Thal²². These quarters would surely have been too expensive for him over the longer run. Instead, he was living nearby in the rented rooms of a certain Herr Fiat, on the third floor of the corner house, called "Sonneck", at Burgstrasse 6; in the 19th century there was even a "Gasthaus zum Mozart" here²³.

For almost five months, Mozart had rented a substantial work- and living room with an alcove with two beds. This room — father Leopold spoke of it as "[...] the room where you were composing" — evidently was well heated and Mozart could compose and work there undisturbed. Next door he had another room — but without a stove — in which he may have stored all his numerous pieces of luggage and where, when he had tired of composing, he could take a breather and stretch his legs.

Mozart obviously had no kitchen or other cooking facility, nor did he have a cook, and he had to go out to eat. Otherwise father Leopold wouldn't have queried if there wasn't somewhere to eat in the vicinity. On the other hand, Mozart must have had a house maid (together with Herr Fiat?) who would come to clean and straighten up, heat the stove, and supply him with fresh water. And incidentally, what about the barber who would come every day to shave the

Maestro and do his hair? And finally, there must have been someone who had to take care of his laundry needs, et cetera, ad infinitum.

In those days, when travelling away from home, the cost of food and drink generally came to about 1 Gulden a day. Thus for Mozart in Munich it added up to at least 150 Gulden. His rooms may have come to 25 Gulden but the "heating" was at least four times that. In Munich a cord of hardwood cost 5 Gulden, spruce wood 3 Gulden 30²⁵. To recall: when Mozart's mother was in Mannheim for the winter, for a single heating (either in the morning or at night), she had to pay 12 Kreuzer each time ²⁶.

If Mozart had been able to make do with but one pound of candles a day for his work, that still would have been at least another 25 Gulden. The carriages or sledges to the theater or to places where he had been invited and, later, to the balls and dances, as well as to official meetings and private visits, all this constituted another substantial continuing expense. If we assume an average of two trips at 30 Kreuzer each (with a tip), we quickly come to 75 Gulden. And when we factor in the many little expenses such as renting a piano, writing and note paper, postage, the druggist, tickets for the opera, concerts, balls and dances, the cobbler and the tailor, etc., etc., then we easily come to 1 Gulden per day more, and are justified in estimating Mozart's total Munich expenses to have been at least 450 Gulden²⁷. Whether Mozart received the usual fee of 450 Gulden for his opera "Idomeneo", however, is highly uncertain.

Let's turn back now to the Mozart household on the Hannibalplatz in Salzburg. When the weather was particularly bad, on cold fall and winter days, the Tanzmeistersaal was also used to "take a stroll at home." Father Mozart was thus able, at the end of October 1785, to make this offer to his daughter, then urgently in need of exercise: "[...] and if the weather is not favorable in the least, then you must try to take as much exercise in the house as you can. if you want to come to me, I will have the wood stove in the Saal heated."²⁸ The "wood stove" was clearly the large wood-fired stove in the Tanzmeistersaal that was used when needed on Sundays and public holidays.

Words little noticed in the letters make it clear that the Mozart family obviously often "went walking indoors" in the Tanzmeistersaal when the weather outside was dreadful and temperatures below freezing. For Wolfgang Mozart, who frequently sat for hours and into the night at his "composing-desk" or at the piano, this provided a ready-made opportunity to stretch his legs, get a little air, and relax at home. For these evening "visits" to the Tanzmeistersaal, he needed of course to have a lighted candlestick in hand or – more unusual perhaps – one of the many lanterns in the house. Which brings us to the question, just how many candles could Wolfgang Amadé, devoted as he was to writing and composing at night, in fact need and use? With his working habits, candles and candlelight were absolute necessities and when we take a close look at the daily (winter) routine as well as evenings and nights in the Mozart household, then we quickly conclude that one pound of candles frequently did not suffice!

To form a picture of the actual consumption of the expensive wax candles as well as the relatively cheaper tallow candles, it is useful to consider the large number of candlesticks found in the middle-class household of the Mozart family. In the inventory of Leopold Mozart's estate from the end of September 1787 (he

had died on 28 May), the following metallic candle sticks are listed: "4 identical table candlesticks / 2 inferior of same / one pair of silver table candlesticks / another pair of same / 2 smaller of same / 2 brass candlesticks / 2 others of same / 1 plated / one small hand candlestick / one lantern"²⁹. In addition, there is "one study lamp"³⁰. There were also 16 branched table candelabra, but surprisingly no others made of pewter! Perhaps Nannerl had taken these for herself. On 25 May 1780, in her diary, brother Wolfgang (!) had written in connection with the Feast of Corpus Christi: "[...] on 25th at seven thirty to the Hagenauers for target shooting, my brother took a pewter candlestick down to the procession [...]"³¹

It is also odd that the estate inventory makes no mention of small or large candle chandeliers, nor any wall-bracket candlesticks. Nevertheless: if on some festive occasion they had put candles in all of the candle holders, then it would have taken (at a minimum) 32 candles, or in other words around 2 pounds of candles. Cost: 30 Kreuzer.

There are unfortunately no documents from which we can determine exactly how many candles the Salzburg household of the Mozart family needed either for the winter or for the whole year. On the other hand, we have countless mentions of "candles" in letters that Leopold Mozart wrote to his daughter Nannerl in St. Gilgen. In the winter of 1784, for example, the father had to buy candles and soap by the pound in Salzburg for the family living in the (damp) *Bezirksgerichtshaus* (District Courthouse) on the Wolfgangsee because there was no soap maker in the little village of St. Gilgen. With the faithful housemaid Thresel Pänckl at his side, the old man began buying up candles throughout the town, in short, "hoarding." Even before the 12th of November he had managed to garner a large supply of candles and soap in the Salzkammergut: "expenditures: to the soap maker... 5 fl. 33 xr."³² Candles are not explicitly mentioned but it could have been 20 pounds or more. At the beginning of December, he sent his daughter another 13 pounds of candles, which at the time had only cost 12 Kreuzer for a pound³³. NB: there were about 14 candles in 1 pound. In January of 1786, the cost of a pound of candles was now 13 Kreuzer "[...] because everything has gone up".³⁴ In the following autumn and winter, the prices rose to 14 Kreuzer and it was more and more difficult to find enough. Just between 20 October and 8 December, Leopold Mozart forwarded 25 pounds of new candles that he had literally had to beg for³⁵. On 1 December, he was writing with some annoyance:

"Now the soap makers, with the tallow candles that were officially handed over to them from the supply depot, deliver them to the shop after they have been legally weighed, and there the candles will, from one in the afternoon until the evening, be weighed and sold in the presence of a clerk *who notes down the buyer etc.*, while two more clerks stand in front of the shop to keep order because the number of maids crowding around is naturally indescribable. — and moreover things are constantly changing between all the soap makers. That complicates matters of course, because there are always persons outside the city who would sell at a higher price and forward them. Well, we'll just have to make do with the bare necessities until things change."³⁶

Eight days later Father Leopold returned once more to the story of the "candle-malaise": "Now the offices with the candles have been so changed that *two huts* have been set up down by the butcher shop where *two soap makers* can sell at the same time, so that the people can get something sooner and don't have to stand around half the day waiting to get something, having to fight and shove for 1 or 2 pounds of candles."³⁷

On 18 January 1787, Leopold Mozart wrote to his daughter in St. Gilgen: "[...] Thresel has gone out to see if she can get a fresh cod fish today, and then for candles; because candles are now sold only on certain days, so I don't know whether she will get any, — and now in short: she will buy 4 lemons, which you can't get for less than 3 xr. [...] Thresel has just come back and I've wrapped up: 3 cod fish at 9 xr... —.27 xr / 4 pounds various candles bought for 14 xr..._.56 xr / 6 limes at 2 xr ½ ... —.15 xr (altogether) 1 f 38 xr [...] That's what I'm sending you. Now it's a quarter past 4, — and I hope the glass-carrier comes by. I'm ready!"³⁸

And finally, from the last of the surviving letters from her father, Nannerl learned: "we won't get any candles before the coming week, to send you the three pounds. It is incredible, candles now cost 15 xr ½ xr."³⁹

A word with respect to lights and candles for carrying, that is, procession candles, lamps, and lanterns: Lanterns were particularly essential. Today we know them almost solely as a folkloric relic in the hands of farmers in the mountains going to mass. In the late 18th century, however, every household had to have a whole collection of lanterns and the candles that went with them. To go to early mass through deep new-fallen snow, through streets and over sidewalks not yet cleared, in the "pitch-black darkness" of deepest winter — and then later, each person and every housewife having to light the way to the baker's for bread, to buy meat, and on market days, to the farmers and tradesmen, and then to "light the way home" again. And one needed lanterns too simply for going out (for example, to Cafe Staiger) through the unlit streets and lanes and public places, and not least for going to the dark and eerie cemeteries (such as those of St. Peter and St. Sebastian), where many a candle was brought along.

On 28 May 1787, life took its leave of Leopold Mozart. He was interred in a communal crypt in the well-known cemetery of St. Sebastian. What may have become of his funeral candle? And how many candles may have burned at his funeral and the requiem mass? And lastly: Who was it then that continued to keep Nannerl Mozart, the increasingly lonely Frau von Sonnenburg, and her family supplied with candles, soap and note paper in the fall and winter of this year and in all the years to come?⁴⁰ Little details like this could well have doubled the pain she felt at the death of her beloved father.

Almost totally ignored in the research into the cost of living of everyday life up to now have been the constantly recurring expenses for "cleanliness", or as one says today, for "health and hygiene". Soda, soap, and scouring powder were needed, especially for the floors and the kitchen tables, and there had to be brooms and brushes as well. And all manner of dish- and dust cloths in addition, not to mention floor polish and furniture wax. The large amount of soap in use reflects the needs of the laundrywoman as well as all the members of the household.

Not only did Mozart and his father need a warm and well-lighted room for their own work, but they also needed a place that was clean and inviting where colleagues, and guests, students and neighbors as well could be welcomed.

Expenses for the soap maker had turned up even in 1784. In January 1786, the tirelessly active father told his daughter: "11 pounds of soap are ready. Now they cost 12 xr, however."⁴¹ Later on, in mid-August, we learn: "Soap 14 pounds for 134 xr now paid."⁴² No further purchases of soap are mentioned by Leopold Mozart in his letters, but instead in March 1787: "2 hand brushes ... 16 xr and 2 shoe brushes ... 10 xr."⁴³ One can only try to imagine how many brooms and brushes his two maids, Thresel und Nandl, must have needed for the Tanzmeisterhaus over the years.

