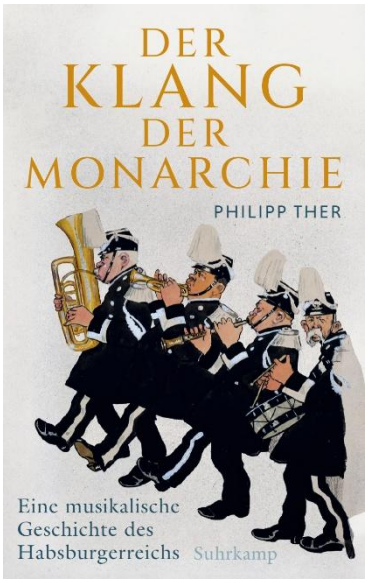

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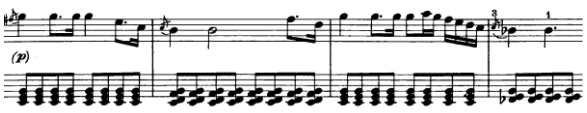
Chapter 2

Upheaval and Awakening: Mozart as a Josephine Composer

Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, Piano Sonata in A minor, K. 310, movement 1; Maurerische Trauermusik in C minor, K. 477/479a; Concerto for Two Pianos, K. 365, movements 1 and 3; The Abduction from the Seraglio, K. 384: Overture, Long live Bassa Selim; Le Nozze di Figaro, K. 492: Deh, vieni, non tardar; Balli Tedeschi, K. 509, Quadrille in D major.



Paris ce 3 juillet 1778

Mourn with me, my friend! – This was the saddest day of my life – I am writing this at two o'clock in the morning – of, I must tell you the news, my mother, my dear mother is no more! – God called her to be with him, he wanted her, I saw that clearly – and so I gave myself over to God's will – it was he who gave her to me, and he who could take her away from me. Just imagine all the restlessness, fear and worry I have endured over these 14 days – she died without knowing a thing about herself, extinguished like a light. She had confessed three days before, received holy communion and was anointed – but over the last 3 days she was constantly fantasising, and today at 5:21, her features became distorted, she immediately lost all feeling and senses. I held her hand, spoke to her – but she did not see me, did not hear me, and felt nothing – and thus she lay until she passed away, five hours later, at 10:21 in the evening."[1]

With these agitated, almost staccato lines penned in the early hours of the morning, the young Mozart reported the passing of his mother, whose body was lying beside him in their cramped apartment. But this letter was not addressed to his father but to the former Jesuit priest Joseph Bullinger, a close friend of the family, whom he asked to pass on the news of his mother's death as gently as possible. Mozart then wrote a letter to his father describing the severity of his mother's condition and prophesying about God's will, but making no mention of her death.

The reasons for this absence and the numerous half-truths contained in the letter have long been a central topic for exegeses of Mozart's life and work, as has the composer's emotional cosmos more generally. Research into this topic is able to draw on a unique body of information; 361 letters between Leopold and Wolfgang Amadé Mozart have been preserved, offering deep insights not only into their family history but also into life in Josephine Austria, into the social upheaval and cultural awakening taking place, which Mozart's life and works have come to epitomise. In most Mozart biographies, the conflict between father and son tends to take centre stage. For too long, this has obscured the fact that in many respects, Wolfgang Amadé actually had a more intimate relationship with his mother than with his overbearing father, who rationally planned his career from his earliest childhood.

In terms of the pressure that was placed on them to perform at the highest level, we can draw a parallel here between Mozart and Emperor Joseph II, and this is not the only similarity between the two. The emperor and the composer shared an aversion to traditional social hierarchies, both were prone to making snap decisions, and yet they both initiated changes that heavily influenced the Habsburg Empire and its music until its dissolution. Mozart also functioned as a link between different crown territories and the two capitals of Vienna and Prague, in that he spurred the competition between them. When we compare their biographies side by side, however, as in this chapter on the Josephine era, major differences stand out, of course, starting with their social position and ending with Mozart's dependence on court commissions and, significantly, their two mothers, one a long-serving empress, the other a bourgeois woman managing the household so that her husband could do his work.

Anna Maria Mozart played no visible role in her husband's musical family business, but she packed their suitcases for the European tours in 1762–1773, chose the festive clothing for the performances, and was responsible for looking after the family. Because of the concert tours, there was little chance for her to delegate tasks to servants, maids and tutors, as was customary among aristocratic and wealthy families, but was always close to her children.

Their mother kept the two "prodigies" Wolfgang and Maria Anna in good spirits while they were jostled around for days in uncomfortable coaches and then had to perform at the highest level in front of Europe's royalty.

The "Mozartesse", as she called herself, never lost her sense of humour, even on long journeys. Her letters were peppered with the kind of crude jokes and ribaldry that we are familiar with from her son. The editor of her correspondence, the German scholar Ingo Reiffenstein, summarises the influence of her mother on her son's character as follows: "creativity, imagination and joviality - qualities Mozart possessed in such abundance – were hardly among the character traits that his father was known for; his mother, on the other hand, had them in abundance."[2] Her relationship with "Wolferl" was probably also so close because Anna Maria had lost five children in infancy, leaving only Maria Anna and her younger brother by five years Wolfgang Theophil (Mozart converted Theophil to Amadé, with the Latinised Amadeus only appearing posthumously, an expression of the anti-French sentiment following the Napoleonic Wars. In this book, I will stick with Amadé, which is also in keeping with how Mozart signed his name). His mother coddled her sickly son, while his father pushed him to succeed, in part to make up for his own stalled career. But while these parental influences fostered their son's musical talent, they did little to nurture his independence and social skills.

On this fateful journey to Paris, Wolfgang's father had entrusted his wife with a dual role, first to keep the family clothed and fed, as she had done previously on the grand tours, and second to keep a watchful eye on their son. After his escapades in the early stages of his first concert tour and given his general recklessness, Wolfgang's father Leopold did not trust his 22-year-old son. The road to Paris passed through Mannheim, the residential city of the Palatinate line of the Wittelsbach dynasty, who maintained one of the best orchestras in the Holy Roman Empire in the city (and soon afterwards in Munich as well). The aim of his stay was to gain employment with the royal orchestra, however they had no free positions. By his standards, Mozart composed little in Mannheim, preferring to enjoy himself at balls and among courtly society. And on top of this, he fell head over heels in love with an aspiring opera singer. When he then announced that he was going on a tour of Italy with the object of his desire, Aloysia Weber, and her musically accomplished family, his father wrote angrily: "Get yourself to Paris, young man! And soon!"[3]

Mozart's mother expressed doubts as to whether she would be able to endure another gruelling journey at her age, but orders were orders. The aim of the trip to Paris was once

again ambitious: the young Mozart was to make a name for himself there with concerts and commissions, recoup the travel and accommodation costs, and gain a position at the royal court – "aut caesar, aut nihil", as his ambitious father put it. Leopold Mozart was counting on the Parisian elites remembering the child prodigy's legendary performances of 1763 and that the relationships they had forged back then would help. However, 15 years had passed since then, and the former child star was now a young man whose manner at public performances was often somewhat gauche because he was used to having almost everything dictated to him by his father. Despite all his affection, Leopold Mozart saw fundamental deficits in his son: "that he is too patient or lethargic, too comfortable, perhaps sometimes too proud, and how all these things that make a person inactive come together: or he is too impatient, too hot-tempered, and cannot wait for anything. There are two opposing propositions that prevail in him – too much or too little, and nothing in between."[4]

Mozart tried to cultivate contacts with musical entrepreneurs, with the royal court, and with aristocratic families in Paris. But all his efforts to secure commissions or other work, even giving music lessons, ultimately came to nothing. Parisian high society made him wait around in freezing antechambers, and when he was given the chance to play, as he complained in a letter, the aristocrats largely ignored him. As a harpsichord and piano teacher, Mozart had to deal with spoilt children who had no musical aptitude, a task for which he lacked the patience. Mozart's ability to compose in Paris was limited by the fact that there was no piano in his cramped apartment and the staircase was too narrow to have one brought up. In this context, his mother was more of a burden than a support, since she spoke no French and spent most of her time sitting around in the cold and dark flat complaining about how lonely she was.

Anybody who is familiar with Haydn's biography will understand why Mozart failed in Paris. At this stage of his life, he was too much of an unknown to secure major commissions on the international stage. And the competition in Paris was overwhelming, especially in the field of opera, where Gluck and his rival Piccinni had a monopoly on the attention. As his host and local patron, Baron Friedrich Melchior Grimm, reported to his father in Salzburg, Mozart lacked above all the ability to "parley" and fit in with Parisian society.

In his seminal biography, Wolfgang Hildesheimer claims that in Paris, the rebel in Mozart began to emerge.[5] However, his frustrating experiences with his would-be aristocratic clients and patrons inspired more reluctance and rebelliousness than sober political thinking.

