

A note of introduction: In her second paper as a Guest Author, Prof. Dorothea Link summarizes the challenges and opportunities facing the young man in Vienna as he found himself – not entirely willingly – creating the role of freelance musician that Beethoven later would exploit so successfully. Prof. Link's account is, in effect, a continuation of the biographical survey begun in Cliff Eisen's "Mozart and Salzburg," also found in the website.

Dorothea Link

Mozart in Vienna

ON HIS OWN IN VIENNA for the first time, the twenty-five-year-old Mozart wrote to his father on 4 April 1781: 'I can assure you that this here is a Magnificent place – and for my Métier the best place in the world.'¹ He had decided to stay, although the famous kick in the arse from the agent of Archbishop Colloredo in Salzburg did not take place until 9 June. And while his father would never be persuaded that any city was the right city if one did not have a fixed appointment, Mozart was not naive about his prospects in Vienna. Had death not cut him off just as he was emerging from four financially difficult years, he would have been proven right. In the ten years since his arrival he had obtained the coveted court appointment, he had secured the reversion of the post of Kapellmeister at St Stephen's Cathedral, he had enjoyed notable, often lucrative, successes as a performer and as a composer, and he was patronized by the nobility. The present essay will examine these sources of employment and the extent to which Mozart was able to realize them.

The court

IN 1781 THE COURT was still the best employer in Vienna. Although Joseph II led an austere and conspicuously frugal court life, he did not dissolve the court's established musical institutions, the Hofkapelle (court chapel) and the theatre.² The Hofkapelle provided music for the court's church services. In addition to the musicians, the Hofkapelle in 1781 consisted of the Hofkapellmeister Giuseppe Bonno and the composer Christoph Willibald Gluck. It also carried on its rosters pensioned personnel drawing full salaries, including the court poet Pietro Metastasio, the soprano Maria Theresia Reutter and the altos Pietro Ragazzoni and Pietro Galli. In addition to the Hofkapelle, and sometimes considered part of it, were the Kammer Musici, personal attendants to Joseph who regularly made music with him in his private chambers. In 1781 these musicians included the composer Antonio Salieri, the violinists Franz Kreibich and Karl von Ordonez and, unofficially, the valet Kilian Strack. As court employees, all these people

¹ Letter 4 April 1782, in Robert Spaethling (ed. and trans.), *Mozart's Letters, Mozart's Life* (New York, 2000), p. 240; German original in *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 102.

² For an overview of the Hofkapelle in the eighteenth century, in particular under Joseph II, see Dorothea Link, 'Mozart's Appointment to the Viennese Court', in Dorothea Link and Judith Nagley (eds.), *Words about Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, pp. 153-78 (Woodbridge, 2005) [the article is also to be found here in the website]. On the theatre under Joseph II, see Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents 1783-1792* (Oxford, 1998).

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-- YOU WILL FIND SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS EXPLAINED ON PAGE 14.

enjoyed employment for life, occupied positions within the court's hierarchy according to which they were automatically promoted, and were entitled to pensions. The exact make-up of the Hofkapelle and the Kammer Musik changed slightly over the years, but the important point as far as Mozart was concerned was that both bodies maintained at all times at least one composer within their ranks.

It was to one of these composer positions that Mozart aspired. In a letter to his father of 11 April 1781 Mozart assesses his chances. He describes the line of succession as consisting of Bonno, Salieri, Joseph Starzer and possibly himself: 'When Bono dies, Salieri will become Kapellmeister - then Starzer will get Salieri's position and Starzer's position? - Well, no one has been mentioned yet.'³ Starzer, the former ballet composer, was receiving a pension from the theatre account but could be pressed back into active service if a composer position became free. Significantly, Mozart does not mention Gluck, for reasons that will become apparent below.

Mozart's ambitions were obvious to everyone, as a letter to his father of 10 April 1782 makes clear, notwithstanding his protests of having done nothing to make them known:

What you are writing about the rumors going around that I will be taken into the service of the emperor - well, the reason that I haven't written anything to you about it is that - I myself know nothing. - One thing is certain: the whole town is full of this talk and a good number of people have already congratulated me; - and I can readily believe that there has been some talk about this matter in the emperor's presence and that he may even be giving it some thought, - but so far I haven't heard a word. It's interesting that matters have proceeded to the point that the emperor is thinking about something of this sort when I, in fact, - haven't taken one step to further such a move!⁴

Despite repeated signs of approval, the Emperor continued not to take Mozart into his service. Then on 22 April 1787 Joseph Starzer died. As a ballet composer had long been surplus to requirements he was not replaced. On 15 November 1787 Gluck died. As his appointment was a special case, he was not replaced either. On 6 December 1787 Mozart was appointed to the Kammer Musik. This move was part of a larger plan of Joseph's, which he implemented in stages. On 12 February 1788 he pensioned off the aged Bonno and replaced him as Kapellmeister of the Hofkapelle with Salieri, who consequently gave up his position in the Kammer Musik, leaving Mozart as its sole composer. In the end, there were two composers at court: Salieri and Mozart. Salieri received 1200 gulden as Kapellmeister of the Hofkapelle and Mozart 800 gulden as composer in the Kammer Musik.