On 11 January 1775, Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen, a young Salzburg court councillor and friend of the Mozarts, was writing in his diary: "In the morning I paid the soap maker, then came the others as well." In Salzburg at the time, it was a New Year's custom to pay in advance an estimated amount for the soap and candles needed in the year to come. It would certainly be interesting to know just how much Schidenhofen had to budget on candles and soap for the large house at Getreidegasse 1. But of course in his circles, money was not a proper topic of conversation. It is also noteworthy that no mention was made of his domestic staff — no domestic, no lady's maid for his mother and sister, no cook, no laundrywoman, etc.⁴⁴

To round off the "operating costs" of the eight-room apartment in the Salzburg Tanzmeisterhaus, we must not overlook the wages and living costs of the two housemaids, Nandl and Thresel. They had to bring the wood and water up from the inner court, do all the demanding housework, then do the cooking and attend to the lonely widower, do the shopping, run errands, and, from 1785 on, look after the newborn Leopoldl:

"Another miracle is that Thresel and Nandl get along so well. Thresel is so inexpressibly fond of Leopoldl that she does all she can, puts up with every harsh word, washes; runs here and there, accepts any chore; — and the other one works in with her: when the child is asleep she does the housework for her if she has to go out, etc. etc: In a word everything Thresel does is for love of the child! She sings and plays with him, it's terribly funny; she takes Nandl's lunch to her, gives way to her in everything, all for the sake of Leopoldl."⁴⁵ The two women lived in the "servants quarters"⁴⁶ by the kitchen and received the usual yearly wage for servant girls of 12 to 15 Gulden. With that came clothing, aprons and shoes, tips and little gratuities for running errands. When we modestly reckon their breakfast, lunch, and supper with 6 Kreuzer per person per day, however, then these willing and helpful hands nevertheless cost 75 Gulden in the year. In other words, one arrives at about 100 Gulden. And after all, this household also had to have a laundry woman.⁴⁷ Such a capable and competent woman in Salzburg was paid, with food and tips, at least 15 gulden yearly.

In sum, the annual operating expenses of running Leopold's household could have looked something like this:

Rent	90 Gulden
Wood	75 Gulden + the chimney sweepers
Lighting	60 Gulden + tips
Soap	15 Gulden + brooms, brushes, etc.
Laundrywoman	15 Gulden + New Year's gratuity
Maids	26 Gulden + New Year's gratuity
Meals	75 Gulden (2 x 6 Kreuzer daily)
Meals for Leopold	104 Gulden (17 Kreuzer daily)
Cobbler/tailor	<u>12 Gulden</u>

(as a minimum) 472 Gulden

As vice-Kapellmeister, Leopold Mozart was paid 444 Gulden a year. From this, he also had to pay for carriages, postage, barber, newspapers, books, sheet music, paper, clockmaker, tobacco, apothecary, et cetera. In short, towards the end of his life Father Mozart must have had to think twice about every Kreuzer to be spent and was dependent on giving lessons and supplementary income or sales and on dipping into his savings!

— — —

For eleven years, 1781-1791, Wolfgang Mozart's fixed place of residence was the metropolis of Vienna. In this period of time, he lived in 13 different apartments and had 13 different addresses. To the question: "What costs did Mozart have in the household categories of heating – light – cleaning and hygiene?", we are hardly likely to find an answer for the first three "guest rooms". In the "Deutschordenhaus" (today Singerstrasse 7/Stephansplatz 4) he had free room and board until the first of May 1781. After leaving his despised service with Archbishop Colloredo and becoming a "free man", he first went to live "**In the Petersplatz**" for four months with the Weber family, known to him from Mannheim times. Actually it was in **Hause Innere Stadt 577 (today Milchgasse 1/Tuchlauben 6)**, which belonged to Eleonore Andres. Reporting to his father, he wrote: "[...] the old Madame Weber was so kind as to offer me her place — here I have my nice little room [...] on the 3d floor."⁴⁸ Because it was summer, there probably were no costs for heating. For lighting, cleaning, and other services, Mozart certainly would have made a substantial domestic contribution. How much is unknown.

His father, however, absolutely would not tolerate this practical arrangement for his son and so Mozart, against his will, had to move out on the first of September. He was able to accept the offer of the Imperial Court Purveyor Adam Isaac Arnsteiner who lived in the large **Haus Innere Stadt 1175 (today Graben 17)** and made a small but evidently very decent workroom available to him. (It was, by the way, only a few steps away from the Weber apartment and his beloved Constanze ...) Reporting to Salzburg, he said: "I now have a quite nicely furnished room on the Graben [...] and to have some quiet I have purposely not taken one on the street."⁴⁹ And in his next letter: "I'm writing to you now from my new room on the Graben No. 1175 on the 4th floor."⁵⁰ Later the father also learned: "[...] I only have one room, which is not large, and already so full with cupboard, table, and piano that I don't know where we could put a bed."⁵¹ This room, in which Mozart was to live for almost

a year, must have had a good stove and the necessary candlelight for "table and piano". Here Mozart would compose a series of sonatas, fugues, arias, and marches. But most importantly, it was here he composed the opera "Die Entführung aus dem Serail" K.384 that was premiered in the Vienna Burgtheater on 16 July 1782. Whether his benefactor Arnsteiner made the room as well as the living expenses, that is, the wood, candles and water – and the room services – available free of charge is not documented. It may well be and would have saved the composer from running up more debts.

Towards the end of July 1782, husband-to-be W.A. Mozart moved into the **Haus Innere Stadt No. 387 in the "Groshauptische Haus" or the Haus "Zum roten Säbel" in the Wipplingerstrasse (today Wipplingerstrasse 19/Färbergasse 5)**. In 1782, the building belonged to Johann Georg Groshaupt and, in 1787, to Franz Strecker Edler von Rautenstrauch⁵² and was the location of the so-called "Säbelkeller", one of Vienna's best-known wine cellars⁵³. At the end of August 1782, he wrote his father in Salzburg: "[...] you can't possibly know |: or perhaps you do:| where I'm living; – where do you think? – in the very same house where we lived 14 years ago – on the Hohe Brücke in the *grünwaldisch hause* – now however it's called the *Groshaubdische haus N° 387*."⁵⁴ It was here that Mozart was to bring his young wife following their marriage in St. Stephen's on 4 August 1782 and the wedding banquet hosted by Baroness Waldstätten. And it was here that the young married couple set up housekeeping for the first time and remained until December 1782. In the "Roten-Säbel Haus", Mozart composed the "Haffner Symphony" K.385 and a host of undated works up to the piano concerto in C major K.415. In this residence some 15 letters to his father in Salzburg were written as well as the few extant letters to his patroness and friend Baroness Martha Elisabeth Waldstätten.

The size of the apartment is unfortunately not known. If it was the same apartment in which the Mozart family had lived for a year in 1768, then it must certainly have had two or three rooms, a smaller room or cubicle, a kitchen, etc. and have been comfortably warm enough for the "Wunderkinder". Earlier, on 14 December 1768, Leopold Mozart had written from here to Salzburg: "I respectfully beg our dear Frau Hagenauer to procure some firewood for us. We will also have to get a maid if we don't want to have to light the fires ourselves, etc. and amuse ourselves with this kind of work. Whatever Frau Hagenauer does is done well as far as we are concerned. She can even get a very pretty maid, for my wife is not at all jealous."⁵⁵ It could have been the evidently easily heated Vienna apartment that inspired Father Mozart to these high-flown words. The rent for the apartment in the Groshauptische Haus could have come to 150-200 Gulden, the wood consumption for three months probably was around 30 Gulden, and for candles, for Mozart was known to compose a great deal at night, again the same amount. A maid would also be needed, and perhaps at least a cook for special occasions? According to present estimates of an income of 1526 Gulden (at a minimum)⁵⁶, Mozart was fundamentally able to afford this outlay – provided he had no large debts to pay off.

At this point, perhaps we should reflect: the newly married Mozarts in Vienna were faced with furnishing a household of their own. They needed: two beds, two wardrobes, two chests of drawers, shelves for books and music, a worktable with a small side table, a dining table with six or eight chairs, a sofa and a folding screen. And: table and bed linens, glasses, dishes, and various furnishings such as candlestick holders, mirrors and one or two clocks. In addition, a bed, cupboard, table and chair for the maid's room. All of this either had to be bought or borrowed from friends and patrons. Or one simply received this or that as gifts from the homes of the upper-classes. Nevertheless, taken altogether there were a hundred purchases to be made that cost much money when one wanted to have everything "pretty and proper".⁵⁷

Why it was that the married Mozarts moved out of this familiar and evidently comfortable apartment after only four or five months is not known. A possible reason could be that the next apartment was made available to them rent-free by Baron Raimund Wetzlar von Plankenstern.

Monsieur and Madame Mozart remained in the Wipplingerstrasse, however. They moved to **Haus 412 (today Wipplingerstrasse 14)**, owned by Count Joseph Herberstein. Mozart, reporting to his father six weeks (!) later on 22 January 1783: " — Yes — it just occurs to me that I keep forgetting to write you that since a month and a half ago I've had another place to live — still on the Hohe Brücke however — and only a few houses farther on; — now we're living in the small Herberstein house, N:412 in the 4th floor; near H: v: Wezlar — a rich Jew. — Now I have a room — 1000 feet long and one foot wide — and a bedroom — then a hall — and a quite large kitchen; — then there are also 2 rather large rooms next to ours that are still empty —"⁵⁸

The Mozarts did not have to pay any rent for this large apartment, as the son informed his father in Salzburg at the end of May. Baron Wetzlar von Plankenstern had invited them.

And in the same letter, after asking his father to send a Harlequin costume — carnival having already begun in Vienna, as well as the carnival balls at the city hall in Salzburg⁵⁹ — Mozart wrote: "we would rather not go to the masked balls, although they are in full swing. — we prefer the house balls. — last week I gave a ball in our apartment. — naturally the *chapeaus* had to pay 2 Gulden each. — we began in the evening at 6 o'clock and stopped at 7; — what, only one hour? — — in the morning at 7; Baron Wetzlar and she — were also there — as well as the Baron Waldstättens — H: v: Edelbach-Gilowsky, the old wind bag — the junior Stephani et uxor — Adamberger and wife — Lange and spouse — etc. etc: — I can't possible list them all —"⁶⁰

Experience suggests that, for the heating of this overlarge apartment, as well as its "quite large kitchen" and the laundry room (not specifically mentioned), one would have to reckon with 2-3 cords of firewood for the three winter months. Cost: 30-40 Gulden, in case Baron Wetzlar had not also donated the cost of the wood to his composer friend. In these three months, Mozart wrote a series of long letters to Salzburg and Mannheim, gave lessons to several aristocratic students, and composed a number of piano concertos as well as

several aria and fugues. And in addition to the aforementioned house ball (which perhaps could have come after an earlier, undocumented ball?), he also gave several concerts at home⁶¹.