Mozart did not write a single line about the American War of Independence during his time in Paris, a topic that was on everyone's lips at the time. And on the death of Voltaire, he quipped that the "godless arch-rogue" had croaked like a dog, "that is his reward".[6] It is important not to place too much emphasis on this statement – Mozart had clearly taken on some of the church's prejudices about the philosopher. However, efforts to frame him as a great enthusiast of the Enlightenment are less than convincing, at least for this phase of his life. And they are only partially accurate when it comes to his time in Vienna. This designation applies much more fittingly to Leopold Mozart, whose thoughts and actions were always guided by reason. His approach to the education of his children, the way he planned his son's career, and perhaps even more so, his own compositions were all heavily informed by the spirit of the Enlightenment.[7]

His son, on the other hand, often acted in a desultory manner, behaving impulsively and without regard for the effects this had on his milieu and his clients. If we are to believe the emphasis that almost all conventional biographies of Mozart place on this generational conflict, we can say that in Mannheim, Paris and the years leading up to his marriage, Mozart's lifestyle was a reflection of the *Sturm und Drang* of the era, the first phase of Romanticism. During this phase of his life, however, his rebellion was directed more against his father and the claustrophobic nature of life in Salzburg than against the prevailing social and political order.

After three months in Paris, Mozart was ultimately able to chalk up one major success, the premiere of his Symphony in D major (K. 297).[8] The work, later known as the "Paris Symphony" – Haydn's Paris symphonies did not hit the market until the late 1780s – delighted audiences. For Mozart, this was one of the few bright moments during his unsuccessful sojourn. As a reward, he treated himself to a sinfully expensive ice cream in the Jardin du Luxembourg after the concert – Haydn would probably have saved the money or gotten patrons to pay for a lavish meal. But the joy of this success did not last long; shortly thereafter, his mother fell ill, presumably from contaminated drinking water – a result of the fact that the streets of Paris were sometimes covered in an inch of faeces at the time because there was no sewerage system.

The infection first affected her intestines and then her head. A week before her death, Anna Maria Mozart went deaf, a sign of an acute ear infection, and she also suffered from bouts of fever.[9] Suddenly, the familial roles were reversed, with the son having to look after his mother, a responsibility that overwhelmed him. He didn't take the illness seriously at first,

waiting several days to seek out a German-speaking doctor, as his mother spoke no French. The quack he found prescribed bloodletting, which Leopold Mozart also recommended incessantly, which only further weakened the 57-year-old's defences. Given her age, we cannot really say that she died prematurely – due to the lack of medical knowledge at the time, death was a constant companion of life back then. For Mozart, the death of his mother meant put an abrupt end to his sheltered childhood and youth.

Death, Grief and the Expression of Emotions in Music

The grief of the entire family was made more difficult by the fact that they had to mourn for their mother and wife separately. The funeral was very modest due to the empty coffers of the family's travel budget, something that was also true when Mozart died some thirteen years later. It is likely that the only attendees were the priest and a friend, the Bohemian music and instrument dealer Franz Joseph Heina, who had already provided support and comfort to Mozart as he sat beside his mother's deathbed. Once his mother had been buried, Mozart looked back on his poor behaviour towards his father and apologised in his next letter. Once again, the letter contained a wealth of empty verbiage about God's will and providence, as if Mozart wanted to unload feelings of guilt; after all, his mother had travelled to Paris for him.

At the same time, he tried to look to the future and wrote to his father and sister: "I have felt enough pain, I have cried enough". One week after this existential experience by his mother's deathbed, he wrapped up the matter with the words: "and let's move on to other things".[10] He did not succeed, however, he had even fewer performances and commissions than in the spring and, for the first time in his life, Mozart ran out of money. Nevertheless, he stayed in Paris for almost three months, as he had no desire to return to Salzburg.

The three letters written at the time of his mother's death reveal an immature mixture of grief and repression. In his "musico-psychoanalytical studies", Bernd Oberhoff concluded that the repressed feelings of guilt and grief subconsciously influenced Mozart's ensuing Parisian compositions.[11] This may be the case, as I will discuss in more detail in a moment, but a Freudian approach alone cannot explain the work of composers and artists. People need not suffer in order to create meaningful and profound works. This is illustrated with particular clarity by Mozart's later career, who found inspiration in the applause and success he received, and who himself once wrote that he "needed a cheerful head and a calm mind" to compose.[12] The composer whose creative was purely the product of distress is a myth that can be traced back to a one-sided Romantic interpretation of musical creativity. Mozart provided a

perfect model of this conception: “poor”, misunderstood by those around him and harassed by debt collectors, Mozart stoically composes his masterpieces, and ends up terminally ill.

In Paris, Mozart was indeed poor, not just financially, but even more so, emotionally. Exactly one month after that traumatic night by his mother’s deathbed, his father accused him in a letter of neglecting his sick mother: “You were busy with your affairs, were not home all day, and because she didn’t make a fuss of it, you took it lightly, and all the while, the spectre of death was approaching, and by the time the doctor arrived it was far too late”.[13] He had already exposed his mother to the “most extreme risk of death” during his birth, continued his father; she had travelled to Paris just for him and “now had to sacrifice herself for her son in a different way...” The widower’s grief had evidently given way to rage. In the wake of these “unforgivable” accusations, the young Mozart fell silent, writing no letters for several weeks, and the relationship between father and son was damaged forever.[14]

How could the young man come to terms with his own grief, his previous frustrations, and his father’s admonitions? His closest contact in Paris was Baron Grimm, a diplomat in the service of the Principality of Gotha and long-time editor of the well-known Enlightenment journal *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique*.[15] Grimm was a childhood acquaintance of Mozart’s and the composer was very disappointed in him because he had not provided him with the connections to the court and other patrons that he had hoped for. In August, Mozart’s feelings likewise gave way to rage, and he fell out with the baron at a meeting. The only personal contact he had left was his friend Franz Joseph Heina (who later changed his first name to François – as a means of fitting in with his French milieu). Apart from Heina and a few professional contacts, Mozart, half-orphaned, was now completely alone in the world up until he left the city in late September.

It is not possible to say with certainty when Mozart composed his Piano Sonata No. 9 in A minor (K. 310). The chronology of his time in Paris gives rise to the presumption that in this work, he was musically processing his grief and his attempts to repress it. If Mozart had already completed the work in May or June, he would probably have endeavoured to organise a performance and find a publisher. Given that he only left the sonata with Heina upon his departure – in return for a loan to finance his return journey – we can surmise that he probably composed most of it after his mother’s death. Of course, it’s important not to turn this compositional context into kitsch; Hildesheimer rightly warns against imagining an inconsolably sad Mozart who, fighting back the tears, packs all his pain into a single composition.[16]

Nevertheless, there are striking parallels between the documents of Mozart's linguistic and musical expression, between his letters and compositions from the summer of 1778. His letter written late at night to Abbé Bullinger begins with repeated laments and chopped up, stammered sentences about dying, before Mozart indulges in lengthy instructions on how the family friend should comfort his father and sister. The language is just as bewildering as the content, although Mozart reels himself back in time and again, referring to divine providence and even declaring towards the end of his letter that the benevolent God has granted him two requests at once, a happy death for his mother and strength and courage for himself.

Like the letter to Abbé Bullinger, the piano sonata begins with a plaintive melody, accompanied by a monotonous, almost furious hammering on the left hand. The extreme changes between loud and soft and the many dissonant chords, which begin in the second bar and recur throughout the piece, are also striking. At the moment when the hammering quavers finally stop, a series of descending sighs follows on the right hand, which merge into the initial plaintive melody, except that this is shifted up a minor third and thus has an even more intense effect. The sonata then becomes more conventional, with its sixteenth-note runs, almost taking on the tone of a bravura. However, the long series of notes do not simply go up and down in tone as in Mozart's earlier compositions, but are shot through with deliberately monotonous repetitions, as if Mozart wanted to lend expression to his own grief and despair.

The first movement becomes even more sombre in the second section, in which the work changes from minor to major (from bar 50). Such a change of key in Mozart's music normally marks the transition to a more cheerful passage. However, after just eight bars, the sonata falls back into the minor and a dotted, descending lament. The reduced tempo of the andante in the second movement is even better suited to housing the gaping, emotional abysses of the piece. Mozart takes up the lamentations and sighs of the opening theme and intensifies them with ever new variations.

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The rapid tempo in the third movement (a presto) can be interpreted as a means of fleeing from grief, which also emerges in the letters to his sister and father. In them, Mozart wrote that "it is over now", and that "nothing can be done to change the matter". It remains unclear whether the "false" major, the sighs and lamentation motifs were actually intended as

an expression of grief and pain at all. It is difficult to give a clear answer, as there are no contemporaraneous witnesses to whom Mozart revealed his inner life or who were with him during the composition. Theoretically, this piano sonata could also have been a pure dramatisation, a performance of feelings rather than a deliberate or subconscious transferral of his own emotions.

Dramatic and emotional compositions were in vogue in the 1770s, and Haydn wrote the majority of his minor-key symphonies and the Sun Quartets mentioned in the first chapter during this decade. Like Mozart's Parisian piano sonatas, they were characterised by dissonance, strong contrasts, and expressive rhythm. And yet there is a decisive difference to the works of Haydn: while Haydn utilised the entire harmonic system with his interval leaps and dissonances, almost as if in a scientific or mathematical experiment, Mozart's sonata focuses on emotionally profound melodies. The choice of key also speaks in favour of a very personal approach. Mozart only composed around one in ten of his works in a minor key, and often used A minor to express melancholy, sadness, or anger.