Mozart's duties were not defined in his letter of appointment, but for the time being they were practically non-existent, as Joseph went off to war at the end of February. Salieri, on the other hand, had to work for his salary as Kapellmeister.

³ Spaethling, *Letters*, p. 243; *MBA*, vol. 3, p.106.

⁴ Spaethling, *Letters*, p. 306; *MBA*, vol. 3, p.201.

The issue of salaries is somewhat complex, and superficial comparisons are misleading. When Salieri had been composer in the Kammer Musik he had been paid 426 fl. 40 x., which compares unfavourably with Mozart's 800 gulden for a more or less identical position.⁵ Gluck on the other hand had received 2000 gulden as court composer in the Hofkapelle. His appointment was honorary, however, bestowed in 1774 to keep him from accepting an invitation from Marie Antoinette to go to France. He had no real duties other than to represent the court at official functions, as happened in late 1781 when the Russian Grand Duke Paul and his wife Marie von Württemberg visited Vienna. The important point to note is that within six years of arriving in Vienna Mozart had achieved his goal of obtaining a court position. Had his father lived half a year longer he would have had the satisfaction of seeing his son established at one of the greatest courts in Europe.⁶

The other court institution that supported music was the theatre. In 1781 the theatre consisted of a main company that performed German spoken theatre (established in 1776) and a smaller, experimental company that performed Singspiel (established in 1778). At Easter 1783 the German Singspiel company was upgraded to an Italian opera buffa company, for which the leading singers were imported from Italy. The Singspiel company was revived in October 1785 and played alongside the opera buffa company (and the German spoken theatre company) until it was again dissolved, at Easter 1788. These, then, were the court opera companies for which Mozart composed. The theatre's personnel, unlike those in the Hofkapelle, were not court employees but were engaged on a contract basis. Salieri alone had some security attached to his position as Kapellmeister of the opera buffa company, for which he was paid 853 fl. 20 x. (200 ducats at the time the salary was set).⁷ The temporary nature of the appointments resulted, especially after 1783, in a steady stream of singers and composers passing through the capital. Composers were paid a fee of 100 ducats (450 gulden after 1786) for an opera. As the repertory consisted largely of imported operas, however, commissions for new operas were not essential and their number varied from season to season. Overall they amounted to between a quarter and a third of the entire repertory.⁸ Theoretically the best Mozart could have hoped for from the court theatre was one opera commission a year, but that was wildly unrealistic as even Salieri composed only seven new operas in the eleven opera seasons from 1781-2 to 1791-2. Mozart came next with four (including *Don Giovanni*), followed by Vicente Martin y Soler with three.

5 A gulden (abbreviated 'fl.') was worth 60 kreuzer ('x.').

6 Following the death of Joseph II in March 1790, however, Mozart found his chances of promotion considerably diminished. He and Salieri had to witness the preferment of Salieri's apprentice Joseph Weigl to both of them by Leopold II.

7 Until 1 February 1786, when Joseph standardized and fixed the value of the ducat at four and a half gulden, the three types of ducat in circulation were worth different amounts at different times.

8 Of the seventy-five Italian operas produced between Easter 1783 and Easter 1792, twenty-two were newly commissioned.

Although emanating from the same institution, Mozart's commissions all came about in different ways. When Mozart arrived in Vienna on 16 March 1781, the court was producing Singspiel. One month later Mozart already reports that the actor and playwright Johann Gottlieb Stephanie was searching for a libretto for him. By the end of July it was in Mozart's hands and by August Mozart had finished the music of the first act. The premiere of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* had to wait until 16 July 1782, however, owing to the state visit of Grand Duke Paul in the autumn of 1781, for which three Gluck operas were revived. Although July was a poor time for a premiere, as most of the nobility were out of town, the opera was enormously successful and continued to draw full houses for the remainder of the season.