More than 14 guests were present for this successful house ball, and for 13 hours, they ate and drank, played and danced. For his guests, the musicians, and the serving personnel, Mozart was able to adapt the two "empty" rooms and, in addition, his workroom – "1000 feet long and one foot wide" – surely was also involved. The bedroom would have served as cloakroom for the winter coats of the ladies and gentlemen.

The host undoubtedly had to have the "empty rooms" heated a couple days in advance, in other words, the entire apartment should – particularly for Constanze and the ladies Wetzlar, Waldstätten, Stephanie, Adamberger, and Lange – be comfortable, pleasant, and warm. The preparations would certainly have begun in the morning. A caterer brought the food and drinks, coffee, *Mandelmilch*, lemonade, and punch were made ready, and for his elegant guests, Mozart surely had an original and varied program in mind. Undoubtedly he also sat and played the piano and improvised for the entertainment of his prominent visitors. The maid, the cook, and two or three hired servants took care of the guests – and had constantly to attend to the lavish lighting, for the candles had to be renewed at least three times. (Perhaps Baron Wetzlar had lent Mozart the necessary candlestick holders from his apartment.) Because the "Mozart Ball" went on until early morning and the high society was accustomed to having wax candles, the brilliant lighting "in his humble abode" could easily have cost 6-8 Gulden. And so we grasp more readily why each *chapeau* (= male guest) had to pay 2 Gulden for "admission".

By the way, the occasion for this house ball could have been either (belatedly) Constanze's 21st birthday (5 January 1762) and/or (somewhat in advance) Wolfgang's 27th (27 January 1756).

At the beginning of February 1783, the Mozarts had to move out of the roomy "carnival apartment" in the Wipplingerstrasse into a smaller and less comfortable dwelling in the Kohlmarkt. For a brief three months, they had the address of **Innere Stadt No. 1179, the house was called "Zum englischen Gruss"**, the owner was a certain Freifrau von Prandau, and the sole actual advantage of this place was its proximity to the Burgtheater. Wolfgang, writing to his father about it: "—Now it occurs to me that I've been in the second apartment for some time, and haven't told you about it yet. — Baron Wetzlar had gotten a lady for his apartment. — as a favor to him, we moved betimes into a poor flat on the Kohlmarkt. — He took nothing for the 3 months that we lived there, however, and he also paid the costs of moving. Meanwhile, we looked for a better place; — and found it on the Juden Platz, where we are now. — *he* also paid everything for the Kohlmarkt. — our place now is *on the Juden Platz in the burgischen hause, N° 244 in the second floor*. — Now we hope for nothing more than being able to hug you both. — but can it be in Salzburg? — I hardly think so! —"⁶²

In these early months of 1783, Mozart often found himself short of cash, as shown by his appeals for help to Baroness Waldstätten, and hence the free quarters and the subsidised moving costs provided by Baron Wetzlar were a big and welcome assistance. On 21 May, he had reported to Salzburg: "[...] *he* (=

Raimund Wetzlar von Plankenstern) also paid everything for the Kohlmarkt.⁶³ It is not clear whether that means the generous patron also assumed the apartment's running and other expenses as well. In any event, in those late winter months, the "poor flat" had to be heated and – being on the narrow, dark Kohlmarkt – also needed appropriate lighting. His concert on 23 March in the nearby Burgtheater brought Mozart 1600 fl⁶⁴ and 25 Dukaten (= 112 fl 30 kr) from Emperor Joseph II as well; in short, the composer and performer could readily have paid for the apartment and its associated costs himself, as long as he was not caught up in having to pay back countless debts. At the same time, he was laying aside money for the birth of his first child⁶⁵ and believed that he was finally able to afford a "good place", in other words, an apartment in keeping with his artistic successes and his growing popular standing and reputation.

On 24 April 1783, the Mozarts moved from the unloved interim flat on the Kohlmarkt to one on the Judenplatz in the second floor of **Haus "Zur Mutter Gottes", Innere Stadt No. 244** (today corner of Judenplatz 3/Kurrentgasse 5). "The square is longer than it is wide, and has ten apartment buildings. When fairs are held, wooden stalls stand here offering the cutest little wooden pieces for sale. Otherwise, every day in the square from morning on, people are busy selling all kinds of vegetables."⁶⁶ In those days, the Judenplatz was Vienna's vegetable market and each morning began with a cacophony of noises and pungent smells.

Constanze was seven months pregnant; on the morning of 17 June she gave birth to their first child, Raimund Leopold, in this large and sumptuous apartment. The esteemed friend and patron Raimund Wetzlar von Plankenstern was named godfather⁶⁷.

Mozart had to begin to immerse himself in the role of being a father. For the first time, he found himself responsible for taking proper care of a large household. The apartment could have had two or three rooms, one or two smaller rooms, a kitchen, storage place for wood, and a cellar room. In this location, the rent could have amounted to 150-250 Gulden. In addition to her mother's help⁶⁸, Constanze almost certainly had a maid and a cook, and perhaps a wet nurse later who may have taken the "fat little boy" to stay with her at the end of July (?).

Both before and after the birth of the child, the new apartment had to be kept warm, great quantities of hot water were necessary, as well as a mountain of new candles, for here too Mozart stayed up late into the night composing (K417-K428)⁶⁹ and writing letters.

Now he had to prove himself as the young head of a household. Up until two years ago, he had never had to think about such things. Not only that: he probably didn't have the foggiest notion how many cords of firewood and how many pounds of candles a large household needed or indeed how much these basic essentials cost. To this point, he had lived for his music – and was accustomed to having his working quarters kept clean, warm and well-lighted and to having someone to take care of these mundane daily needs and free him from having to worry about them. His father, on the other hand, had run the large household on the Hannibalplatz in Salzburg to perfection. At the right

times, he had bought the necessary firewood from the tradesmen dealing in wood and laid in sufficient reserves of candles, thereby providing himself with sufficient light and heat in the event of supply shortages or rate increases. His son, it must be said, was never a proper head of a household, housefather, or "housekeeper." Or as Nissen wrote: "He was. . .not a good provider."⁷⁰

It is, in short, hard to imagine Mozart personally concerning himself with buying the firewood or the candle supplies and the myriad other needs of the new household. Can you picture a Mozart going off to the Schottentor to buy a couple cords of expensive hardwood from the local firewood dealers? Or choosing instead to stroll down to the Donaulände to search among the many firewood dealers for the best buy? On the contrary: in his unworldliness, he would have been an easy mark for being cheated and swindled by all these "firewood barons." But come summer of 1783, he was freed from all these concerns. At the end of July, he and Constanze traveled to Salzburg, leaving the six-week old Raimund Leopold to be looked after in Vienna, and remaining in Salzburg until the end of October. The duty visit turned out to be a failure, however. Following a further month spent in Linz, the couple returned at the end of November or early December to the empty apartment in the Haus "Zur Mutter Gottes" on the Judenplatz. The "good place" had brought them no luck: on the 19th of August, the longed-for son and heir had died in the suburb of Ober-Neustift No. 240⁷². The couple remained in the apartment on the Judenplatz until 23 January 1784, when they moved to the large, newly constructed Trattnerhof on the Graben.

As soon as he was back, Mozart got right to work with his composing and writing numerous long letters, thus perhaps using up all the expensive hardwood and the candles left over from the summer. Or he had to go buy a couple cords of wood and 40-60 pounds of candles or else have that taken care of by a new – and apparently unsatisfactory – maid. For soon thereafter, Constanze was looking for a new one to help with the housekeeping. This was the reason why Wolfgang, in a postscript to his letter of 10 December 1783, was writing: "P.S.: In connection with Tomaselli, don't forget: when you can, could you send us a couple images of the infant Jesus of Loretto? and then particularly concerning Liserl, the cousin of Theresel who often came to the house. If she wants to come to Vienna, we'll take her right away."⁷³

Exactly when Liserl Schwemmer arrived in Vienna is unknown. We know only that on the journey she made the acquaintance of a certain Herr Johannes. Normally new servants were engaged as of Candlemas (February 2). That would mean that the young lady from Salzburg had had to travel through ice and snow to reach Vienna. Who paid for her trip? Mozart? If he had had to pay the stagecoach after 1 March, these would have been expenditures that perhaps were entered in his record of expenses, but it was lost long ago ...⁷⁴

On 23 January 1784, Wolfgang and Constanze Mozart moved into a newly-built apartment in the much admired and imposing **Trattnerhof on the Vienna Graben (today Graben 29-29a)**. The building belonged to the Court Printer Johann Thomas von Trattner. His young wife Therese was a piano student of Mozart's. The Mozarts' apartment was located on the 4th floor; the yearly rent was 150 Gulden, but Trattner granted the composer a rebate of 20 Gulden. The new quarters were not very big (two rooms, a cubicle, and the kitchen), but extremely handy, for in the large building there was, among other

things, what we today would call a "multipurpose hall" in which Mozart gave his first subscription concerts. Moreover, it offered all the conveniences of a hotel with a casino.

It was described by Ignaz de Luca as follows: "Casino in the Trattner *Freyhof* on the Graben. The main entrance is in the Goldschmidtgasse, second door on the right, up one flight of stairs. The Casino is open at all times, *gratis*, to the high nobility, foreigners of distinction, officers of the Royal and Imperial army, senior officials, businessmen, bankers, traders, doctors, agents and persons in holy orders. The Casino opens at 8 a.m. each day and remains open as far into the night as there is company present. Coffee, chocolate, punch etc may be had at low prices. The foremost newspapers are available in German, French, Italian and English. Against deposit of the appropriate sum, tables are available for the permitted card and board games, as is also the case with billiards, at normal prices. At noon, luncheon is served *à table ronde* for thirty kreutzer; at 2 p.m. meals are to be had for one gulden. In the evenings, food is served at 9.30 at a cost of twenty kreutzer. One may eat alone or in company both at lunchtime and in the evening. The cost of drinks is not included. Musical amateurs are provided with instruments and music at no charge; just as lighting is also provided free at the music-stands. Weekly in the Carnival season, otherwise once every month, balls are held during the permitted hours. A subscription for all the balls in the year costs six ducats, for half the year four ducats, and for one month, one ducat. Young ladies who wish to attend the Casino balls have free entry, provided that they collect their tickets on the previous day. People who have not subscribed pay one gulden each time for entry into the dance hall. Gentleman subscribers have the right to give balls, concerts, picnics and games in the Casino at their own expense. Groups wishing to make use of the facilities for these purposes must announce their intention to the management six hours beforehand. With regard to picnics, etc, the announcement must always be made two days in advance. Herr von Füllenbau is the Casino's entrepreneur."⁷⁵ (*translation, Peter Branscombe*)

So those were the unusual surroundings in which Mozart was to live for eight months. Which of the various treats on offer he and Constanze took advantage of, and whether, as a passionate gamester, he sometimes sat at the table until midnight, playing and eating, has gone unrecorded⁷⁶.