In the rendition by Dinu Lipatti, one of the great concert pianists of the 1940s, it is primarily the sense of grief that takes centre stage. He took the initial allegro maestoso (labelled allegretto in some editions of the piano sonata) relatively slowly, almost like a moderato, and played the lamenting passages with strong ritardandi, further slowing them down. In doing so, Lipatti (who also died young) amplified the emotional intensity; making the entire work sound like a memorial to his beloved mother. [17]

As I mentioned earlier, we can only speculate as to whether this was Mozart's intention and to what extent he expressed his own feelings in his works. Much of the research on Mozart regards his works and thus also his Parisian piano sonata as abstract works of art, detached from any connection to the here and now. This corresponds with the *Affektenlehre* (doctrine of affects) that was widespread in the 18th century and placed an emphasis on evoking emotional responses in the audience. According to this interpretation, classical antiquity and the Enlightenment were closely linked, and music can be depicted as if on a timeline, separating the "Big Three" – Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven – from the Romantic period that followed. In this tradition of thought, Hildesheimer presents Mozart as "eternally silent ... eloquent only in distraction and expressive only in his work, which he wants to speak of things other than its creator."[18] According to this reading, looking at his state of mind would offer nothing but a biographical illusion.

However, this classical mode of interpretation ignores the subjective, emotional component in Mozart's oeuvre and neglects the cultural context in which it was created. The literature of the Sturm und Drang movement was drenched in emotion, not unlike Goya's works in the field of painting. Writers and artists of the era foregrounded the subjective and thematised emotional impulses, sometimes even suicidal ones, as in the case of Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, a novel that was on everyone's lips during Mozart's stays in Munich and Mannheim. What evidence is there to suggest that Mozart, smitten in Mannheim before being brusquely ordered to continue travelling by his father, overwhelmed after his arrival in Paris, increasingly frustrated and then directly confronted with death, resisted expressing his own emotions in his work? Music was the medium in which he communicated, at least as much as in his letters, in which he concealed a great deal, performed shadow plays and was always trying to present a *bella figura* to his father.

To be sure, instrumental music cannot directly convey non-musical themes, which is why Enlightenment thinkers such as Kant were sceptical about it. But melodies, performed by the respective leading voices, are music's closest means of expression to human language – apart from songs, operatic arias, and other genres with linguistic content. Mozart's melodies and his music more generally continue to speak to countless people today. This appeal is easier to understand if we see him less as an abstract proponent of the Enlightenment (who, incidentally, almost certainly never read Kant) and more as a Romantic composer. Regardless of how one interprets the individual themes, sequences, and the entire Parisian piano sonata, it was certainly a work that took the expression of emotions to a new level. This is even more true of Mozart's operas, which also had a political dimension – but I shall talk about that in more detail in the next section.

The freedom to express feelings and thus subjective sensitivities and opinions transcends Mozart and was characteristic of the Josephine era more generally. This subjectivity allowed composers, artists and writers to defy social and cultural hierarchies in the same way that the emperor disregarded the traditional position of power of the aristocracy and the church.[19] The reforms ushered in by Joseph II, which we will encounter time and again in the following chapters (including the one on Habsburg pop), were just as subjective as Mozart's compositional style. As such, Mozart can be seen not only as the historical figure he was and as the creator of the music he left behind, he also functions as a symbol of the broader social upheaval and cultural awakening of his time. As such, I will repeatedly look at parallels between the reformist emperor and the composer, and at the connections between the

two of them. The monarch awarded large commissions to Mozart, who buttressed these cultural and political reforms with works of music, and was even awarded a courtly post towards the end of his life, albeit not the one he had aspired to.

Mozart was not only a composer but had also been a piano virtuoso from an early age. Unfortunately, we can only guess at how he interpreted his own works because, as we know, audio recordings have only existed since the late 19th century. Mozart often played the harpsichord, the most common keyboard instrument at the time, and it is just as possible that, in certain settings, he interpreted his sonata as a bravura piece, racing through the mournful passages. In the absence of historical recordings, all speculation as to whether Mozart worked through his grief in this piano sonata and performed it accordingly can only be just that – speculation.[20]

Indeed, we cannot even say this with any certainty for his works in which themes of mourning are included in the title, such as his *Maurerische Trauermusik* (Masonic Funeral Music, K. 477). As Konrad Küster revealed through his research for his "musical biography", the Masonic Funeral Music was in part a repurposed composition that was originally intended for a joyful purpose, the ceremonial reception of new lodge brothers from Venice.[21] These two examples demonstrate once again that music is a highly complex art form, for which the historical context its production, the intentions of the composer, and the social function, performance, and reception of a work of music should be considered separately, but cannot always be distinguished due to a lack of primary sources.

Regardless of these imponderables, what is striking about Mozart's Parisian piano sonata and indeed his entire oeuvre is how strongly his imaginative melodies take centre stage. This distinguishes him from Baroque music, which is more structured, lives from the interplay of equally important voices, follows strict rules (such as the compositional principle of the counterpoint, which also determines the interval spacing) and in this respect corresponds more to the rational thinking of the Enlightenment. Johann Christian Bach (1735–82), whom he had met as a child in London in 1764/65, formed a link between the Baroque and Mozart. Mozart appreciated the dramatic style of Bach's youngest son and met up with him again in Paris. This sojourn can therefore quite accurately be described as a "biographical paradigm",[22] because his traumatic experiences paved the way to a personal and musical awakening. After his mother's death, Mozart composed more freely, more associatively and, in a double sense, more subjectively.

The Professional Composer and Star of the Viennese Scene

Mozart's free lifestyle in Paris ended at the beginning of 1779 and was replaced by an unfree existence in Salzburg. He was even expected to be show gratitude towards his father for the fact that he was able to secure Mozart another position at the archbishop's court orchestra, albeit only as a replacement for the recently deceased court organist. Mozart delayed his return several times and stopped off at the home of the Weber family over the Christmas holidays, where he was rebuffed by the object of his desire, Aloysia, now an established singer with an annual salary of 1,000 guilders. Forced gratitude can easily turn into ingratitude, and Mozart hated his hometown more than ever, using it as an outlet for his pent-up frustrations. He wrote to his father from Munich with a melodramatic undertone: "I swear on my honour that I cannot stand Salzburg and its inhabitants – I'm speaking of those born in Salzburg – I find their language and their way of life utterly unbearable".[23]

The cathedral city was simply too small for Mozart, there was no opera there and few opportunities to make a name for himself with public concerts. Instead, his employer, Prince Archbishop Colloredo, hounded him with humiliating rituals like those to which Haydn had been subjected by the Esterházys. Every morning he had to report for duty and be told what music to play. Mozart later commented on this sarcastically: "I didn't know that I was a valet de chambre, and that really broke my spirits – I was supposed to spend a couple of hours in the antechamber every morning – of course I was often told that I wanted to be seen – but I don't ever remember this being my duty."[24]

Thanks to his parents' efforts to promote their talented son, Mozart had been exposed to completely different social spheres from an early age, he had sat on Maria Theresa's lap as a child prodigy in Vienna and had witnessed the splendour of the royal courts in London, The Hague, and Paris. In Salzburg, he received an annual salary of 450 guilders as court organist (about half as much as Haydn in Eisenstadt), from which he also had to pay off the debts he had accumulated in Paris. The position obliged him to perform numerous church services, which the ecclesiastical prince requested more often than the Esterházys.

As with his trip to Paris, Mozart tried to escape Salzburg by travelling abroad. He once again looked to Munich, where he enjoyed his first great stage success with the opera seria *Idomeneo* at the court of Elector Charles Theodore. However, despite the fact that the applause could be heard all the way back in Salzburg, he was not offered a permanent position. The jealous and controlling Archbishop Colloredo summoned Mozart from his overstayed holiday directly to Vienna, where he was to pay his respects to the emperor. The

prince from Salzburg wanted to demonstrate his power and wealth, symbolised by the quality of his court orchestra and its indisputably most talented member.

Mozart, on the other hand, wanted to use the opportunity to present himself as a piano virtuoso and composer in the imperial capital. When his employer forbade him from performing for the Tonkünstler-Sozietät and ignored several requests for such a performance, Mozart ran angrily to the archbishop's residence in Vienna. A row broke out, which led to the infamous kick from Count Arco. It is not certain whether the court chamberlain actually kicked Mozart in the behind; in all likelihood, he just threw him out.[25] Today, we would speak of a conflict between employer and employee, as Mozart had previously violated his official duties on many occasions and overstayed his holiday leave. In addition, the archbishop was probably not unaware that Mozart had labelled him a "misanthrope" and "arch-slime" due to his habit of occasionally censoring his letters.[26]

The kick had at least one advantage: Mozart could now justify to his father why he was leaving his secure position at court in Salzburg. In Viennese circles, he presented himself as an independent artist following a higher purpose and not allowing himself to be mistreated by court henchmen. The fact that he argued in this way and that the scandal met with such a response during his lifetime is just further evidence of the upheavals in Josephinian society. The young Mozart viewed the old hierarchies – into which Leopold Mozart and Joseph Haydn had fitted more or less without complaint – as an intolerable corset. He behaved in the same way in his private life: the following year, he married Constanze Weber without his father's consent – which was considered an affront at the time. Had Mozart married for love? Probably, if love at second sight counts, because Mozart had originally had his sights set on Constanze's older sister, the aspiring singer Aloysia Weber.