In December 1782, Joseph's theatre manager Count Franz Orsini Rosenberg suggested to Mozart that he compose an Italian opera for the new opera buffa company that was due to replace the Singspiel the following Easter. Yet not until the new company's third season, 1785-6, did Mozart begin composing *Le nozze di Figaro*. To what can the delay be attributed? The uncertainty over the continued existence of the opera buffa beyond its first year may have been partly responsible for the issue of only one commission in 1783-4, to Josef Barta for an opera that was withdrawn after three performances. That season Salieri composed an opera for Paris. The next season saw a commission for a new opera from Salieri (*Il ricco d'un giorno*), an impromptu commission to Giovanni Paisiello as he was passing through Vienna and a mysterious commission to Giacomo Rust for an opera that did not survive beyond its first performance. It is conceivable that Mozart could have obtained commissions in these two seasons had he been able to find a libretto or, more importantly, a librettist. Lorenzo Da Ponte states that he established himself as a librettist only with the success of *Il burbero di buon cuore* for Vicente Martin y Soler on 4 January 1786.⁹ Except for his disastrous collaboration with Salieri on *Il ricco d'un giorno*, he had not worked with any composer on any new opera, despite being the librettist of the opera buffa company since its inception. In 1785-6, however, Da Ponte got into his stride. He furnished librettos for three of the six operas commissioned that season, from Vincenzo Righini, Stephen Storace, Vicente Martin (*Il burbero di buon cuore*), Giuseppe Gazzaniga, Salieri and Mozart, although Mozart's opera was not performed until the beginning of the next season. It is hard to gauge the success of *Le nozze di Figaro*. On the one hand, so many encores were demanded by the audiences at the first performances that Joseph issued a decree preventing the repetition of ensembles. On the other hand, the opera lasted for only nine performances.

The subsequent phenomenal success of *Le nozze di Figaro* in Prague, however, led to the commissioning of *Don Giovanni*. Although issued by the impresario Domenico Guardasoni for his own opera company, the commission was followed with a certain amount of interest in Vienna. Da Ponte, engaged as the librettist,

⁹ Lorenzo Da Ponte, *An Extract from the Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte with the History of Several Dramas Written by him, and among others, il Figaro, il Don Giovanni and La scuola degli amanti, set to music by Mozart* (New York, 1819), p. 12.

had a draft libretto printed in Vienna, an unusual occurrence that might have been connected with the choice of *Don Giovanni* as the festive opera to be given when Joseph's niece, the Archduchess Maria Theresia, passed through Prague on her wedding procession to Dresden.¹⁰ As the appointed day neared and *Don Giovanni* was not ready, *Le nozze di Figaro* was performed instead, by express command of the Emperor. *Don Giovanni* was eventually performed on 29 October 1787 to great acclaim, the public being particularly appreciative of its difficulty.¹¹ Mozart received the proceeds of the fourth performance, which probably came to more than the fee for the opera.¹² Joseph arranged both for the opera to be given in Vienna at the beginning of the following season (7 May 1788) and for Mozart and Da Ponte to be paid again for their composition, at half the standard fee. He left for war before he could see the opera, but from the field he learned that the Viennese did not take to it, to which he remarked that Mozart's music was too difficult for singers.¹³ Things were not helped by the fact that, with the exception of Francesco Benucci as Leporello and Luisa Laschi Mombelli as Zerlina, the Viennese production had a weak cast.¹⁴

By the end of August 1788 Joseph had dissociated himself from the management of the opera. Da Ponte's doubled salary and his claim to have saved the opera from dissolution suggest that henceforth he assumed a greater role in its administration. To keep costs down only two operas were commissioned that season, one from Salieri and one from his pupil Joseph Weigl. The 1789-90 season proceeded with a similar eye to economy. A number of lapsed operas were revived, among them *Le nozze di Figaro*. This production, for which Mozart made a number of changes that included writing two new arias for the new singer who was to play Susanna, lasted for twenty-eight performances, extending into 1791. The season also saw two new commissions, one to Salieri for *La ciffra* and one to Mozart for *Così fan tutte*. Mozart's commission must have come about hastily, as Da Ponte did not have time to write a libretto specifically for him but offered him a libretto rejected by Salieri.¹⁵ Perhaps Da Ponte offered him the libretto so as not to forfeit his librettist's fee of 200 gulden.¹⁶ Despite the libretto not having been designed for him, Mozart wrote what turned out to be the most popular opera of the season.¹⁷

10 Da Ponte noted the honour on the title page of the draft libretto: 'per l'arrivo di Sua Altezza Reale / Maria Teresa / Arciduchessa d'Austria: sposa *del* / Ser. Principe Antonio di Sassonia'. *MDL*, p. 267; *MDB*, p. 303.

11 *MDL*, p. 267; *MDB*, p. 303.

12 In Vienna a full house yielded between 500 and 600 gulden. Mozart's fee from Guardasoni was probably 450 gulden, as in Vienna. *MDL*, p. 266; *MDB*, p. 303.

13 *MDL*, p. 277; *MDB*, p. 315.

14 Francesco Morella as Don Ottavio was a poor tenor, Francesco Albertarelli as Don Giovanni did not have the elan of the Prague original, and Aloisia Lange as Donna Anna simply did not measure up to the better Italian singers.

15 Salieri wrote two numbers before abandoning the opera. It is possible that once Salieri had broken off its composition there was no time to begin afresh, for which reason he resorted to patching together *La ciffra* from an earlier opera. For a different interpretation of the events, see John Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (Chicago, 1998), pp. 437-41.

[Footnotes 16 and 17 appear at the bottom of the next page.]