The household expenses, especially for heating the place plus wood for the kitchen, can be estimated at 30 Gulden through to the end of September. Here, on 21 September 1784, the second son, Carl Thomas, was born. The wages paid the maid from Salzburg, who had to lug the wood and water up to the 4th floor, amounted to 12 Gulden. She was also expected to help the young pregnant wife as well as the cook mentioned in Mozart's letters⁷⁷. At the end of May, however, an annoyed son was writing his father: "[...] — besides she complained about the food, and that most impertinently: — she had to starve — the four of us, my wife, me, the cook and she, didn't have as much to eat as just she and her mother together would have ... you know that, at the time, I took this girl out of sheer pity for her, so that as a stranger in Vienna she would have some support. — we promised her 12 Gulden a year, which she was quite satisfied with although now she complains about it in her letter. — and what does she have to do? — clear away the table, bring in the food and take it out, and help my wife to put on and take off her clothes. — and by the way, apart from her sewing, she is the most clumsy and dumbest person in the world. —

she can't even start the fire, to say nothing of beginning to make the coffee. — and that certainly is something anyone who wants to be a housemaid ought to be able to do."⁷⁸

In this same letter, Mozart also wrote: "— it is midnight before we go to bed and we get up around 5 or 5:30."⁷⁹ In the Trattnerhof, the piano virtuoso composed, among other things, seven major piano concertos and performed at 22 concerts during the 1784 Lenten period.⁸⁰ The amount of candles consumed thereby must have been unusually high and, accordingly, again (at least) 30 Gulden!

In these eight months in the elegant Trattner quarters, the costs associated with heating and lighting, with the usual purchases and cleaning and maintenance, and with the payment of wages and other costs for four persons, could easily have amounted to 500 Gulden. In this year, however, Mozart earned (at least) ten times as much⁸¹.

At the end of September 1784, Mozart moved out of the 4th floor of the newly built Trattnerhof into the second floor of **Haus "Stadt No. 846" in the Grossen Schulerstrasse with the entry at Domgasse 8**. During his visit there in the winter months of 1785, his father wrote his sister: "[...] that your brother has a splendid place with all the decorations that go with the house you may conclude from the fact that he pays 480 fl rent."⁸² In short, the young composer and piano virtuoso could afford a large apartment, one appropriate to his income, right "in the shadow of St. Stephen's cathedral" in the inner city. The yearly rent was, in fact, 450 Gulden; the father, proud and impressed, had exaggerated a bit. Constanze having given birth to the second son in September, the young family now had enough room for the baby and a maid for the child. According to the 1787/88 city register of rent payments, the apartment in **the "Figarohaus"**, as it later came to be called, consisted of: "Four rooms, two smaller rooms, kitchen, attic space, cellar, 2 storage areas for wood."⁸³ Once the little family was settled in, various guests came to visit from time to time, such as Father Leopold (from 7 February until 25 April (!) 1785) and, somewhat later, the young Johann Nepomuk Hummel, who decades later could still recall the piano and the billiard table⁸⁴.

Whether the so-called "Camesina room" decorated with ornamental plasterwork served as Mozart's working place and the opera "Le nozze di Figaro" (K492) was written there is by no means certain. For one thing, in this small room there would hardly have been space enough for his new large Walter fortepiano with the "pedal" that went with it. It is known that there were two pianos, a large billiard table, and all the usual furniture, tables, wardrobes, chests of drawers, chairs, beds and smaller furniture items for (chiefly) four persons and (at least) two to three servants. This household had need of a strong young maid to bring up the wood and water from the court and the wood storage rooms below. Mozart had a male servant and Constanze, a chambermaid who probably also looked after the baby. (To recall: Grandfather Leopold in Salzburg occasionally had three women for his grandson "Leopoldl".)⁸⁵ And finally, there must certainly have been a cook who had to take care of meals for the family and guests, going to the nearby markets to buy food and cooking for the master and mistress of the house as well as the visitors, and, not to forget, for the other servants too. Last but not least, every

two weeks there was a laundry woman to be fed when she came to do the washing of the baby's things as well as the adults' clothing and the table and bed linens.

In other words, Mozart was living more upper-class, or even "like a lord", than in the manner befitting his station in society; for the rent and living expenses of this relatively large apartment, given the circumstances of the times, he needed a correspondingly ample income from concerts and compositions. Exactly how much these brought in is unfortunately not revealed either by personal records and/or other documentation. Nevertheless, we do have some important reliable indications.

For example, in Leopold's letters written from Vienna, we read: "[...] in his last concert your brother made 559 fl. [...]" And 20 lines further down: "[...] since I've been here, your brother's fortepiano has been taken out of the house and carried to the theater or to some other house at least twelve times (...) Every Friday it is taken to the Mehlgrube, and it has also been taken to Count Zichy's and Prince Kaunitz's [...]"⁸⁶ If we estimate the income from these 12 concerts (the Lenten concerts went on even 14 days longer) at an average of 330 Gulden each, then we arrive at an estimated net profit of 4000 Gulden in the 1785 Lenten season, a seemingly enormous sum. Keep in mind, for example, that Leopold Mozart had a yearly income of only about 450 Gulden.

How does it look on the outgo side, however? For the comments that follow, data and prices are drawn from a heretofore unpublicized pamphlet: "*At the beginning, look to the ending! or: a detailed calculation of costs for civil servants with incomes of 500 to 1000 fl. Anonym, Vienna 1788*".⁸⁷ For a "3 room apartment with kitchen and wood storage", the author calculates a yearly rent of 150 Gulden, for heating 60 Gulden, for candles 12 fl 10 kr, a cook "who must carry up the wood and water herself" 24 Gulden, a housemaid 20 Gulden, the washwoman 25 fl, and food and drink for the family a modest 470 fl – altogether 760 fl. The remaining 188 Gulden (because the husband only receives 949 Gulden of his 1000 Gulden yearly income) must serve for such things as clothing, hairdressers, doctors, medicines, toilet articles, various purchases, etc. (all closely calculated, of course).

Now, if for Mozart we assume a yearly rent of 450 Gulden, and if we project the expenses of the Mozart household solely for the three items, heating, lighting, and cleaning and maintenance, they could have looked like this (in the household expenses book that sadly has been lost):

HEATING COSTS: Concerning these, the anonymous civil servant adviser had this to say: "More rooms mean more wood. 6 cords of good, substantial wood for cooking, making breakfast, and heating (with wood chips for starting a fire), at 9 fl 36 per cord with all the associated costs add up to 58 Gulden."⁸⁸ We know that, for the rent on his apartment, Mozart paid three times as much, had four servants, and surely required a warmer place for himself, his family with the infant, and his guests, and, not to forget, for his musical instruments. Unfortunately we do not know how much the composer had to pay for a cord of good wood. (Four years later, Magdalene Hofdehmel was expecting to pay 11 fl 47xr for a cord.)⁸⁹ Wood prices in Vienna were not controlled by law. In this connection, de Luca has written: "[...] these wood kiosks (between Schottentor and Neuentor) are intended solely for the sale of hardwood. Formerly the

so-called wood dealers possessed the exclusive right for the sale of wood and were obliged to sell according to certain tariffs; now however these have been rescinded and the trade in wood declared open, and despite this, the price of wood still has not come down."⁹⁰ In Vienna, there were at least 41 wood retailers, ten wholesale dealers, 30 timber merchants, and 62 woodcutters.⁹¹ To repeat, we do not know from whom – or through whom(?) – and at what intervals Mozart bought his wood or had it purchased for him. Nevertheless, it must have involved a substantial sum of money. For the wood for the two storage rooms in the six months from October to April, we can surely reckon with 12 cords.

At an average price of 10 Gulden, Mozart would have had to pay 120 Gulden (3600 Euro). From April to September, the household probably could have made do with half as much, or 60 Gulden. Then, too, there were a number of other expenses. An ordinance required that chimneys be swept once a month; 12 times 30 Kreuzer plus a "New Year's gratuity" add up to (at least) 7 Gulden.⁹² Mozart probably did not have to have a new stove made for the expensive, empty "Figarohaus" but the appropriate utensils such as pokers and scrapers for embers and ashes for six stoves, plus the kitchen range and the laundry boiler, can easily be estimated at 3 Gulden.⁹³ And still, despite all the expense, the apartment was not comfortably warm. In his letter of 21 February 1785, Father Mozart complained: "*Tuesday the 22nd.* Early today have again drunk burr root tea and only gotten up at 10:30. Herr and Madame Lebrun were with us until half past one. At 2, we went out for lunch, as every day. Now, as I write, it is 5 o'clock again, it is snowing heavily and there is an astonishing wind which is wretchedly blowing through the room that anyways has little enough heat. I still haven't made any visits because I haven't yet taken a walk out of the house except to hear mass at St. Stephen's, which is very nearby. I am so put off by the freezing wind that I certainly won't make the trip home until milder weather comes."⁹⁴

And on 2 April, some six weeks later, we can read further: "I must stop for now because the floor waxer is dancing around the room. And I don't know of a warm corner in the whole apartment where I can write."⁹⁵ The windows in the Schulerstrasse obviously were not airtight and the man responsible for making the floors shine had to air out the place because otherwise the stench would be stifling. How often Mozart himself and Constanze fled from this procedure is not documented. Nor do we know what the floor waxer received for his monthly duties and the necessary floor wax.

LIGHTING COSTS: To be able to estimate the candle and lighting consumption of Mozart's large upper-class apartment with some confidence – and we unfortunately have no reliable documentation for it that even comes close to what we know of the Tanzmeisterhaus in Salzburg – it makes sense to compare the size of the two different apartments as well as their respective functions and the financial situation of their users. In his provincial middle-class apartment in Salzburg, the father had (at least) 16 branched candelabra. His famous son must have had (at least) just as many in his big-city apartment. In addition, there were the eight reflecting candlestick holders over the billiard table, so that Mozart could play at night. And in a large room there probably were in addition a branched candelabrum and some wall candlestick holders.

And we must keep in mind the candles in the swivel candlestick holders on the pianos and on the "late baroque" music stands, and the need for lantern candles, procession-, baptismal-, and mortuary-candles, as well as candles to give as presents or to donate.