Was Mozart's rebellion against the archbishop already an expression of an emancipatory aspiration among the bourgeoisie that would lead to the French Revolution a few years later? A socio-historical interpretation of this kind fits better with Haydn's biography, who did indeed come from the petite bourgeoisie and worked his way up to become an independent composer over three decades (see Chapter 1). Mozart grew up in a significantly more privileged setting, surrounded by the Salzburg court, with frequent contacts to the local nobility and mingling in even higher-ranking circles on his travels. His courtly upbringing gave rise to a pronounced but sometimes fragile self-confidence. Mozart felt he was superior and liked to prove this as a virtuoso and composer. He was not a "bourgeois

outsider", as Nobert Elias wrote in his sociological analysis, but a figure who existed between social classes.[27]

His position between the bourgeoisie and courtly and aristocratic circles is also reflected in other biographical details besides the episode with Count Arco, such as his lavish spending habits, his conspicuous penchant for luxury with respect to his wardrobe, the restaurants he dined in, and the dwellings he chose to inhabit. All of this was in keeping with an aristocratic habitus and not with his father's bourgeois lifestyle. Up until six months before his death, when he had to make strict savings due to his debts, the supposedly impoverished composer still owned a horse. Translated into contemporary terms, this might be akin to owning a Porsche, as it was very expensive to keep a mount in Vienna's densely developed city centre. However, there were also practical benefits to keeping the horse, as it allowed Mozart to get about above the muddy streets, meaning he did not have to constantly clean his expensive shoes (a task that was, of course, the purvey of his servant). The question of whether his lifestyle helped or harmed him his career is one of the central focuses of this chapter.

Mozart is typically portrayed as a "free spirit" in literature and film. And there is no doubt that he was, especially musically. But towards the end of his life, he returned to the bosom of the court and cosied up to the Habsburgs again. One can never draw general conclusions from a single biography, but this decision is reflective of the limits of the social upheaval and renewal ushered in by Joseph II's policies.

In the immediately aftermath of his rift with the Archbishop of Salzburg, Mozart employed a two-pronged strategy, currying favour with both the nobility and the bourgeoisie. Initially, he took up residence with Count Johann Karl Philipp von Cobenzl, who had acquired a stately manor on the outskirts of contemporary Vienna (the estate is now a popular destination for day-trippers from Vienna) after the dissolution of the Jesuit order. With a roof over his head, Mozart turned his energies to earning money as quickly as possible in the big, expensive city. Mozart's managed to secure Josepha Auernhammer as his pupil, the daughter of the financial secretary of the Bishop of Passau, who had acquired a small fortune in the Viennese exclave of the diocese, a tax haven within the city. Mozart's pupil organised a salon with house concerts, fell in love with her teacher, but still learnt a great deal from him and subsequently made a career as a concert pianist. Auernhammer also composed pieces for the piano herself, which were long ignored because they were written by a woman (see Chapter 8 on Auernhammer and on women in music more generally). Another bourgeois pupil was the

young wife of the printer and paper manufacturer Johann Trattner, who had amassed a fortune through his privileges as a court book printer and through pirate copies of Enlightenment writings and literary works. Mozart dedicated several works to his two bourgeois pupils, six violin sonatas to Josepha Auernhammer, which were published in November 1781, and the Piano Sonata No. 14 in C minor (K. 457) and the Fantasia for Piano (K. 475) in the same key to Maria Theresia Trattner.[28] Mozart even moved in with his patrons for a year at the Trattnerhof, a two-part building complex on the Graben, a square in the centre of Vienna. The Trattners were also godparents to four of his six children, only two of whom – as had been the case for Leopold and Anna Maria Mozart – reached adulthood. Mozart did not develop a close relationship with his aristocratic pupil Countess Zichy. Apparently, he got along better with the upwardly mobile bourgeoisie, whom Joseph II liked to ennoble in order to expand the echelons of the elite that buttressed the state.[29]

In his private contacts, Mozart surrounded himself almost exclusively with members of his own social class. In the circle of music aficionados associated with Gottfried van Swieten, he exchanged ideas with composers such as Antonio Salieri, Joseph Starzer, Anton Teyber, and Joseph Weigl (whom we will encounter in more detail in Chapter 4).[30] One will search in vain for representatives of the old nobility in this convivial circle, as the high nobility considered themselves too refined to sit around a table discussing music. Despite all the rapprochement between the court and the aristocracy on the one hand and Enlightenment intellectuals and musicians on the other, a social distance remained that once again reveals the limits of Josephine social policies.

As is well known, the freemasons' lodges played an important role in Mozart's social interactions, bringing together aristocrats, high-ranking functionaries, and representatives of the class known as the "intelligentsia" in Eastern Europe, that is, scholars, school teachers, journalists, and other independent professionals.[31] Mozart's membership of two Masonic lodges has often been retrospectively interpreted as evidence of his commitment to the Enlightenment and to the values of the Revolution. There is no doubt that he continued to educate himself in this environment and took up ideas for his stage works. The *Magic Flute* was a kind of homage to the Freemasons, and Mozart also dedicated a number of songs, cantatas, and the aforementioned Masonic Funeral Music to his lodge brothers. At the same time, his association with the Freemasons had a social function, as he met like-minded people and peers at the Freemasons who also existed at the interstices of the bourgeoisie and the nobility. The lodges were also an excellent place for making new contacts, both upwardly,

with members of the court, and outwardly, with people from other cities in the Habsburg Empire.

Mozart's path in life is representative of a fundamental shift in the world of music in the form of a professionalisation; because previously, even the most famous composers had always possessed another main occupation, usually as a *Kapellmeister* at a royal court like Gluck, or for a prince, like Haydn. In contrast, apart from his performances as a piano virtuoso, Mozart was one thing and one thing only: a composer.[32] Mozart's professional confidence is probably one of the reasons why, unlike Haydn, he never sought employment with an aristocratic family. There would have been ample opportunities for this, because in the 1780s, more than 80 princes and counts were based in the imperial capital and the the emperor's youngest brother, Maximilian, Elector of Cologne, wanted to bring Mozart to his court.

Mozart entertained the aristocracy in other ways and regularly gave concerts in palaces of Vienna, the number of which rose to more than 300 under Maria Theresa and Joseph II. From the perspective of historians, the aristocratic salons usually occupy the foreground because they are better documented and, in some cases, existed for several generations, but Vienna's cultural prosperity was based above all on the competition between different social classes. For the aspiring bourgeoisie – we can only partially speak of the bourgeoisie as a group that consciously saw itself as a class in the way that occurred the 19th century – the salons offered an opportunity to display their growing wealth and cultivate social connections.

The salons and concerts brought together the old nobility, the aristocracy, and the nouveau riche bourgeoisie. These elites and the hard labour of its subjects carried the Habsburg Empire through the disasters of the Napoleonic Wars and ultimately on to the First World War. Unlike a Viennese Melange coffee, however, the dark liquid at the bottom and the frothed milk at the top remained separate components. The old upper echelons of the empire did not regard newly titled people such as the Enlightenment philosophers Van Swieten and Joseph von Sonnenfels (who, like Fanny von Arnstein, came from a Jewish family) or the aforementioned Trattners as equals. The Thuns and other aristocratic families were happy to invite Mozart over for dinner or coffee, but they usually expected him to sit down at their piano in return.

The decisive impetus for Mozart's rise to become a star in the capital was provided by the emperor himself. Joseph II was often seen out and about in Vienna, sometimes even on foot, styling himself as the "people's emperor". He heard about Mozart's success, and on

Christmas Eve of 1781, he invited Mozart to the Hofburg to participate in what would become a legendary musical duel with the Italian composer and pianist Muzio Clementi.[33] Among the guests was the heir to the Russian throne, Paul Petrovich, whom the emperor wanted to show what Vienna had to offer musically. Mozart outplayed Muzio, Joseph II was delighted, and is said to have raved about the concert for years to come. The following day, Christmas Day, the Russian Grand Duke Paul was served excerpts from Haydn's String Quartets, Op. 33, which established a new genre to the same extent as Mozart's piano sonatas and piano concertos. For those interested in identifying "decisive moments" in the history of music, to borrow Stefan Zweig's phrase, we could say that several such moments occurred at Christmas 1781.

When the emperor gave his seal of approval to a composer or a particular work – as was the case soon afterward with the singspiel *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* – the high nobility quickly followed suit. The invitations Mozart received increased his social prestige, and the young piano virtuoso gave performances in the palaces and salons of the Princes Auersperg and Golizyn and of the Counts Esterházy (a collateral line of the princely family), Hadik, Pálffy and Zichy. Mozart was in particularly close contact with Count Franz Joseph von Thun and his wife Maria Wilhelmine, who ran a flourishing salon in Vienna. Mozart performed there several times in 1782 and presented excerpts from *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* before its eagerly awaited premiere.

As a virtuoso and composer, Mozart rode the wave of enthusiasm for the piano, an instrument for which Vienna was also setting new standards in terms of instrument making. The local piano makers were the first to develop the fortepiano (hence the name "Viennese action"), which squeezed harpsichords and clavichords out of the market.[34] In addition to the fuller sound, the fortepiano's attack technique offered new possibilities for playing fast notes with accentuated volume and emphasis. The virtuosos of the 1780s really indulged in these possibilities, hammering away at the keys, especially in the cadenzas, the improvised sections, which disappeared from most concertos from the second half of the 19th century onwards due to a misplaced sense of fidelity to the work.