The church

THE OTHER TRADITIONAL SOURCE of employment for musicians was the church, and, as Burney observed in 1772, the Viennese were exceptionally devoted to having music in church and insisted on fairly elaborate performances. Almost all of the churches and religious houses in Vienna performed musical Masses with organ, choir and strings on a daily basis.¹⁸ All this activity provided work for many musicians, who supplemented it with jobs in the Hofkapelle, the two court theatre orchestras and the orchestras of the commercial theatres. In 1783, however, Joseph implemented church reforms that, while not directed specifically at music, had an inadvertently negative impact on it. The primary aim of his reforms was to regularize church services across the country and to curtail costly and excessive ceremonies. The monies thus saved were redirected to a newly created capital fund that financed social-service projects.

Joseph began his overhaul of church services by categorizing all churches according to locale – cities, towns, villages, country, monasteries, convents and hospitals – and to the number of priests and other ecclesiastical personnel employed. The category determined the frequency and lavishness of the services prescribed. Details in the new regulations hint at some of the excesses that had crept into use. All processions except those for three feast days in the church year were banned. The three permissible processions were limited to fifteen minutes around the church. They were to begin from the church and no other place. They were to be held on the day of the feast itself and could not be postponed. Some non-liturgical devotions were banned altogether, such as blessings for good weather, pilgrimages and elaborate celebrations of Christ's resurrection. The forty-hour prayer said during the three days of carnival was limited to churches in the larger cities and only to those that already had a tradition of performing this ritual. Nowhere among these and other directives were there any aimed specifically at music. Indeed, Joseph's reforms overall were considerably more moderate than those advocated by some of his advisors, who urged, among other things, that all instrumental music should be abolished.¹⁹

16 The lack of close collaboration between Da Ponte and Mozart is perhaps reflected in the ambiguous ending of the opera. Following the conventions of the pastoral play, the libretto convincingly restores the original pairing of the lovers. Mozart's musical setting, however, shows the new pairing to ring more true: Fiordiligi and Ferrando sing in the seria style, while the music of Guglielmo belongs to the world of opera buffa, with that of Dorabella lying somewhere in between.

17 Dexter Edge, 'Mozart's Reception in Vienna, 1787-1791', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart: Essays on His Life and His Music* (Oxford, 1996), p. 82.

18 Burney cited in Otto Biba, 'Die Wiener Kirchenmusik um 1783', in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts, Jahrbuch für Österreichische Kulturgeschichte*, 1/2 (Eisenstadt, 1971), p. 7. This seminal study of the effect of Joseph's church reforms on church music is supplemented by Otto Biba, 'Historical Background: Church and State', in H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music* (London, 1990), pp. 58-61.

19 Biba, 'Church and State', p. 61.

The church reforms had unintended devastating consequences for Vienna's musicians in that many lost their jobs completely and others saw their income reduced by a third or a half. The city's church musicians wasted no time petitioning the Emperor for relief, who in response instructed his officials to draw up a list of all church musicians together with their earnings before and after the imposition of the reforms. The matter was then deliberated by the appropriate authorities, but by the time they arrived at the point of considering some action a year later the crisis had passed. The musicians had perforce solved their financial problems individually.

In 1781, even before the reforms, the church was probably at the bottom of the list of Mozart's job prospects. The best positions in Vienna's churches were those of music director, filled variously by Kapellmeister, *regens chori* and organists, but their salaries, lying somewhere between 300 and 350 gulden, were well below Mozart's expectations. There was one notable exception, however. St Stephen's Cathedral reportedly paid its Kapellmeister a salary of 2000 gulden.²⁰ The cathedral was administered by the city magistracy and was independent of the court and its decrees, including the one laying down the church reforms. In the spring of 1791, St Stephen's aged Kapellmeister Leopold Hofmann became gravely ill. Although he recovered, Mozart took the opportunity to petition the city for the post of unpaid assistant to Hofmann. According to the practice of the day, he was thereby placing himself first in line for the latter's position upon his death. Mozart's petition was granted. Hofmann died in 1793.

Freelance teaching

WE RETURN TO SPRING 1781. For the present Mozart urgently needed to find work. He wrote to his father on 19 May that he would sell sonatas by subscription, write an opera and give a concert in Advent. A few days later he also mentioned taking piano pupils: 'As far as pupils are concerned, I can have as many as I want; but I don't want that many – I want to be better paid than other musicians – so I can afford to have fewer pupils.'²¹ That he took pupils reluctantly and only as a last resort, he had already emphatically expressed to his father from Mannheim in 1778:

To be obliged to go to a house at a certain time – or to have to wait at home for a pupil – is what I cannot do, no matter how much money it may bring me in. I find it impossible, so must leave it to those who can do nothing else but play the clavier. I am a composer and was born to be a Kapellmeister. I neither can nor ought to bury the talent for composition with which God in his goodness has so richly endowed me . . . and this I should be doing if I were to take many pupils.²²

20 As reported in the *Pressburger Zeitung*. See *MDL*, p. 347; *MDB*, p. 395.

21 Letter 26 May 1781, in Spaethling, *Letters*, p. 256; *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 120. On Mozart's pupils, see Heinz Wolfgang Hamann, 'Mozarts Schülerkreis: Versuch einer chronologischen Ordnung', *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1962/63, pp. 115-39, supplemented by Carl Bär, 'Mozarts Schülerkreis', *Acta Mozartiana*, 11 (1964), pp. 58-64. See also the discussion in Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 390-2.