How Mozart spent his day is well known. He began – even in the darkness of winter – at six in the morning and seldom stopped before midnight. That means in the mornings, he needed two to three hours of lighting with candles, and in the afternoons, evenings, and into the night, when he was composing or writing letters and/or sitting at the piano – and/or with guests – and/or playing billiards and cards, he needed another six to eight hours of good lighting. A normal candle would last for four hours, in other words, for his surroundings we must constantly estimate (at least) two pounds of candles. Nor let us forget Constanze and the servants, the long-term guests, the colleagues, as well as visitors and admirers! All that took place with (perhaps extravagant) illumination. And reading musical notes and playing *prima vista* from autographs and printed scores also demanded good lighting.

The (surviving) eight letters from Vienna (February to April 1785, more than 500 lines, after all, and with a quill pen) from "Honest Father Mozart" to his daughter in St. Gilgen were written almost entirely by candlelight. Just as in Salzburg, candles for lanterns and sleighs as well as for church and to seal letters, were needed – and on and on. According to de Luca, one pound of tallow candles in 1787 cost "a) molded, the pound – 16 kr/, b) common, the pound – 14 kr. Wax candles, table candles the pound 1 fl 3 kr."⁹⁶ Naturally, we don't know what sort of candles Mozart used. Probably for the most part it was the cheaper household candles costing 14-16 Kreuzer. When, however, important guests came or there was a house concert or some other festive occasion, then it must certainly have been – as in October 1791 – the expensive table candles costing four times as much. Just such a house concert in February 1785 has been documented. Invited were two brother Masons, Anton and Bartholomäus Tinti, and the "star guest" Josef Haydn: "on Saturday Herr *Joseph Haydn* and the 2 barons Tindi were with us, the new quartets were played but only *the 3 new ones* that he had added to the other 3 that we have, they are a bit less demanding to be sure, but wonderfully composed. Herr Haydn said to me: *As God is my witness, I tell you honestly, your son is the greatest composer I know either personally or by reputation. He has taste and, what is more, the most profound knowledge of composition*"⁹⁷, proudly reported Father Mozart.

This historic gathering, one that surely must have lasted well into the night and been accompanied by a festive evening meal for eight persons⁹⁸, most likely took place by the glow of countless fragrant wax candles to the honor of the prominent guest and the aristocratic audience. In textbooks, one only gets to read the well-known citation⁹⁹.

Incidentally: if you picture to yourself no more than 12 such "house concerts" for important personalities, guests and visiting travelers in the "Figarohaus" in the course of the year, you still must reckon with more than 24 Gulden for the non-drip beeswax candles. But back to the ones normally used, the much cheaper tallow candles: if we compare it with the usage in Salzburg's Tanzmeisterhaus that Leopold ran very thriftily, the assumption is justified –

given that Wolfgang Mozart had oriented his style of living on the nobility and the upper-class, had endless obligations, and especially because of his nocturnal working habits – that in the Schulerstrasse/Domgasse, Mozart in any event needed at least twice much. That means – again estimating a yearly average – 60 Gulden would hardly have been enough! Perhaps we should also consider that several new candelabra would have been required for the large apartment and the far from cheap billiard table lighting had to be bought. That brings us easily to another 25 Gulden. Taken all in all, that adds up to around 250 Gulden in the year.

In a word, the interim balance for heating and illumination together runs to about 450 Gulden.

HOUSEKEEPING AND CLEANING COSTS: For the Tanzmeisterhaus in Salzburg, these expenses, for soap, brushes, brooms etc., are known – closely figured, they add up to about 15 Gulden a year. With the enormous laundry needs of the Mozart family (on concert days, two, three or four fresh shirts!) even 30 Gulden wouldn't be enough. And the floor waxer dancing around in Leopold's room would also, if he came once a month, have cost – with the usual gratuities – 6 to 12 Gulden a year! The expenses for the usual day-in, day-out care of the apartment (not counting the servants' wages) also ran around 500 Gulden yearly. In the two and a half years that Mozart afforded himself the "Figarohaus", wood, candles, and soap etc. ate up more than 1000 Gulden! Almost exactly what the composer earned in Prague in 1787¹⁰⁰. Was this fact, one taken little into account up to now, one reason why, following his return from Prague in April 1787, he had to leave these noble quarters and move into a considerably cheaper place in the "Landstrasse"? Is this perhaps what Leopold was had in mind with his cryptic comment in his 11 May 1787 letter to his daughter: "Your brother is now living at Landstrasse No. 224. He doesn't write me any reason for this. Nothing! But I can unfortunately guess why."¹⁰¹

The move, with all the possessions and instruments they had accumulated in the "Figarohaus", could not have been easy, nor could it have been cheap. Nowhere do we learn whether Mozart took his valuable billiard table with him¹⁰². Could it be that on this occasion he had to sell many of his prized possessions – for lack of space as well as lack of money?

It was in the middle of February 1787 when the Mozarts had come back from their winter's trip to Prague to the elegant apartment in the Schulerstrasse. There the composer may have received – in the middle of April? – a visit from Ludwig van Beethoven¹⁰³ before he, surely with a heavy heart, had to leave the quarters they so enjoyed. The family moved to the suburb of Landstrasse into the house **Landstrasse No. 224 (today Landstrasse Hauptstrasse 75-77)**. Turning to de Luca for the 1787 entry "Landstrasse", we can read: "Both the handsome houses and the splendid streets and ways that this suburb has, as well as the affluence of its inhabitants, make this one of Vienna's leading suburbs."¹⁰⁴ And a page farther on: "The place has its own drugstore, 3 coffee houses, 1 bath, 14 local gardeners and 17 local butchers."¹⁰⁵ Mozart had been familiar with the area since 1768 and one reason for picking it may have been the fact that the Jacquin family lived in the neighborhood. He was good friends with the young Gottfried von Jacquin whose sister Franziska was one of his piano students. In the summer of 1786, Mozart had often visited the Jacquin family in

their large house on the edge of the "Akademic Botaniker Garden". In those days, they had made music for hours at a time as well as playing ninepins when the weather was good¹⁰⁶. The so-called "Kegelstatt-Trio" K.498 is supposed to have been composed on one such an occasion and on the autograph of the sketched-out twelve duos for horns K.487 one can read: "...while playing ninepins"¹⁰⁷.

The ground level summer place in Landstrasse opened onto a yard and consisted of "a room, a smaller room, an arbor, kitchen, pantry, woodshed and attic". The yearly rent was 150 Gulden, or little more than a third of that for the "Figarohaus". The owners were Joseph Urban Weber and his wife Sophie Josepha¹⁰⁸.

It was here that news of his father's death on 28 May 1787 finally reached Mozart. A few days later, he was writing to Gottfried von Jacquin: "I must tell you that today, when I came home, I got the sad news of the death of my beloved father. You can imagine how I feel!"¹⁰⁹ And in these same confined four walls, moreover, he also learned of the death of his doctor and friend Sigmund Barisani¹¹⁰.

In the nine months living in the Landstrasse suburb, Mozart entered 11 works in his thematic catalog, K.517-K.527, including such well-known works as "Eine kleine Nachtmusik" K.525, "Ein musikalischer Spass" K.522, and the A-major violin sonata K.526¹¹¹.

A major portion of the opera "Don Giovanni" K.527 was also composed in his Landstrasse summer house, being brought to completion on 28 October in Prague. His librettist Lorenzo da Ponte will certainly have visited him occasionally in his suburban domicile. How much of the more than 560-page score came into being in the arbor and yard of the apartment in House No. 224 cannot be determined but it could have been the larger part. (An early copy of "Don Giovanni" recently offered for sale in London, by the way, had 992 pages!)¹¹² On 1 October, Mozart, together with his once-again pregnant wife Constanze, was underway to Prague for the premiere, which took place only on 29 October. The composer reported the great success of the premiere in a long letter to his friend Jacquin, making the Landstrasse suburb the first to learn of the triumph¹¹³. With the middle of November, the Mozarts were back in Vienna. They were to remain in their "much too small" summer house only until the beginning of December.

Now to our inquiry: The small household probably needed relatively little wood for heating, a bit more for cooking and such, but these expenses couldn't have been great. Not so with the frequent trips by fiacre into the inner city and back, however, for Mozart had constantly to meet with Lorenzo da Ponte to get the opera's text. Because the composer of "Don Giovanni" and other works previously mentioned probably did much of his work at night as was his custom, we can justifiably assume a correspondingly high consumption of candles. For neither wood nor candle expenses here are there any documents or records but, for firewood, we can probably assume costs analogous to those known from Viennese household accounts and, for the lighting by which these masterworks were written, we must estimate five, eight or even ten times as much.

Finally, with respect to Landstrasse costs, more than 1000 pages of manuscript paper were used¹¹⁴, to say nothing of a couple hundred quill pens and three or four bottles of ink¹¹⁵. How often the composer ordered a strong "Coffe" delivered from the nearby coffee houses or Constanze – as in Prague – had to make him a hefty glass of punch is unfortunately not to be found in any record or in subsequent Mozart anecdotes¹¹⁶.

The decisive reason for moving back into the inner city in the vicinity of the Burgtheater and his earlier sphere of activity undoubtedly was the news that Emperor Joseph II had named him *Kammerkompositeur*; now he could count on a regular income and afford himself a costly apartment, one befitting his new station.

As December began, the Mozart family (Wolfgang, the very pregnant Constanze, Carl, and a maid) moved to the inner city once more. **House No. 281 at the corner of Tuchlauben and Schultergasse (today Tuchlauben 27/ Schultergasse 2)** belonged to a certain Johann Maurer¹¹⁷. We can assume that the rent for a small two-room apartment in this location came to 225-250 Gulden (or about half of that for the "Figarohaus"). Mozart must have figured that he could afford this apartment now because, with the decree of 7 December as Court Kammerkompositeur, he would have a fixed income of 800 Gulden per year!

On 27 December, Constanze gave birth to their fourth child, Maria Theresia. A midwife and doctor were in attendance and, despite all adversities, the war year 1788 appeared to have a promising beginning. Perhaps the young composer even celebrated his 32d birthday at the end of January with an intimate house ball for colleagues and friends. In addition to the contredanses for the carnival season, he also composed the so-called "Coronation" piano concerto K.537 for a Lenten concert that, in the end, did not take place. In early May, the opera "Don Giovanni", with a number of changes, was performed at the Burgtheater and promptly repeated several times. His fee came to 225 Gulden (thereby covering his rent for the new apartment)¹¹⁸.