In keeping with the piano mania of the time, Mozart wrote a concerto in E flat major for two pianos and orchestral accompaniment (K. 365), which was originally intended to be performed by him and his sister.[35] However, Maria Anna Mozart had to stay in Salzburg to care for her widowed father, so the woman often belittled as "Nannerl" was unable to continue the career she had begun as a child star. Instead, Mozart rehearsed the work with his

pupil Josepha Auernhammer, who was already capable of taking on this demanding piano piece.

Due to its acoustic power, the work was ideally suited to the newly launched open-air concerts in the Augarten, an oasis of calm within the noisy city of the time (if the weather was bad, performances could relocate to the hall of the central Augarten building). The fact that the royal garden in Leopoldstadt was available for concerts at all can be traced back to Joseph II. He opened the 52-hectare park to the public in 1775 and granted a licence to the music entrepreneur Philipp Jacques Martin, who organised a series of 12 concerts.[36] These new cultural events and the growing market for music were based, in short, on a combination of imperial reforms, civic entrepreneurship, and the creativity of composers, particularly Mozart, with whom the series began.

The Concerto for Two Pianos is also worth a closer look because it shows Mozart's cheerful and joyous side. Similar to Haydn's Symphony No. 53, it is usually given a moderate score by musicologists,[37] but in a historical analysis, the value of a work does not primarily consist in its supposedly timeless quality, but in its usefulness as a source, in what it says about the time in which it emerged.

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The concerto begins with the keynote, goes down and up an octave in a kind of fanfare, swings up a fifth, and then ends with a descending major chord on the fifth, similar to Haydn's symphony *L'imperiale*. This was very catchy and immediately attracted the attention of the audience. According to contemporaraneous music connoisseurs such as the Enlightenment philosopher Christian Schubart, the key of E flat major was regarded as the "tone of love and devotion."[38]

An equally stark impression was made by the two grand pianos on stage, behind which Mozart and his pupil sat. At the beginning, the two piano parts alternate, later complementing each other to create an increasingly dense sonic structure. This dialogue and the interspersed entries of the orchestra, in which the winds and strings alternate in the foreground, produced a profound spatial effect. Everything sounds airy and expansive, as if Mozart had already known where he would stage his piano concerto.[39] In the slow middle section, the themes

unfold bit by bit, creating an idyllic atmosphere that wonderfully suits the ambience of the Augarten.

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As with Haydn, the opening themes return time and again, offering experienced listeners the opportunity to think along with the music. This intellectual appeal, paired with popular melodies and rhythms, created a high degree of entertainment.

The piece also offered the two soloists ample opportunity to demonstrate their virtuosity. In the late 18th century, the cadenzas were usually more or less structured like free improvisations.[40] As such, Mozart and his pupil were able to shine in a way that is more familiar today from jazz concerts. It was only later that the cadenzas were largely written out, especially by Beethoven, who emphasised their character as short works. Mozart's fame and his fan base grew with every performance. His subscription concerts, where the audience paid for tickets in advance like subscribers, allowed him to reach an income that was more than double that of Haydn.[41] However, Vienna was incomparably more expensive than Eisenstadt, particularly if you wanted to live in a prime location and cultivate the lifestyle of a minor aristocrat.

One consequence of his heavy workload – Mozart gave 24 concerts over a nine-week period at the beginning of 1784 – was physical exhaustion. In April, he noted: "to tell the truth, I've grown tired in recent times – from all the playing", but added proudly that "it is no small honour for me that my listeners *never* did."[42] He had to extend his following summer holiday to four months in order to regain his strength. Nevertheless, this letter, like many documents from this period, was brimming with a lust for life. There was only one thing he misjudged: the Viennese public was indeed beginning to tire of Mozart. The first indication of this was at the private concerts and salons of the aristocrats, who liked to book him for individual performances, but rarely for longer periods (the Thun family was an exception, partly because the young Count Joseph was as big a fan of Mozart as his parents). The fortepianos were no longer a sensation, and it was difficult to continue to augment the sonic experience by using more and more instruments, as Mozart had done to such great effect at the Augarten and in other piano concertos.

The star of the Viennese music scene hit a kind of glass ceiling – both socially and on the music market. When the economic boom suddenly came to an end as a result of the ill-fated Austro-Turkish War of 1788, this ceiling began to descend menacingly. Mozart, however, was not only a piano virtuoso but also an opera composer, and it was in this role that he made the greatest contribution to the reign of Joseph II, to his daring reforms, and to the enlightened autocrat's confrontation with the nobility.

Social Critique and Eroticism in Opera

Die Entführung aus dem Serail made Mozart a pop star in 1782, as did his early Viennese piano concertos. The singspiel was sold out for years, and not only in Vienna. In Prague, one attendee wrote: "It was as if the music that we had previously known and listened to had been no music at all! Everyone was enraptured – everyone marvelled at the new harmonies.[43]

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The aria "Lange lebe Bassa Selim" was a particular favourite, with which Mozart succeeded in creating a popular hit that once again called into question the boundary between serious and popular music.

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Mozart's exotic-sounding melodies "a la turca", which he also used in piano and violin concertos, are notable in part for the fact that they are mostly played in unison. This was indeed based on traditional Turkish music, as polyphonic music was not widespread in the Ottoman Empire. This monophony made the melodies even more catchy, and we could say that Mozart was following his father's sound advice here: "don't forget the so-called popular, which also tickles the ears".[44] The sensual scenes from the harem contained a further allure: the way they aroused erotic fantasies.

Mozart's misfortune was also the good fortune of the rest of European opera history, and consisted in the fact that the German singspiel had not yet established itself in Vienna, despite these initial successes. From 1776 onwards, Joseph II had invested a great deal of

money and energy into the reform of the court theatre and a German-language opera ensemble, because he regarded musical theatre as a medium of enlightenment. However, as with many of his reforms, he took little account of social customs and needs, and of his own financial resources.[45] Despite the emperor's support, German-language opera just couldn't really find a footing. The great opera stars preferred to sing in Italian, there was a lack of new libretti, and because of this, Mozart decided against producing a second singspiel. And ultimately, the Viennese courtly and national theatre couldn't attract the audience numbers it required as a public venue – in contrast to Berlin, where Frederick II determined who was admitted to the royal opera. In response, Joseph II gave up on his plans, switching back to Italian operas in 1785.

As soon as the cadences of the mother tongue of opera rang out in Vienna, the crowds began to flock back to the court theatre. Mozart also adapted to this trend and found a congenial partner in Lorenzo da Ponte. Joseph II had brought the Venetian professor of literature to the Habsburg court in 1783 by offering him a handsome salary of 1,200 guilders. With this appointment, the emperor overlooked his previous banishment from Venice for adultery and heretical teachings, and his Jewish origins likewise represented no obstacle. Da Ponte's collaboration with Mozart brings up another genius loci of the musical metropolis of Vienna: its proximity to Italy. From a purely geographical perspective, this is not true – at least not if we compare it to Salzburg or Munich. However, the Habsburgs ruled over large swathes of Italian territory at the time: Lombardy, Tuscany (where the next emperor came from in 1790), Parma, and Mantua. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, numerous excellent composers, famous singers, and librettists relocated from Italy to Vienna, with Antonio Vivaldi being perhaps the most famous of them all.

As an enlightened intellectual, Da Ponte was of course aware of all the latest theatrical innovations in Europe. He was therefore also aware of the scandal that Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais – the author had acquired his aristocratic suffix through his wife – had caused with his play *Le Mariage de Figaro*. It was a wicked comedy about the immorality and debauchery of the aristocracy. The plot revolves around the *jus primae noctis* (right of the first night), a euphemism for forced sexual relations, which Count Almaviva demands from Susanna, his wife's young chambermaid. Figaro, deeply in love with Susanna and engaged to her, hurls the following words at his lord and master in the fifth act: "No, my lord Count, you shan't have her! you shall not have her! Just because you are a great nobleman, you think you are a great genius – Nobility, fortune, rank, position! How proud they make a man feel! What

have you done to deserve such advantages? Put yourself to the trouble of being born – nothing more. For the rest – a very ordinary man!"[46]

This tirade was dropped from the operatic version; Da Ponte also deleted other offensive passages and transformed the literary model into a more pleasing opera buffa, which, in keeping with the genre, is about love, infidelity, mistaken identities, and games of hide-and-seek and confusion.[47] I will not discuss the plot in any further detail here; to describe it as proto-revolutionary would be a kind of hermeneutic anachronism, even with respect to the original version, as nobody could have foreseen that the Ancien Regime would be toppled in France five years after the premiere. Whether it is even possible for a satire to have such a subversive effect is another question entirely. No matter how biting the irony and criticism presented on the stage, they rarely cause a riot in the streets. Mozart initially set the libretto to music without a commission from the court theatre – suggesting he was convinced by the content and the potential for success.