22 Letter of 7 February 1778 in *LMF*, p. 468; *MBA*, vol. 2, p. 264.

In June he obtained a first pupil in Countess Rumbeke and a second one in Josepha von Auernhammer.²³ But students were harder to come by than he had expected, and in September he was faring so badly that he was thinking of trying his luck in Paris. For a few weeks in December he entertained hopes of being appointed keyboard teacher to Princess Elisabeth von Württemberg, who, as the chosen bride of Archduke Franz, had been sent to Vienna to finish her education there. Mozart initially thought that Salieri had been given the appointment, but it eventually went to the organist Georg Summerer at a salary of 400 gulden. In reporting the news to his father, Mozart explains why he would not have wanted the position anyway:

You write that 400 gulden a year *as an assured salary* is not to be despised. What you say would be true if in addition I could work myself into a good position and treat these 400 gulden simply as an extra. But unfortunately that is not the case. I should have to consider the 400 gulden as my chief income and everything I could earn besides as an extra, the amount of which would be very uncertain and consequently in all probability very meagre. For you can easily understand that you cannot act as independently towards a pupil who is a princess as towards other ladies.²⁴

By the end of December he had found a third pupil in Frau von Trattner, after which he claimed that he needed only a fourth to have enough income to survive. He also changed his fee structure. Instead of charging by the lesson (or the traditional block of twelve lessons), he now charged his pupils a set monthly fee (6 ducats or 25 fl. 36 x.), which they paid whether or not they cancelled a lesson. The desired fourth pupil did not materialize until November 1782, in the person of Countess Zichy, and in January 1783 he obtained a fifth in Countess Palffy. That is the last we hear of countesses. Subsequent pupils seem to have been taken on for reasons other than building up a studio of well-paying pupils.

Barbara Ployer, a pupil from 1784, was an extremely fine pianist for whom Mozart wrote two concertos. Franziska von Jacquin, who studied with Mozart in 1787, was the sister of Mozart's friend Gottfried von Jacquin. The professional pianist Marianne Willmann may have had some lessons with Mozart, for she performed a piano concerto of his in the court theatre in 1787.²⁵ Johann Nepomuk Hummel started receiving sporadic instruction from Mozart around 1787 when he was seven or eight. Few names crop up after that, even in the financially straitened years. Ignaz von Seyfried was a fifteen-year-old keyboard student in 1791. Increasingly in later years Mozart also gave instruction in composition. Thomas Attwood, Franz Xaver Süssmayr, Franz Jacob Freystädtler and Joseph Eybler all received some form of tuition from him. As in the case of the young keyboard students, however, it is hard to know how much of this teaching, Attwood probably excepted, was undertaken as a source of income.

23 'Apparently at least in part in return for some meals'. Halliwell, *Mozart Family*, p. 364.

24 Letter of 12 October 1782 in *LMF*, p. 827; *MBA*, vol. 3, pp. 237-8.

25 *MDL*, p. 252; *MDB*, p. 286.

Freelance performing

ALTHOUGH HE ASSURED HIS FATHER in May 1781 that he intended to give a concert in Advent, he did not appear in a public concert until the following May, and then not in his own concert but in a series of outdoor concerts organized by Philipp Jakob Martin. The following November he appeared in a concert in the Kärntnertortheater given by his pupil Josepha von Auernhammer. He was not able to organize a concert of his own until Lent 1783, in the Burgtheater. Giving public concerts in Vienna at a time when they were just beginning to be established was not easy.²⁶ Part of the problem was the lack of designated concert halls. The two court theatres, the Burgtheater and the Kärntnertortheater, were the optimum facilities, but they were available only during Lent when operas and plays were not performed.²⁷ Other concert venues included all-purpose halls connected to restaurants and casinos, such as the Mehlgrube, the Trattnerhof and Jahn's Hall. In the summers, outdoor concerts were given in the Augarten and the Neumarkt as well as in other improvised settings.