To return to our theme: given that the apartment in this old part of town probably received little daylight, we can estimate the usual heating costs at around 50 Gulden, the lighting expenses again at 50 Gulden, together with the rather high household costs occasioned by Mozart's working habits and style of living. In addition, there were the costs for the birth of Maria Theresia – the midwife, doctors, and pharmacist, and outlays for the new baby. We also must take into account the numerous opera visits as well as the expenses associated with the premiere of "Don Giovanni" and Mozart's recurring efforts to have his works published. In short, Mozart found himself constantly short of cash. His letters to Michael Puchberg tell an obvious tale. In early June, Mozart asked for a loan of 100 Gulden, which he promptly received¹¹⁹.

At some time before 17 June 1788, he sent a request to his "dearest, best friend": "If you would be so kind and accommodating as to give me your support for 1 or 2 years with 1 or 2 thousand gulden at a suitable rate of interest, you would help me keep body and soul together! You yourself surely have found that it is rotten, yes impossible, when you have to wait from income to income; if you don't have at least *the necessary reserves!* then it's impossible to keep things in

order.— with nothing, you can do *nothing*; — if you will do me this friendly favor, I can, 1^{mo}: make the payments I have to make at the *proper time*, and it is more easily done, whereas now I have to *postpone* paying and then often spend my *entire income* all at once at a *most inconvenient time*. — 2^{do}: I would be able to work with *less worry* and *more peace of mind* and so *earn* more. — As for security, I don't think you need have any doubt! — you know pretty well how it's going with me — and you know my *way of thinking*.”¹²⁰ Puchberg, however, came through for his newly indebted Masonic brother with “only” 200 Gulden, hardly enough for Mozart to pay off the old indebtedness and the new.

Apart from the letters to Puchberg, we have almost no documentation concerning the half year spent in the house on the corner of Tuchlauben and Schultergasse that would, for example, enable us compare it with the “Figarohaus” in the Schulergasse. We know nothing of the apartment's location, what floor it was on, how large it was, or what house furnishings were required. The Walter fortepiano and the “pedal” would certainly have found a place in the largest room, there must have also have been a bedroom for husband and wife and the little Carl and his baby sister, and a smaller room for the indispensable maid. Whether there was a billiard room, however, as he later was to afford himself again in the Rauhensteingasse, is unreported.¹²¹ Nor are we any better informed concerning the actual debts of the obviously successful composer. They must have been rather substantial, however, for otherwise he would not have had to implore his creditor Puchberg to lend him a hand “[...] for 1 or 2 years with 1 or 2 thousand gulden.”¹²² With that amount, he would have been able to afford a large place in a better location in the city, because the obviously crowded quarters in the Tuchlauben were – with the two children – not well-suited for giving lessons, having copyists in to work, and/or receiving important guests and patrons.

By leaving this apartment in the city (was he forced to leave it?), Mozart was leaving behind substantial debts, as indicated by what he went on to write: “[...] — if you can't spare such a sum right now, then I would ask you to lend me at least a couple hundred gulden by tomorrow, because my landlord from the Landstrasse was so insistent that I had to pay him on the spot |: to avoid any unpleasantness :| which certainly messed things up.”¹²³

It is possible, by the way, that Mozart made a slip of the pen or a mistake in his 17 June letter to Puchberg and didn't mean it was “my landlord from the Landstrasse” to whom he had owed rent for so long, but rather that it was for the Tuchlauben apartment and therefore it was to Johann Maurer that he had pay the six-months rent! That would make the phrase “...at least by tomorrow” more understandable. At any rate, he only needed 112 fl 30 xr for the Tuchlauben owner, or 125 Gulden, and not “...a couple hundred gulden.” Perhaps one day documentation will surface to help answer the question.

After the cramped, dark quarters on the Tuchlauben in the inner city, Mozart and Constanze moved with the children to their second “summer place” in a western suburb beyond the city walls. The very first night Mozart, full of enthusiasm, was writing to his friend and helper Puchberg: “— tonight we'll sleep in our new quarters where we'll spend *summer* and *winter*; — basically it is all much the same to me; I don't have a lot to do in the city anyways and, because I won't be bothered with lots of visitors, I can work more at my leisure;

— and if I do *have business* downtown, which will happen seldom enough, then every fiacre will take me there for 10 x:, and besides the place is less expensive and, for the spring, summer and fall, *more pleasant* — because here I have a yard. — The place is in the **Währingerstrasse, bei den 3 Sternen N^o.135.** (today Währinger Strasse 26) ¹²⁴

This eleventh apartment of the Mozarts was in a suburban building, surely not large, in the Alsergrund district. Nearby were firms that made velvet (Number 102) and sewing needles (Number 143). Because of its location on the Alser stream as well as the connecting Althanische Grund, this "Alsergrund" was "for the most part inhabited by laundry services."¹²⁵ And because suburban quarters of this sort only required a yearly rent of between 100 and 200 Gulden, here Mozart could try to get his finances back into shape. Possibly an additional reason for this new move into some green out-of-doors was the hope that little Carl and his six-month old sister Maria Theresia might have sunshine and better air to grow up in. Tragically, the little girl died on 29 June and the young parents had to bury their fourth child, in the Währinger cemetery¹²⁶.

Nevertheless, in these surroundings, Mozart was able to get back to work composing: "[...] I'm always at home; — in the ten days that I've lived here, I've done more work than in 2 months in the other place [...] for here the living is pleasant, — comfortable — and cheap."¹²⁷ What Mozart understood by the word "cheap" is, unfortunately, nowhere to be found. The apartment in the suburbs, which must have been large enough for five persons and the work to be done, could have cost 100-200 Gulden rent for the year. The frequent trips by carriage into mid-town in the course of the autumn could have quickly added up to 20-30 Gulden, however. And Constanze, too, will have driven in often to see her mother and sisters. And shopping was something one could only do in the inner city!

Despite the paucity of details regarding the "summer place in Alsergrund", it is possible to make a rough estimate of how much this "living in the country" may have cost the composer. The airy apartment had to be well heated for four months and naturally meals had to be cooked for six months. Mozart, Constanze, Carl, and the maid had to eat three times a day, the daily hairdresser required hot water, and the laundry had to be washed from time to time (the "professional launderers" along the Alser stream probably would have asked too much). Comparing it with other places of similar size, we can calculate firewood at 40 Gulden and for the illumination needed for composing, we can again assume a large amount of candles even though the days remained light longer in the summer. Not only did Mozart write long letters, but — now that he had found the time and leisure for it — he also wrote many of his most famous works: the E-flat major symphony K.543, the G-minor symphony K.550 and the "Jupiter" symphony K.551¹²⁸. That meant a couple hundred pages of music that at least in large part were brought to paper in the night. That caused — especially in the fall — the usual exceptionally large consumption of candles and doubled the household operating expenses.

Mozart's income in this year, on the other hand, does not look very good. Perhaps it was actually only 1050 Gulden (*Don Giovanni* in Vienna 225 Gulden, *Kammerkompositeur* salary 800) plus 300 Gulden loaned by Puchberg¹²⁹. In that case, it was practically impossible fully to finance the months spent in

Tuchlauben and in Alsergrund. For the two rents added together, plus the costs of firewood and lighting, the moving expenses, the midwives, the doctor and burial costs, the many carriage trips into town and back, and finally the usual normal daily living costs reckoned at 1 fl 30 kr times 365, in sum 548 Gulden – and in addition the recurring on-going costs of servicing his debts – for all these, taken together, his income did not suffice.

A “completely normal shopping basket” – clothing, laundry, hairdresser, taxes, etc. – would have come to around 1200 Gulden, without counting any “extras”¹³⁰: this was the view of the anonymous civil service adviser cited above. But Mozart’s shopping basket also included the necessary carriage trips, visits to restaurants and coffee houses, invitations, drinks and gifts, expenditures for music, books, and note paper, doctors and pharmacists, theater and concert visits, etc., etc. In short, the composer, for better or worse, again had to make new debts.

As January 1789 began, the Mozarts left the Alsergrund suburb and returned once more to the **Haus “Zur Mutter Gottes”, Innere Stadt 245 on the Judenplatz (today Judenplatz 4)**, where they had lived in February 1783. It may not have been to the same apartment, however, but rather to a larger place, one more congenial for giving lessons and for Mozart’s work. Haus No. 245 belonged to Count Heissenstam¹³¹.

While there, Mozart’s compositions included the six German dances for orchestra K.571 and he arranged Händel’s oratorio “The Messiah” K.572. During the year, his opera “Le nozze di Figaro” was performed several times at the nearby Burgtheater and, in the weeks from 4 April to 4 June, the respected composer traveled with his friend and student, Prince Karl Lichnowsky, to Prague, Dresden, Leipzig and Berlin¹³².

Once more, Constanze was expecting. During the trip, she lived part of the time alone with the four-year old Carl, and part of the time in Michael Puchberg’s home. In June, following the advice of Dr. Closset, she went to Baden to take the waters, with Mozart making frequent visits to her there. And on 9 November 1789, in the same apartment house where her first son was born, she gave birth to their fifth child, Anna, who died only a few hours later.

In the fall of 1789, Mozart began with the composition of his carnival opera for 1790 “Così fan tutte” K.588 and was almost finished with it by the end of the year¹³³. The year 1789 was one of large earnings (Dresden/Berlin), but also one of heavy expenses. Again he had to take out loans from brother Masons Puchberg and Franz Hofdehmel (in total 550 Gulden). But it also was the year when he received his full salary of 800 Gulden as *Hofkompositeur*. In the literature, his income for the year is presumed to have been 2535 Gulden¹³⁴. This meant that he could afford a large apartment in the middle of the city once more, one that certainly would be heated with expensive hardwood – Constanze’s weakened condition has to be kept in mind, as well as the abiding importance of steady temperatures for the instruments.

If we reckon with the months from January to April and from September to January, we come quickly to an amount of 6 cords of wood, or at least 60 Gulden. For the rest of the year, another 3 cords (Anna’s birth and Constanze’s illness), making altogether around 100 Gulden. For a variety of reasons, the

consumption of candles must again have been unusually great: first and foremost was Mozart's work on "Così fan tutte", with Mozart inviting Haydn and Puchberg to an informal run-through on 31 December¹³⁵. Analogous with the "Figarohaus", here we can also postulate candle use amounting to some 60 Gulden. The record is silent on whether there was a billiard table here, with the illumination it would require.

On the tentative assumption that the year's rent for the "Così fan tutte apartment" at Judenplatz 4 came to around 225 Gulden, plus the normal recurring household costs and the increasing monetary inflation caused by the war with the Turks, along with the cost of maintaining the usual "Mozart standard of living" for four or five persons, all that taken together would add up to 1500 Gulden, if not more! And it was here that Mozart would learn that Joseph II, his generous patron for nine years, had died on 20 February 1790.