The intention and impact of the operatic version of *Figaro* has long been the topic of conjecture, and recently a scholarly dispute has broken out over it. On the one hand, there are musicologists influenced by the political movements of 1968 and political scientists interested in music who read political messages related to freedom and equality into Mozart and his stage works.[48] There is no doubt that Mozart's personal quest for freedom and his humanitarian ideals found their way into his operatic characters. He even lent sympathetic traits to figures such as Turkish pashas, who were met with contempt in Europe at the time, and he also took a critical view of slavery. On the other hand, younger colleagues have expressed doubts about this politicisation of Mozart and interpret *Le Nozze di Figaro* as what the work undisputedly is, an opera buffa.[49] As is so often the case, the truth lies somewhere in between, and is borne out in the details. Mozart liked to use provocative material because it allowed him to develop thrilling characters and plots. In addition, he himself had had negative experiences with aristocrats in Paris, Salzburg and Vienna – so it is understandable that the original literary work would have appealed to him.

Both versions of the piece were fundamentally provocative in that they violated the firmly entrenched conventions of the time, known as the *Stilhöhenregel*, which dictated that only higher rulers, kings, and gods – and this equation was intentional in the age of absolutism – could be the subject of tragedies and opera seria. Comedies, on the other hand, were to poke fun at peasants, servants, the petite bourgeoisie, the nouveau riche, and the lower nobility. Composers often expressed these social differences musically, by underlaying

higher-ranking roles with more complex accompanying voices than those of the common people. Beaumarchais and Da Ponte radically broke with this class division, which all the great playwrights of the 17th and 18th centuries had adhered to quite strictly. Count Almaviva, the most high-ranking character in the piece, displays the basest instincts and lives them out ruthlessly. In contrast, his servant Figaro and the chambermaid Susanna appear to have moral integrity despite their occasional games. The free love between the two is far more than a private affair; it is symbolic of a general striving for freedom that Mozart embodied in his private and professional life.

The play was therefore socially critical on several levels, not only through the aforementioned breach of the stylistic conventions, but also in the plot and the individual roles. The censors recognised the explosive nature of the work and therefore banned its performance. So how was the opera version able to be staged? The answer to this question was provided by the emperor, who had excerpts performed and gave the opera his seal of approval in early 1786. He evidently wanted to hold up a mirror to the nobility for its excesses and therefore supported the social critique contained in *Figaro*. Similar to Mozart, personal experience played a role here, as the emperor had become acquainted with all facets of his great empire on his many exploratory journeys, which took him all the way to the remote regions of Galicia. The exploitation of the rural population was just as conspicuous as the proverbial plundering of the nobility, which the monarch had witnessed on visits to families such as the Esterházys (Joseph II reacted to these abuses by abolishing serfdom in 1781). In this respect, *Figaro* brought together two critical and realistic views of the world, that of the emperor and that of the composer and his librettist.

Did those criticised really feel addressed or even called out? According to the older literature mentioned above, *Figaro* triggered an aristocratic rebellion. In fact, the director of the two court theatres, Franz Xaver Count Orsini-Rosenberg, disliked the work. There were whistles during the premiere, and the president of the Court Chamber of Accounts, Johann Count Zinzendorf, found the opera boring.[50] However, this criticism mainly related to formal problems, the excessive length of the piece and its complicated plot. The majority of the audience seems not to have shared these concerns, as Joseph II gave the order after the premiere to eject from the theatre any audience members who behaved “immorally by clapping their hands or stamping” during the play.[51]

The word “immoral” gives an indirect indication of what caused some audience members to lose their cool: as in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, the plot of *Figaro* was

sexually charged, with quite a few numbers alluding directly to sex scenes and extramarital dalliances. This is evident right at the beginning, when Figaro and Susanne discuss the location of the wedding bed and thus talk more about lust than love. A few scenes later, the pubescent page Cherubino sings about the desire that afflicts him day and night. And in the final act, Susanna, in order to arouse her lover's jealousy, urges the Count to consummate immediately with the words "Deh, vieni, non tardar".

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Mozart's provocative music intensified the effect of these and many other scenes, and in some cases, it is the music itself that creates this element. We do not know whether the play with romantic love and the erotic scenes triggered the roaring applause, the stomping and the whistles mentioned above, because no corresponding documentation exists. However, one immediate reaction has survived from Prague, a poem of homage by the writer Anton Daniel Breicha "To Mozart on the Occasion of the Performance of the Opera *Le Nozze di Figaro*". In the third verse of his poem, he praised the eroticism of the music and the plot with tangible metaphors:

> When love plucks your melting strings' tones,
> The young man drunkenly seeks his sweetheart and moans
> And his sweetheart's bosom knocks and knocks
> She beckons her lover to the pleasure of the gods
> And a kiss lisps into your stringed art
> From the lips of a youth, from the lips of a sweetheart.[52]

In the opera version of *Figaro*, these emotional worlds are foregrounded more than the Enlightenment-infused social critique. However, Mozart and Da Ponte also inverted the social hierarchies regarding the topoi of lust and love, because while the servant and the chambermaid love each other sincerely and authentically, the count and countess only manage a superficial reconciliation after a great deal of dishonesty and deception. The score shows how the servants' singing, which is kept simple at the start, becomes increasingly complex as the opera progresses, as does the instrumentation – and by the end, there are no longer any musical class distinctions.[53] It is also worth mentioning that the women in the opera consistently come off better than the men, whom Mozart ridiculed in several scenes. [54]

His great achievement lay in the fact that he translated every conceivable emotion and behaviour – affection, love, lies, fear, betrayal and anger – into sound. The stylistic means he

employed to these ends spanned from dissonance, thrilling harmonic sequences, variations in tempo, and agitated sixteenth-note triplets, to the use of various accompanying instruments.[55] In this respect, *Figaro* can already be described as the "opera of all operas", something that has traditionally been reserved for *Don Giovanni* or *Cosi fan Tutte*, which I cannot discuss here for reasons of space.

In his real life, however, Mozart was soon reminded of what class he belonged to, and that as a musician and freelance composer in the expensive city of Vienna, you could plunge from the upper to the lower middle class in the blink of an eye. The court theatre paid him a mere 450 guilders for his opera, with which he could support his family for a quarter of a year at the most. Once again, a position at court failed to materialise because all the prominent positions had been filled and Mozart had made a number of enemies with *Figaro*. Meanwhile, his income as a piano virtuoso shrank, as he had hardly any time to perform while rehearsing the opera and the public's passion for the piano was slowly waning. As such, *Figaro* was thoroughly bad business for the freelance composer, especially since the opera was cancelled after nine performances.

Mozart's income was thus halved to around 2,000 florins in his fourth year in Vienna.[56] This was no paltry sum, at least when compared to his bankruptcy in Paris and the difficult times from 1788 onwards. But his prosperous years as a freelance composer were over, at least in Vienna. Mozart therefore had good reason to look for other sources of income and think about going on tour again.

Prague as Caput Regni Musicorum

In this context, the news of the unreserved jubilation at the Prague premiere of *Figaro* came at just the right time. With no court a population of 77,000, just a third of that in Vienna, the number of major musical events in the old royal city was limited, making the audience more receptive than Viennese theatre-goers. The castle towering over the historic centre was merely a scenic backdrop, no longer the residence of the ruling dynasty as it had been until the beginning of the 16th century. As a result, there was no court theatre in Prague and the coronation of Maria Theresa had taken place a good half a century earlier.[57] In 1723, Charles VI had the Bohemian crown placed on his head accompanied by a grand opera spectacle, while Joseph II had lost all interest in his crown land in the region.[58]

Bohemian aristocrats tried to fill this cultural gap and financed opera stagings and the construction of multiple theatres. In addition to facilitating these elevated forms of entertainment, their aim was also to compete with the Viennese court and national theatres and, of course, to raise their standing among their own peers. In 1779, Count Josef Thun recruited the impresario Pasquale Bondini for his theatre, ion the back of Bondini's significant success in Dresden and Leipzig.[59] Four years later, Count Franz Nostitz-Rieneck trumped the Thuns and secured Bondini's services for the Count Nostitz National Theatre he had built. This name was a reflection not only of the desire to present a theatrical programme of the highest quality, just like in Vienna, it also sent a signal to Joseph II, who with his centralist tendencies, would have liked to administer Bohemia directly from Vienna.

Bondini and his director Pascale Guardasoni put together an outstanding vocal ensemble and orchestra in Prague, who put on a skilful performance of *Figaro*. The audience responded with enthusiasm and the local press immediately used the opera event of the year to poke fun at the Court Opera and Viennese audiences. The *Prager Oberpostamtzeitung* commented pointedly after the premiere: "opera connoisseurs who have seen this work in Vienna have claimed that it turned out much better here", and added: "our Great Mozart must have heard this himself, because since then, rumours have abounded that the man himself plans to come here to see the piece". [60]

Mozart did in fact travel to Prague by express coach in January 1787, accompanied by his wife Constanze, his servant, his dog Gauckerl, and four musician friends. The Thuns accommodated the revered composer and his wife in the upper palace (the lower palace housed the Thun Theatre, which today it is the seat of the Czech Parliament), but not his entourage. The hospitality came at a price: immediately after the first lunch, the hosts asked Mozart to play the piano and received the desired entertainment. In the evening, there was a ball at the palace of Baron Bretfeld, the rector of the university.

Mozart knew the music played by the dance band only too well, as a local hobby composer had lifted twelve "Balli Tedesci" from the score of *Figaro*.[61] Mozart could do nothing about this intellectual theft, as author's rights and copyright only became established in the late 19th century. Mozart also received nothing for the extracts and instrumental versions published in Vienna, including a "Figaro Quintet" and an arrangement for wind instruments. However, he responded by quickly composing six "German Dances" for the Prague ball season (K. 510 – which I discuss further in the section on contemporary "Habsburg pop" in Chapter 5).