A period of intense concert activity for Mozart began in 1784. He gave a Lenten concert in the court theatre. He also organized a series of three concerts in the Trattnerhof, which overlapped with three concerts given there by the Dutch pianist Georg Friedrich Richter. Mozart played in those as well as in his own. In spring 1785 Mozart gave his by now usual concert in the court theatre as well as six subscription concerts in the Mehlgrube, all of which his father attended. In Advent of that year he gave a series of concerts at an unknown location. In 1786 he gave his Lenten concert in the court theatre and a series of Advent concerts in the Trattnerhof. Thereafter concerts practically cease. We know of one more, in November 1788 in Jahn's Hall. The three subscription concerts that he planned to give at his own home in 1789 did not come about for lack of subscribers. In May 1790 Mozart again brought up the idea of giving subscription concerts at his home and in October referred to subscription quartet concerts, but we do not know whether either of these projects was realized.

Organizing a concert was a large undertaking, but the effort could be well worth it. A few surviving figures for the Lenten concert season of 1785 show how lucrative concerts could be. The Le Bruns, an oboist and a singer, cleared (or possibly took in) 1100 gulden, 900 gulden, and 500 gulden in three concerts they gave in the court theatre. Mozart's concert on 19 March yielded 559 gulden, exceeding his own and his father's expectations, since he had just given six well-attended subscription concerts at the Mehlgrube and had also performed extensively in private concerts.²⁸

26 On concert life in Vienna, see Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1988), and Dexter Edge, 'Review Article: Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*', *Haydn Yearbook*, 17 (1992), pp. 108-66.

27 Starting in 1786 Joseph allowed plays to be performed during Lent, thereby further reducing the number of nights available for concerts.

28 Letter of 12 March 1785, *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 378.

It should be obvious that no amount of virtuosic playing and brilliant composition could ensure success in concertizing if not accompanied by strong entrepreneurial skills. Mozart's continual casting about for new sources of income also led to his well-known collaboration with the actor, impresario, composer, director, singer (Papageno) and librettist Emanuel Schikaneder in what may have been a joint financial venture in 1791, the production of *Die Zauberflöte* at the Theater auf der Wieden.²⁹ This theatre, erected in 1787, was one of the three most important commercial theatres to have sprung up in Vienna since 1776 when Joseph had lifted the court's monopoly on theatre, the other two being the Leopoldstädtertheater, established in 1781, and the Josefstädtertheater, built in 1788. The immediate and resounding success of *Die Zauberflöte* should have brought Mozart some much-needed income, but we have no record of what he received or, indeed, whether he received anything at all.

Freelance publishing

EARNING ONE'S LIVING solely from publishing was practically impossible in 1781. The biggest obstacle for composers lay in the limited rights of ownership they had to their works. They lost possession of a composition once they sold it to a publisher, which they did for a flat fee, without royalties. All too often they were denied their fee by unscrupulous publishers who pirated their music, not to mention a whole industry of arrangers who, for example, would make and sell vocal scores of popular numbers from a new opera, from which the composer would of course receive nothing. Four days after the premiere of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* Mozart wrote to his father that if he did not complete his arrangement of the opera for wind instruments in a week, someone else would do it, which is indeed what happened. Vienna was unusual among European musical centres at this time for carrying on much of its trade in sheet music in the form of handwritten music sold by commercial music copyists. Chief among these were Johann Traeg, Lorenz Lausch and Wenzel Sukowaty, also the court theatre copyist. The principal publisher of engraved music from 1778 was Artaria and Company, although in the following decade Franz Anton Hoffmeister, Christoph Torricella and Leopold Kozeluch also established publishing houses. Artaria was Mozart's major publisher, bringing out forty-five editions of Mozart's music during his lifetime.³⁰ We know of only one fee that Artaria paid Mozart: 100 ducats (then 433 fl. 20 x.) for the six 'Haydn' Quartets in 1785.

From Wolfgang and Leopold's long experience in dealing with publishers, Wolfgang was predisposed to avoid them and to try to maximize his profits by publishing his works himself. In his letter to his father of 19 May 1781 he reports that he will sell some sonatas by subscription. He never mentioned exactly how and even whether the subscription scheme was realized. The chances are that he abandoned the idea and sold the sonatas to Artaria just to get them out, for in November 1781 Artaria issued six violin sonatas, K. 296 and 376-380.

29 Halliwell, *Mozart Family*, p. 393, recalls a plan of Mozart's in 1782 to produce operas at his own expense in order to profit from their success instead of merely receiving a fee for the score. On Schikaneder's operations, see David J. Buch, 'Mozart and the Theater auf der Wieden: New Attributions and Perspectives', *COJ*, 9 (1997), pp. 195-9.

30 Concerning Artaria, see Rupert Ridgewell, 'Mozart's Publishing Plans with Artaria in 1787: New Archival Evidence', *ML*, 83 (2002), pp.30-74.