The Mozart family remained in its Judenplatz quarters until the end of September 1790, although Mozart and Constanze spent June in Baden and he traveled to Frankfurt on 23 September for the coronation of Leopold II (for which he had to get a loan of 1000 Gulden). "Così" and "Figaro" were being repeatedly presented at the Burgtheater but that brought no additional income. In May, wanting to give up the apartment, Mozart wrote to his benefactor Puchberg: "Your ideas about a few good pupils is mine as well, only I wanted to wait until I'm in the other place because it's my plan to give lessons at home, in the meantime, I would ask you to spread word of my idea around to people, — I also have it in mind to give subscription concerts at home in the months of July, June, and August, so it's only my present situation that's holding me down — On moving, I'll need 275 Gulden to pay off the apartment — and I'll need something to live on besides until my concerts are set to go and the quartets I'm working on are ready for engraving — accordingly, if I now could get at least 600 fl. in hand I could calmly get on with composing — ah yes! calm is needed indeed; — but what is particularly tormenting me at the moment is the money I owe at a men's fashion store in Stock im Eisen, although at first he [the owner] recognized himself the impossibility of being paid, now he suddenly has begun in earnest to demand payment, it's a matter of 100 fl. — I wish with all my heart to have done with this unpleasantness."¹³⁷

NB: If Mozart had to pay 275 Gulden for the rent at the Judenplatz for three-fourths of the year, then the rent for the year would have been 365 Gulden. Perhaps some day a reliable source will show up¹³⁸. In any event, Puchberg forwarded only 100 of the wished-for 600 Gulden, coming through later with a total of 185 Gulden¹³⁹.

In 1790, Mozart's total income probably did not amount to much more than 1415 Gulden, for he apparently received only 450 Gulden for "Così fan tutte" and not the 900 Gulden he had hoped for¹⁴⁰. He had borrowed 610 Gulden from Puchberg. And 1000 Gulden from the tradesman Heinrich Lackenbacher to finance the trip to Frankfurt, a trip that failed to bring the devoutly desired financial success. Mozart's merry-go-round of debts spun round and round without stopping.

On the matter of Mozart's last apartment, in the second floor of the **"Kleines Kaiserhaus" No.970 (today Rauhensteingasse 8)**, we are relatively well informed¹⁴¹. The composer had rented it as of 30 September 1790 and Constanze had moved in with little Carl while her husband was making the trip to Frankfurt for the coronation. The rent for a year was 333 Gulden¹⁴². The apartment consisted of four rooms, two smaller rooms, attic and cellar space, and a storage space for wood¹⁴³.

Whether there was a stall for Mozart's horse in the building can no longer be determined. The move from the apartment on the Judenplatz could have been a difficult undertaking for Constanze but perhaps she was helped by one of Mozart's adult pupils. At any rate, Mozart's (pawned) furniture and instruments found a good place there and – quite unusual really given the critical financial situation the composer found himself in – a large billiard table was installed in the inner room between the study and the sitting room¹⁴⁴.

Could this have been that same expensive billiard table from the "Figarohaus"? Given that there had been four intervening moves since then, it seems unlikely¹⁴⁵. Nevertheless, according to the estate inventory of contents, there it was, second only to Mozart's Walter fortepiano in worth and its value, together with cues, billiard balls, and the billiard lighting fixtures, estimated at 60 Gulden¹⁴⁶. It is also striking that the estate inventory noted a small "iron stove with stove pipe" in the room; it obviously was new and could have served for extra heat in the bedroom with the billiard table¹⁴⁷. The bedroom would have been unheated most of the time but the "second room" with the two divans and three tables and chairs, surely the family sitting room (and perhaps Constanze's room too?), undoubtedly was heated as was the so-called "first room" or living room. Before that came the kitchen with a correspondingly large oven and the servant's cubicle.

We can assume there were (at least) four wood-fired stoves in the apartment, allowing us to make a good estimate of the amount of wood used in the winter months of 1790/91 and the three winter months (October, November, December) of 1791. In light of Mozart's continuing depressed financial situation, the unsuccessful concert trip to Frankfurt, and the commissions that only came in March and April 1791, the story that Joseph Deiner recounted decades later takes on some probability: He recalled that he had been at Mozart's before at just this time of year in connection with wood. There he saw Mozart with his wife in the study, with its two windows on the Rauhensteingasse and one on the Himmelpfortgasse. Mozart and Constanze were briskly dancing around in the room. When Deiner asked if Mozart was teaching his wife how to dance, Mozart laughed and said: "We're just warming ourselves up because we're freezing and we can't buy any wood." Deiner quickly ran off and returned with some of his own. Mozart received it with thanks and promised to pay for it when he had some money."¹⁴⁸

Nevertheless, the Mozarts, who also had frequent guests to receive, must have heated their stoves and cooked, and the six-year old Carl and the newly arrived Xaver Wolfgang also had to be kept warm. If we assume only half the wood usage that took place at the nearby "Figarohaus", still the cost of wood in the winter 1790/91 probably came to at least 60 Gulden. In the last three months of his life, Mozart's financial situation was much improved and, at the

beginning of October, he could report to Constanze, who was once again in Baden taking the waters, that the servant Deiner had already started heating the apartment at 5:30 in the morning, that the billiard room was warm and he could play a couple rounds of billiards, and afterwards he found ideal conditions in his warm study to write letters and compose¹⁴⁹.

In connection with this period, we can read the following in the (unvalidated) recollections of the venerable Joseph Deiner: "But today I won't tell you anything about the Turkish music you've laughed about so often!" "No," Mozart answered, "I have the feeling the music will soon be over. A coldness that I cannot explain is gripping me. Deiner, finish my wine and take this money (17 kr). Come back tomorrow morning. Winter's coming and we'll need wood. My wife will go with you to buy some; today I'm going to heat some more." Then he called the waiter over, pressed a silver coin in his hand, and turned away. — Deiner sat down with Mozart's wine in the vestibule and said to himself: "That such a young person thinks on death! Now for that there really is time! But I mustn't forget the wood, for the November is already very cold."¹⁵⁰

This tale goes well with our concerns but seems rather improbable, for Mozart at this time — because of his improved financial situation — surely had already bought enough firewood in October. With the memory, "...my wife will go with you to buy some", it could be that Deiner was recalling that he often had accompanied Constanze, who had put the furniture in the Rauhensteingasse and run the household all by herself, to the firewood dealers to find wood at the best price.

When Mozart became seriously ill after the 20th of November, Constanze with Deiner's help transformed his study (the so-called "fourth room") into a sickroom, where ultimately he would die. Because Mozart repeatedly was seized by fits of shivering¹⁵¹, they would have kept the stove going. Many candles were kept burning day and night for those caring for the stricken man, for the doctors and colleagues who came by, and for the work on the Requiem¹⁵².

Concerning the extraordinarily great candle usage in Mozart's last apartment (when compared with a normal Viennese household of this size¹⁵³), we have but little information: a few lines from his letters and four lines in the estate inventory of contents¹⁵⁴. In his love letters to Constanze in Baden, it says that he was composing and writing letters at night and — unfortunately but a single mention — that one evening when dining alone he allowed himself the luxury of wax candles¹⁵⁵. In the inventory of the "second room" we find "1 ordinary central chandelier — 12 fl" and in the list for the "fourth room" there appear "3 brass candlesticks" and "2 glass candlesticks", without any further description. In the "third room" (where the billiard table stood) noted were "1 lantern" and "4 candlesticks"¹⁵⁶. This, by the way, would be a very sparing amount of light for a billiard table.

Under the rubric "silverware" we find only "3 small spoons" valued at 7 Gulden but none of the silver branched candelabra that must have been there once upon a time before wandering off to the pawnshop¹⁵⁷.

The number of candles used could have been identical with that at the Figarohaus, given the size of the apartment and the similarity of the work and obligations. There in the Rauhensteingasse, Mozart composed such works as the operas "Die Zauberflöte" K.620 and "La clemenza di Tito" K.621, "Die kleine Freimaurerkantate" K.623, the clarinet concerto K.622 for Stadler, and the Requiem K.626, altogether over 1150 fully composed pages.

During his final illness, countless candles were kept burning day and night in his room and throughout the apartment as doctors, colleagues and friends came by and Mozart was being nursed by Constanze and her sister Sophie Haibel. At the very end, traditional death candles were lit and on 5 and 6 December, as he lay in state in his apartment in the black robes of the *Toten-Bruderschaft*, the customary pair of large candles probably burned alongside his coffin until its transport to St. Stephen's. (Perhaps they had been donated by Baron van Swieten, who also paid for the funeral.) In the register of deaths for a funeral of the third class (in other words, not a pauper's funeral, as often rumored), an amount of 1 fl 20 xr is given for four lanterns. The funeral costs amounted to 8 Gulden 56 Kreuzer and were paid by van Swieten, who in so many matters had stood by the bereaved Constanze in these difficult times¹⁵⁹.

At his grave in the cemetery of St. Marx, which is unknown and has remained so, there was no one to light a candle or a night-light.

* * *

IN CONCLUSION: It is quite possible to adduce a reasonably accurate figure for the total amount of money Mozart had to spend on heating, lighting, and household cleanliness in the 13 apartments in which he lived in the 11 Vienna years. Given what we know of the size of the apartments, the stoves and kitchen ranges found there, the on-going high prices for firewood and candles, and taking into account all expenses associated with heating, illumination, and cleaning, we can calculate how much money the composer needed: it is very likely that the need lay in a range from a lower figure of 2879,20 Gulden to a high of 4194 Gulden (taking into account an income essentially higher than that assumed up to now), with a mean value of 3095,20 Gulden probably coming closest to the actual expenses¹⁶⁰.

If, then, Mozart had had to spend around 3000 Gulden for heating, lighting, and household care, that would have been approximately 5 to 5½ percent of his total income¹⁶¹. This is an amount that a larger household in many cases even today would require for on-going expenses. In short, the amount of money Mozart regularly needed for the indispensable heating and lighting of his working quarters and living space – and the kitchen and the laundry room – was, when measured against his irregular income from concerts, operas, and compositions (especially in the less remunerative years), alarmingly high. And don't forget: he had to pay the wood dealers, the chimneysweeps, and the candle and soap makers in cash. This could be a further, quite straightforward explanation for the recurring debts and the "begging letters" addressed to Michael Puchberg¹⁶².

[An appendix listing Mozart's residences 1781-1791 begins at page 35.]