Mozart took great pride in the success of his opera and wrote to a friend in Vienna: "Nobody talks about anything here but – figaro; nothing is played, blown, sung, or whistled but – figaro: no opera attended but – figaro".[62]

One week later, it was his instrumental music that was receiving all the attention. Mozart conducted his new symphony in D major at the National Theatre, which soon came to be named after the venue in which it premiered. The audience clapped, stomped their feet, and shouted bravo until Mozart played three encores to his *Prague Symphony*, including excerpts from *Figaro* and improvisations. The audience was particularly enraptured "when Mozart improvised on the fortepiano alone for more than half an hour at the end of the academy".[63] The next evening, to similar acclaim, he conducted another performance of *Figaro* from behind the harpsichord.

Mozart must have given a number of private concerts over the following three weeks, because when he left in mid-February, he had amassed a net profit of 1,000 ducats, ten times the fee he had received in Vienna for *Figaro*. But the money didn't simply fall into his pocket, he had to earn it; through occasional compositions, such as the aforementioned dances, and through his many performances in the palaces of the aristocracy. Mozart noted somewhat irritably about the Thuns: "After dinner, the high count's music must never be forgotten".[64] Such obligations had always been anathema to him, but his fate as a freelance composer meant that he was unable to simply ignore social conventions, since his income was dependent upon them.

Despite occasional complaints of boredom, Mozart amused himself quite well in Prague, at balls, at Masonic lodges, which he frequented just as he had in Vienna (there were three lodges in Prague, a small and very elite one and two larger ones that were more socially mixed), and in taverns with the musicians who had travelled with him. He and his wife became friends with the family of the composer and pianist Franz Xaver Duschek, who was an ardent admirer of Mozart's work. Mozart evidently felt more comfortable in these circles than at the count's palace, because during his subsequent stays in Prague, Mozart stayed in the Duscheks' city flat or on their sunny country estate on the southern outskirts of the city, where he found it easier to compose. Due to the success of *Figaro*, the impresario Bondini immediately commissioned a new opera from Mozart.

The production and reception of *Don Giovanni* in 1787/88 once again highlights the differences between Prague and Vienna. Mozart was not always satisfied with his working conditions at the Prague National Theatre and complained that the ensemble was "not as

skilful as the one in Vienna in terms of rehearsing such an opera in such a short time".[65] But when *Don Giovanni* finally hit the stage after a slight delay, the cheers were all the louder. This enthusiasm was not just directed at the opera but was also related to the prestige the city gained by staging the world premiere. In a sense, the Bohemian elites and local Mozart fans were also applauding themselves. And Mozart made a tidy profit from it; a benefit performance of *Don Giovanni* earned him 700 florins, the piano concertos 1,000 florins. This was enough to live on for a while in expensive Vienna, which was necessary, as his income there continued to decline.

In fact, Mozart had to fight to get *Don Giovanni* staged in Vienna at all. This was due to competition from contemporary composers such as Dittersdorf and Martín y Soler, and many Viennese were also familiar with the drama about the violent womaniser whose victims send him to hell at the end. The Leopoldstadt Theatre, a popular theatre on the outskirts of the city, had been staging a spoken theatre version as a commedia dell'arte since 1783. When Mozart's opera was finally performed at the Burgtheater seven months after the Prague premiere, the critics praised the music but canned the plot. They did not like the fact that the infamous title character was extremely calculating but acted "contrary to reason".

This criticism might seem somewhat narrow-minded from today's perspective, but it is a further indication that Mozart should not be regarded a priori as a great Enlightenment figure. *Don Giovanni* revolves around emotional extremes and ultimately irrational behaviour, although a rational mind is of course required to set this plot to music so skilfully and effectively.[66] The emperor enjoyed the opera and made Mozart a court chamber musician in 1787. Mozart had been hoping to succeed Gluck as the court composer. Instead of this position and the associated salary of 2,000 guilders, he had to content himself with an annual salary of 800 guilders and a lower-ranking position. Nevertheless, the position had the advantage that it brought few duties, allowing Mozart ample time to compose.

Meanwhile, the Habsburg Empire stumbled into another war against the Ottoman Empire alongside Russia. The campaigns brought no territorial gains and came at high costs, which arrested the economic upswing of the 1780s. The war taxes and other contributions also put an end to the boom in concerts and operas. Mozart's annual income plummeted by two thirds in 1788 and, despite his earnings at court, he had to borrow more and more money to keep his family afloat.[67] In the following two years, Mozart's debts piled up, especially those to his lodge brother Michael Puchberg. Prince Lichnowsky, his companion on an underwhelmingly successful concert tour to Berlin and Potsdam, even tried to confiscate his

assets (the prince later portrayed himself as a great patron of Beethoven. If you wanted to give someone the role of the villain, as in Miloš Forman's film *Amadé*, this "patron of music" would be a good choice). These debts and the resulting damage to his reputation also made it virtually impossible for him to acquire Viennese citizenship. Mozart would have had to prove that he had a certain amount of wealth, for example by owning a house, and this was out of the question, given his precarious financial situation. As such, unlike Beethoven, he was never able to become a citizen of Vienna.[68]

Given his financial hardship, a new commission from Prague came as an all too welcome relief. There was a major political event to be celebrated in the city: namely the coronation of Emperor Leopold II as King of Bohemia in 1791. With this step, the successor to the hapless and controversial Joseph II recognised the importance of the kingdom and its aristocracy. Six months earlier, he had had the Hungarian Crown of St Stephen placed on his head, thus symbolically and de facto reversing the centralist policies of Joseph II. In any other empire, a coronation meant an increase in power for the respective ruler; in this case, it was a compromise made to keep the Habsburg Monarchy together. In purely temporal and political terms, Hungary came out on top, as was the case three quarters of a century later with the Austro-Hungarian Compromise.

Given this state of affairs, the Bohemian aristocracy was all the more eager to celebrate its success publicly and therefore commissioned a coronation opera at short notice. They first asked Salieri, who cancelled due to time constraints – which puts paid to the myth of Prague's unique veneration of Mozart. For the latter, the fee of 200 ducats was more than handy, and he composed *La Clemenza di Tito* in just nine weeks. With this elegy to just royal rule and with his position as court chamber musician, this free spirit was once again penned up, contributing to the stabilisation of the Habsburg monarchy after the conflict-ridden reign of Joseph II.

There has recently been debate among scholars about the extent to which this political entity was actually an empire worthy of the name, or if it wasn't more a loose conglomerate of royal territories over which the central rulers had little power. In this regard, too, Mozart's work had wide-ranging effects, as it helped to integrate the Habsburg Empire culturally and musically. He was the first prominent composer to commute back and forth between Prague and Vienna, performing in both cities. This was reflected in his publications, such as the *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*, which closely followed and linked the music and theatre scenes in both cities, even after Mozart's death. The success of *Figaro* and the world

premieres of *Don Giovanni* and *La Clemenza di Tito* brought Prague considerable prestige; allowing the degraded old capital to regain its place among the great European musical metropolises. The elites of the Kingdom of Bohemia also engaged in cultural (and implicitly political) competition with Vienna on an institutional level. From 1798, they ran the royal state theatre as the Estates Theatre and granted regular subsidies to present operas, concerts and plays at the highest level.

The people of Prague thanked Mozart for his time working on the banks of the Vltava with an affection that took on almost cult-like proportions after his death, standing in stark contrast to the non-plussed attitude of the Viennese. When Mozart died in December 1791 after a short illness, he was only afforded a third-class funeral in Vienna. While in Vienna only music connoisseurs and a few lodge brothers realised the significance of their loss, in Prague, 4,000 people gathered in the magnificent St. Niklas Church on 14 December 1791 to bid farewell to Mozart. Some 120 musicians and singers and eight different choirs performed the funeral mass and gave free rein to their emotions: "A thousand tears flowed in painful commemoration of the artist, who had so often brought all hearts to the most vivid emotions through his harmonies," reported the *Wiener Zeitung*.[69] In addition to the funeral service, local Mozart admirers organised a memorial concert at the National Theatre, followed by a benefit concert at the end of the year for Mozart's widow and their children, and in February, Constanze Mozart travelled to Prague with her elder son Carl Thomas to receive the proceeds and to attend another memorial service.

The first comprehensive biography of the composer was also published in Prague, written by music expert and philosopher Franz Xaver Niemetschek, who's surname should actually be spelled Němeček, given his Czech origins and patriotic activities.[70] Some thirty years then passed before the biography by Constanze's second husband, Georg von Nissen, and another book, were published in Prague.[71] As such, the Bohemian capital was the only major musical city in the Habsburg Empire where Mozart did not have to be "rediscovered". Němeček's biography was a eulogy to the composer, but it also contained a number of criticisms of the Viennese and the Viennese aristocracy in particular, for their failure to adequately appreciate and recognise the master.