The following year Mozart made another attempt to sell his works by subscription, this time in manuscript copies, but it failed as well. The failure can be clearly traced through the letters.³¹ On 28 December 1782 Mozart explained to his father that he was writing three keyboard concertos (K. 413, 414, 415) which he was going to sell by subscription for 6 ducats (25 fl. 36 x.). In his letter of 4 January 1783 he had lowered the asking price to 4 ducats (17 fl. 4 x.), which is the price listed in the advertisement that appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 15 January. When in April the deadline had passed without his having obtained sufficient subscribers, Mozart offered the set to the publisher Jean Georges Sieber in Paris for 30 *louis d'or* (about 330 gulden), which, as Ruth Halliwell points out, is the profit he would have realized from selling twenty-five sets by subscription. Sieber declined, and the concertos were next advertised by Traeg in Vienna in September 1783 at 10 gulden for all three. The terms of this arrangement are unknown, but Halliwell does not rule out that Traeg might have sold a pirated score. Eventually Mozart reverted to Artaria, who in March 1785 offered the concertos, now engraved, for sale at 2 fl. 30 x. each, which made the set 7 fl. 30 x. When compared with Mozart's original figure of 25 fl. 36 x., it is clear that the price he placed on his compositions vastly exceeded their market value.³²

In his dealings with Artaria, Mozart shows himself not to have been entirely above reproach. Rupert Ridgewell chronicles the relationship between them from 1787 to Mozart's death. In July 1787 Artaria commissioned, and perhaps paid for in advance, six piano trios, the first three of which were published in November 1788 (K. 502, 542, 548). The next trio, K. 564, was completed in October 1788, but was not published by Artaria until October 1790, and then as a single composition, suggesting that Artaria had given up waiting for the other two trios that would have made a set of three. Meanwhile, Mozart arranged to have the trio published in London in July 1789, thereby earning a second fee for it. Curiously he never repeated this stratagem. As with the trios, Mozart failed to deliver a complete set of twelve songs, forcing Artaria to publish just four. Having brought things to a standstill between Artaria and himself, Mozart sought to publish his next compositions at his own expense with Kozeluch, but again failed to finish the sets, the 'six easy clavier sonatas for Princess Friederika and six quartets for the King', and nothing came of his plan. In June 1790, Mozart sold the three 'Prussian' Quartets, K. 575, 589 and 590, to Artaria 'for a pittance'. In October 1790 Mozart negotiated with Franz Anton Hoffmeister over future publications but nothing came of that either. While Mozart soured his relationship with Artaria by defaulting on the delivery of promised compositions, the inadequate compensation received by composers for their works constituted

31 What follows is a synopsis of the discussion in Halliwell, *Mozart Family*, pp. 395-6.

32 Julia Moore, 'Mozart in the Market-Place', *JRMA*, 114 (1989), p. 25, mentions two other attempts by Mozart to publish his compositions by subscription: two piano sonatas, K. 333 and 284, and the Violin Sonata in B flat major, K. 454, in 1784, and the three string quintets K. 406, 515 and 516 in 1788.

a serious problem, and publishers, as the first in line to have to pay, appeared and often acted like villains. One has only to follow Constanze Mozart's attempts to publish her dead and by then famous husband's oeuvre with Breitkopf and Härtel to understand Beethoven's profound loathing for publishers and his many attempts to outmanoeuvre them.³³

The nobility

FROM HIS ASSOCIATION SINCE CHILDHOOD with a large part of Europe's nobility Mozart had acquired an ease in consorting with them. No sooner arrived in Vienna, he aggressively courted the resident nobility for their support. He looked to them for pupils, for invitations to give private concerts, for attendance of his own concerts and for the exertion of their influence with the Emperor. But that was all he could expect, for although the nobility in Vienna had a reputation for being music lovers, their patronage of musicians during the 1780s was limited to providing occasional or short-term engagements.³⁴ No princely household maintained a private orchestra or even a chamber ensemble, apart from a Harmoniemusik kept by Prince Johann Nepomuk Schwarzenberg and one acquired in 1789 by Prince Alois Liechtenstein. The social calendar of the aristocracy was agreeably filled with numerous musical events marking birthdays, fulfilling social obligations and rounding out dinner parties, but the number of serious patrons of music was surprisingly small. The most consistent sponsor of private concerts was undoubtedly the Russian ambassador Prince Dimitrij Galitzin, who for many years held regular concerts in his palace, for which he engaged a wide variety of musicians, including Mozart. Baron Gottfried van Swieten tried to establish a tradition of oratorio performances, which members of the nobility took turns financing. In the late 1780s he engaged Mozart to reorchestrate and direct a number of Handel oratorios. Count Johann Baptist Esterházy took an active role in sponsoring a number of cultural activities: in 1786 he hosted a series of German plays; in 1788 he began supporting van Swieten's oratorio productions; and in 1784 he mounted a series of at least nine concerts, for which he engaged Paul Wranitzky as music director and Mozart as a performer.