Concerning money values reflected in the text:

- 1 Gulden = 1 Florin (fl.) = 60 Kreuzer (xr. or kr.)
- 2 Gulden = 1 Speziesthaler (the common Thaler)
- 1½ Gulden = 1 Reichsthaler
- 4½ Gulden = 1 Dukat

Endnotes

1. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 158.
2. Ebda., S. 157.
3. Stadler needed the music for his concert in Prague.
4. *F. Carr*, Mozart und Constanze, S. 212.
5. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 416.
6. *Rudolph Angermüller*, Leopold Mozarts Verlassenschaft, in: Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum, 41. Jg., H. 3-4 (1993), S. 1 ff.
7. In the mountains, winter generally lasted from October to April.
8. Mozart Family letters, Vol. II, S. 539.
9. *Roswitha Preiß*, Mozarts Wohnhaus, in: Neues aus dem Salzburger Landesarchiv Nr. 9 (1190), S. 148.
10. *Günther G. Bauer*, Mozart und das Salzburger Bölzelschießen, in: Mozart: Glückspiel, Spiel und Leidenschaft (Bad Honnef 2005), S. 67.
11. From 1781 to 1784, Maria Margaretha und Heinrich Marchand were pupils of Leopold Mozart: Salzburger Mozart Lexicon (Salzburg), 2005, S. 275.
12. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 426.
13. Ebda., S. 429.
14. Ebda., S. 442.
15. Ebda., S. 363.
16. AStS, PA 1.172 Franz Anton Spängler: Hauß-Unkosten Conto Biechl, Bd. 4, 1772-85.
17. As depicted in a model of the house constructed according to the renovation plans for its rebuilding in 1994.
18. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 32.
19. Ebda., S. 66.
20. Ebda., S. 88.
21. Ebda., S. 90.
22. *Rudolf Reisner*, Mozart (München 2005), S. 141.
23. *Robert Münster*, Mozart und der Münchener Hof.
24. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 88.
25. *Westenrieder* München 1782, S. 125.
26. Mozart Family letters, Vol. II, S. 171.
27. *Günther G. Bauer*, Mozarts Ausgaben in München 1780/81 (Manuskript).
28. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 435.
29. *Angermüller*, Leopold Mozarts Verlassenschaft (wie Anm. 6), S. 24.

30. The "Studierlampe" could have been a petroleum lamp. Other petroleum lamps are not mentioned.
31. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 5.
32. Ebda., S. 340.
33. Ebda., S. 354.
34. Ebda., S. 483,
35. Ebda., S. 604.
36. Ebda., S. 614.
37. Ebda., S. 619.
38. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 12.
39. Ebda., S. 44.
40. The courier to and from St. Gilgen would have brought everything from the city as instructed.
41. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 483.
42. Ebda., S. 571.
43. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 38.
44. *Rudolph Angermüller*, Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen (Bad Honnef 2006), S. 36.
45. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 428.
46. Ebda., S. 610.
47. Nowhere in the literature are Mozart's laundrywomen mentioned, but they are always included in the Viennese household costs.
48. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 110.
49. Ebda., S. 153.
50. Ebda., S. 154.
51. Ebda., S. 174.
52. *Ignaz de Luca*, Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand, o. S.
53. *Helmut Kretschmer*, Mozarts Spuren in Wien(1990),
54. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 225.
55. Mozart Family letters, Vol. I, S. 287.
56. *Braunbehrens*, Mozart in Wien, S. 151.
57. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 232.
58. Ebda., S. 252.
59. *Bauer*, Mozart: Glück, Spiel und Leidenschaft (wie Anm.10), S. 289.
60. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 252.
61. *Rudolph Angermüller*, Mozart, S. 221.
62. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 269 f.
63. Ebda., S. 270.
64. Wie Anm. 56, S. 150.
65. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 263.
66. *de Luca*, Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand.
67. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 274.
68. Ebda,
69. *Kurt Pahlen*, Mozart, S. 283 f.
70. *Georg Nikolaus Nissen*, Biografie W. A. Mozart (Leipzig 1828), S. 569.
71. *de Luca*, Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand, S. 56.
72. *E. K. Blümmel*, Aus Mozarts Freundes- und Familienkreis, S. 4.
73. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 297.
74. *O. E. Deutsch* (Hg.), Mozarts Werkverzeichnis. Kommentar, S. 7.

75. *de Luca*, Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand, S. 39.
76. *Bauer*, Mozart: Glück, Spiel und Leidenschaft (wie Anm. 10), S. 198.
77. Perhaps proof that Constanze always had a cook.
78. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 316.
79. Ebd.
80. *Angermüller*, Mozart, S. 232.
81. Wie Anm. 56, S. 153.
82. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 372.
83. *Angermüller*, Mozart, S. 242.
84. *Bauer*, Mozart: Glück, Spiel und Leidenschaft (wie Anm. 10), S. 200.
85. Mozart Family letters, Vols. III u. IV.
86. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 378.
87. In: In Signo Mozart (Zürich 2005), S. 14.
88. In: ebd., S. 19.
89. *E. Carr*, Mozart und Constanze, S. 212.
90. *de Luca*, Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand, S. 112.
91. Nützliches Adress- und Reisebuch (Wien 1792), S. 56.
92. Ebd.: In Vienna, there were 19 chimneysweeps.
93. Verlassenschaftsverzeichnis Leopold Mozart September 1787.
94. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 376.
95. Ebd., S. 384
96. *de Luca*, Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand, p. 161.
97. Mozart Family letters, Vol. III, S. 373.
98. Besides Wolfgang and Leopold Mozart, there were two other musicians.
99. It's a shame that students seldom learn about the occasion when Joseph Haydn spoke these words.
100. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 28.
101. Ebd., S. 44.
102. *Bauer*, Mozart: Glück, Spiel und Leidenschaft (wie Anm. 10), S. 201.
103. Whether Beethoven in fact ever visited Mozart is disputed (Walther Brauneis).
104. *de Luca*, Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand, S. 158.
105. Ebd., S. 160.
106. *Bauer*, Mozart: Glück, Spiel und Leidenschaft (wie Anm. 10), S. 182.
107. NMA Kassel 1991, Bd. 19, S. 197.
108. *Kretschmer*, Mozarts Spuren (wie Anm. 53)
109. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 48.
110. Ebd., S. 53.
111. *W. A. Mozart*, Verzeichnis aller meiner Werke, S. 13
112. *Otto Haas*, Catalogue 42 (London 2007), S. 55.
113. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 54 ff.
114. Kosten ca. 20 Gulden.
115. 100 quill pens: 48 Kreuzer.
116. *Nissen*, Biografie (wie Anm. 70), S. 651.
117. *de Luca*, Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand, o. S.
118. Mozart received only half of the usual fee.
119. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 65.

120. Ebda., S. 66.
121. The whereabouts of the billiard table from the Schulerstrasse is a mystery. Was it moved to the Landstrasse? Or sold? Or stored?
122. With his lifestyle in mind Mozart was figuring about 2500 Gulden a year: 1000 (from Puchberg) + 800 (salary) + 700 from concerts and compositions.
123. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 66.
124. Ebda.
125. *de Luca*, Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand, S. 4.
126. *Blümmel*, Freundes- und Familienkreis (wie Anm.72), S. 7
127. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 69.
128. Köcherverzeichnis S. 690-703.
129. Wie Anm. 56, S. 151.
130. Anonym: Genaue Rechnungstafel ... (Wien 1788), S. 18.
131. *de Luca*, Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand, o. S.
132. *Angermüller*, Mozart, S. 300 ff.
133. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 100.
134. Wie Anm. 56, S. 151.
135. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 100.
136. NMA, Skizzen.
137. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 106.
138. Perhaps in the 1787/88 city register of rent payments.
139. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 108
140. *Angermüller*, Mozart, S. 312.
141. *H. C. Robbins Landon*, 1791 Mozart's last year (London 1990), S. 202.
142. *Angermüller*, Mozart, S. 318.
143. Ebda.
144. *Bauer*, Mozart: Glück, Spiel und Leidenschaft (wie Anm. 10), S. 204.
145. Ebda.
146. *O. E. Deutsch*, Mozart Dokumente, S. 495.
147. Ebda., S. 496.
148. Ebda., S. 478.
149. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 158.
150. *Deutsch*, Mozart Dokumente, S. 478.
151. *Anton Neumayr*, Musik und Medizin in Wien (1995), S. 90 ff.
152. *Nissen*, Biografie (wie Anm. 70), S. 574.
153. Genaue Rechnungstafel (wie Anm. 130), S. 13 (9 Gulden 7 xr for candles).
154. *Deutsch*, Mozart Dokumente, S. 496.
155. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 158.
156. Wie Anm. 154.
157. Mozart pawned his silverware in 1787.
158. Wie Anm. 154.
159. *Robbins Landon*, 1791 (wie Anm. 141), S. 170.
160. *Günther G. Bauer*, Mozart. Geld und Ehre (Salzburg 2009), Einleitung.
161. His total income could have varied between 55,000 and 60,000 Gulden.
162. Mozart Family letters, Vol. IV, S. 94.

A P P E N D I X

1781 to 1791: Where Mozart lived in Vienna, and when

1. "Auf dem Petersplatz", Hause Innere Stadt 577 (today: Milchgasse 1/
Tuchlauben 6); with the Weber family.

May 1781 – September 1781
2. One room in Haus Innere Stadt 1175 (today: Graben 17)

September 1781 – July 1782
3. Haus „Zum roten Säbel“ („Groshauptische Haus“), Wipplingerstrasse (today:
Wipplingerstrasse 19/Färbergasse 5)

August 1782 – December 1782
4. Das Herbersteinhaus, Haus 412, also Wipplingerstrasse (today:
Wipplingerstrasse 14)

December 1782 – February 1783
5. „Zum englischen Gruss“, Innere Stadt 1179, Kohlmarkt

February 1783 – April 1783
6. Haus „Zur Mutter Gottes“, Innere Stadt 244 (today: at the corner of
Judenplatz 4/Kurrentgasse 5)

April 1783 – January 1784
7. Der Trattnerhof am Graben (today: Graben 29-29a)

January 1784 – September 1784
8. Haus Innere Stadt 846, Grosse Schulerstrasse/Domgasse 8 (which has come
to be known as the „Figarohaus“)

September 1784 – April/May 1787
9. Haus Landstrasse 224 (today: Landstrasse Hauptstrasse 75-77) in the
Landstrasse suburb

April/May 1787 – December 1787

10. Innere Stadt Haus 281, corner of Tuchlauben and Schultergasse (today: Tuchlauben 27/Schultergasse 2)

December 1787 – June 1788

11. Alsergrund, Haus 135 (today: Währingerstrasse 26)

June 1788 – January 1789

12. Haus „Zur Mutter Gottes“, Innere Stadt 245, on the Judenplatz (today: Judenplatz 4)

January 1789 – September 1790

- 13 „Kleines Kaiserhaus“ Innere Stadt 970 (today: Rauhensteingasse 8)

September 1789 – December 1791

Cemetery, St. Marx

7 December 1791. . .

*
*
* * * * *
*
*
*
*