The nobility also produced operas, but in small numbers and almost always as domestic comedies, in which they themselves performed the roles with the support of professional musicians. The driving force behind the opera productions seems to have been Countess Hatzfeld, who was accomplished enough as a singer to take the leading roles in most of the operas. Prince Alois Liechtenstein hosted three such productions in 1784, Prince Karl Johann Baptist Dietrichstein one in 1787 and Prince Johann Adam Auersperg three in 1786, which included *Idomeneo* under Mozart's direction.

However limited the nobility's financial commitment to music was, when at the start of the Turkish war in 1788 they cut back on their entertainments, Mozart felt the effects, for he lost not only the occasional engagement but the better part of his audience for his subscription concerts.

³³ Halliwell discusses Constanze's dealings with publishers with riveting clarity in *Mozart Family*, pp. 590-612. For a discussion of Beethoven's difficulties in making a living from his compositions and some of his dealings with publishers, see Julia Moore, 'Beethoven and Inflation', *Beethoven Forum*, 1 (1992), pp. 191-223.

³⁴ This summary is based on Dorothea Link, 'Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783-92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf', *JRMA*, 122 (1997), pp. 205-33.

The Tonkünstlersozietät

IT REMAINS TO MENTION one professional option that Mozart failed to exercise. He did not take out membership in the Tonkünstlersozietät. This organization was founded by the court under Florian Gassmann in 1772 to provide pensions both for its own musicians who did not have court-employee status (those working in the theatre, for example) and for any other Viennese musician who joined the society voluntarily. The musicians' premiums were supplemented by the fundraising concerts put on twice a year by the members of the society, two at Easter and two at Christmas. The pension scheme proved to be extremely successful. By 1781 the society had grown to 104 members and a hundred years later counted as one of the most venerable institutions in Viennese musical life.

Mozart applied on 11 February 1785 for admission to the society, but failed to complete the application – it was a matter of a birth certificate – although he was extremely active in their concerts. Already on 3 April 1781 he had contributed a symphony and piano variations to a concert that took in a record-breaking 2394 gulden. He participated in the Christmas concert of 1783 with a piano concerto and a vocal rondo. In 1785 he provided the oratorio *Davidde penitente* for the Easter concert and a piano concerto for the Christmas concert. His clarinet quintet was performed at Christmas 1789 and a symphony and an aria at Easter 1791. His failure to complete the application may reveal negligence in bureaucratic matters, but more probably betrays an unconscious wish not to associate too closely with the class of musicians who joined the society. He would lend his not inconsiderable assistance to their cause, but he had his sights on a court position with a court pension. Consequently, at his unexpectedly early death, Mozart's widow had no claim on any pension. The court pension became effective only after ten years of service, and his application to the Tonkünstlersozietät had never been approved. In her petition to the court for its mercy she admitted that her husband had been negligent in not having obtained membership in the Tonkünstlersozietät. Although the court had no legal obligation to do so, it granted her an annual pension of 266 fl. 40 X., a third of Mozart's salary.

Conclusion

IN ALL SPHERES OF EMPLOYMENT open to him, it appears Mozart did exceedingly well. To inquire into the question of why Mozart's considerable income was insufficient for his needs is beyond the scope of this essay.³⁵ Even allowing for the fact that the freelance portion of his income was uneven and particularly low in the last four years of his life, his dire situation cannot be satisfactorily explained away by the effects of the Turkish war, his wife's costly illnesses or his financial mismanagement, although the latter is hard to gauge. Some scholars have gone so far as to propose that Mozart had a gambling problem or other psychological disorders. More revealing, if exasperatingly cryptic, is the recent discovery of a judgement won by Prince Lichnowsky in a lawsuit against Mozart in 1791 for over 1400 gulden.³⁶ Whatever his personal misfortune in the last years of his life, however, his decision in 1781 to make his career in Vienna was a sound one.

³⁵ Various theories are summarized in Edge, 'Mozart's Reception in Vienna', pp.66-9.

³⁶ Walther Brauneis, ' ". . . wegen schuldigen 1435 f 32 xr": Neuer Archivfund zur Finanzmisere Mozarts im November 1791', *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, 39 (1991), pp. 159-63 [see under „Brauneis“ in the website].

Abbreviations

Books and editions

- LMF* Emily Anderson (ed. and trans.), *The Letters of Mozart and His Family* (3rd edn, London, 1985).
- MBA* Wilhelm A. Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch and Joseph Heinz Eibl (eds.), *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen, Gesamtausgabe* (7 vols., Kassel, 1962-75).
- MDB* Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe and Jeremy Noble (Stanford and London, 1965).
- MDL* Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel, 1961).
- NMA* Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel, 1955-).

Journals

- COJ* *Cambridge Opera Journal*
- EM* *Early Music*
- JAMS* *Journal of the American Musicological Society*
- JMR* *Journal of Musicological Research*
- JM* *Journal of Musicology*
- JRMA* *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*
- ML* *Music and Letters*
- MQ* *The Musical Quarterly*
- MT* *The Musical Times*