On the centenary of Mozart's death in 1891, the city of Prague, which was now 90 per cent Czech-speaking, commemorated Mozart by way of numerous memorial concerts and festivities. The polemics against the dastardly Viennese, who had never understood poor Mozart and exploited him and drove him to an early death, now fitted in very well with the

new bourgeois-nationalist self-image of the Czech elites. From there, it was not far to Miloš Forman's famous film, in which the long-serving court conductor Salieri plays the role of the villain, while the scheming aristocratic court henchmen only play supporting roles.[72] In dramatic terms, this was the revenge of the people of Prague and the Czechs for the fact that the Habsburgs had once pushed them back into the second tier of the empire. It is no small cultural achievement that this narrative has become so widely accepted around the world.

Did Mozart reciprocate the not entirely selfless love of the people of Prague? He was fond of the income he was able to generate there, but he always hurried back to Vienna after each of his successes. On his journey to Prussia in the spring of 1789, Mozart made very brief stops in Prague on the way there and back – which does not tend to suggest that he possessed any particular affection for the city. This was probably due to the limited performance opportunities and the limited cultural offerings it offered. Despite all the setbacks, Mozart preferred to live as a freelance composer in Vienna, where things were also looking up for him financially after the premiere of *The Magic Flute*. As mentioned, however, he nevcer became a citizen of Vienna, and thus not an Austrian, either.

When Mozart died suddenly at the end of 1791, his wife and two sons were left with nothing. The family inherited a mountain of debt, threatening to plunge them into poverty. In this hour of need, the city of Prague once again came to the rescue. Constanze Mozart kept her head above water by selling autographs and subscriptions for already printed sheet music, and nowhere was the demand as high as in Prague, where Mozart's sheet music was sold in five different shops and on market squares.[73] In 1794, Constanze left her son Carl Thomas in the care of the Duscheks, and Němeček secured the eight-year-old a place at the renowned Kleinseitner Gymnasium.[74]

A year later, Mozart's widow also brought her younger son Franz Xaver to Prague on her way to a concert tour. He made his stage debut there at the age of six with the aria "Ein Vogelfänger bin ich ja", followed by performances as a boy soprano and on the piano. The audience was enthusiastically looking out for another child prodigy, but Franz Xaver never became another "Wolferl".[75] Perhaps he lacked the talent, but above all he did not have a teacher and of the calibre of Leopold Mozart at his side. History does not repeat itself, and Constanze soon realised this and took her two children to Vienna a few weeks after this performance at the National Theatre.

Amadé and Constanze's elder son Carl Thomas decided against a career as a musician because he realised that "sons of a father who has achieved such distinction should never

follow the same path." After dropping out of his music studies in Milan, he first took up a post in the French administration of Lombardy and then, from 1815, began training as an imperial and royal accountant in Livorno, the most important Habsburg seaport at the time. He later found "refuge in the civil service", as he put it, reminiscent of the Austrian civil servant of Robert Musil or Heimito von Doderer.[76] On the side, Mozart's son organised concerts, gave music lessons, and eventually died in Milan shortly before the end of Habsburg rule at the age of 72.

His younger brother Franz Xaver received composition lessons from Salieri and Hummel in Vienna – the biggest names around at the time. However, he had the misfortune of entering a miserable labour market for composers and conductors after the defeats at the hands of Napoleon. The second Mozart son therefore moved to the other end of the vast empire, to Galicia, in 1808. There, he served the counts Baworowski and Janiszewski as a piano teacher and worked in Lviv as a concert organiser and music teacher. In 1826, he founded the Cäcilien-Verein (St Cecilia was regarded as the patron saint of music – hence the name), which brought the local music scene to a new level, and in 1834, he rose to the position of Kapellmeister at the Galician provincial theatre. All in all, it was not a bad career, it just pales in comparison to that of his famous father.

The way he towered over his son – even if in an entirely different way to that of Leopold Mozart a generation earlier – was expressed in details such as the styling of his name. Franz Xaver regularly went by "Wolfgang Amadé", sometimes abbreviated to W.A., or supplemented with "son".[77] His very last Opus No. 30, written two years before his death, was a festive cantata produced for the unveiling of a monument to his father in Salzburg. Thus ended the story of the Mozart family, almost like a classic saga of rise and fall spread across the vast empire, encompassing Vienna, Salzburg (where Constanze died), Milan (where Carl Thomas is buried), the Bohemian spas (where Franz Xaver succumbed to a stomach ailment), Prague, and Lviv.

Alongside Haydn, Mozart epitomises the most culturally and politically productive decade of the Habsburg Empire, the 1780s. His career could only have unfolded during that decade of Josephine upheaval and change, which he reinforced on several occasions and set to music, as it were. And yet, Mozart transcends this historical context because of his subjectivity and timelessness. He does not fit into any social or cultural-historical corset, something which, it must be said, also applies to his long-time patron, Joseph II.

[1] Letter to Abbé Joseph Bullinger dated 3 July 1778, quoted in Ingo Reiffenstein (ed.), *Fort mit Dir nach Paris! Mozart und seine Mutter auf der Reise nach Paris*, Salzburg: Jung und Jung 2005, p. 158.
[2] A total of 23 letters from Maria Anna Mozart, including postscripts, have been preserved. For the quotation, see Reiffenstein (ed.), *Fort mit Dir*, op. cit. p. 14.
[3] Emphasis in the original; Leopold Mozart to Wolfgang Amadé Mozart in Mannheim, Salzburg, 12 February 1778, in: *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen; Gesamtausgabe*, Kassel: Bärenreiter/Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 2005, vol. 2: 1777-1779, p. 277.
[4] This is what Leopold Mozart wrote three years later to Martha Elisabeth Baroness von Waldstätten in Vienna, Salzburg, 23 August 1782, in: *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, op. cit., vol. 3: 1780-1786, pp. 222-223.
[5] Dieter Borchmeyer and Udo Bermbach, among others, are representative of a political interpretation of Mozart and his works, although their writings have been heavily criticised in recent years. See, among others, the article by Michele Calella, "Mozarts Le nozze di Figaro und die Revolution: die Konstruktion eines Mythos", in: Carola Bebermeier/Melanie Unseld (eds.), *"La cosa è scabrosa": Das Ereignis "Figaro" und die Wiener Opernpraxis der Mozart-Zeit*, Vienna: Böhlau 2018, pp. 43-60. This conflict of interpretation will be discussed in more detail in the section on *Figaro*.
[6] Quoted from a letter to his father in Wolfgang Hildesheimer, *Mozart*, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp 1977, p. 82.
[7] In addition, Leopold Mozart regularly read Enlightenment texts such as the *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique* published by Grimm. On his Enlightenment attitudes, see Volkmar Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Wien*, Munich: Piper 1986, p. 37. Towards the end of his life, Leopold Mozart also considered himself a philosopher. See again the letter to Baroness Martha Elisabeth von Waldstätten, op. cit.
[8] This numbering is based on the catalogue of works in Ulrich Konrad, *Wolfgang Amadée Mozart: Leben, Musik, Werkbestand*, Kassel: Bärenreiter 2005, pp. 272-278 and the original Köchel catalogue (KV). It has been changed several times since its publication in 1862, and the editor of the future fifth version, Neal Zaslaw, is once again endeavouring to use a numbering system that is closer to the original, in order to avoid confusion. See Neal Zaslaw, Der neue Köchel, available online at {https://web.archive.org/web/20110717002801/http://www.mozartproject.org/essays/zaslaw.html} (February 2021)
[9] She had already complained of various illnesses in the spring, as attested by the letter to Leopold Mozart of 29 April 1778, in Rudolph Angermüller, *W.A. Mozarts musikalische Umwelt in Paris (1778)*, Munich: Katzbichler 1982, p. xxviii.
[10] Mozart to his father in Salzburg, Paris 9 July 1778, in: *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, op. cit. vol. 2, pp. 393-394.
[11] See Bernd Oberhoff, *Mozart: Eine musikpsychoanalytische Studie*, Gießen: Psychosozial-Verlag 2008. The author has published various other studies on Mozart.
[12] This is what he said in a letter to his father in June 1781, when the latter once again heaped reproaches on him, this time because of his break with the Archbishop of Salzburg and his unclear career prospects in Vienna. See Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna*, op. cit. p. 49.
[13] Leopold Mozart to his son in Paris, Salzburg, 3 August 1778, in: *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 433.
[14] See John Rosselli, *The Life of Mozart*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998, p. 35.
[15] Subscribers included Tsarina Catherine II, King Gustav III of Sweden, King Stanisław Poniatowski of Poland and, for a time, King Frederick II of Prussia.
[16] See, for example, the richly rolled-out kitsch parody in Hildesheimer, *Mozart*, op. cit. p. 91. Siegbert Rampe has taken a closer look at the context in which the piano sonata was composed; according to him, the many professional frustrations exerted a particular influence on the work. Siegbert Rampe, *Mozarts Claviermusik: Klangwelt und Aufführungspraxis; Ein Handbuch*, Kassel: Bärenreiter 1995, p. 246. Sometimes the longing for Aloysia Weber or lovesickness is also cited – either way, Alfred Einstein categorised the work as a "most personal expression". See Neal Zaslaw (ed.), *The Complete Mozart: A Guide to the Musical Works of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, New York: Norton 1990, p. 311. The thesis that this was a very personal work is also supported by the fact that Mozart never mentioned the piano sonata to his father. John Irving, *Mozart's Piano Sonatas: Contexts, Sources, Style*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997, p. 62. Furthermore, this provides evidence of its completion in August 1778, when Mozart did not write to his father.
[17] Perhaps this was also due to the pianist's state of mind, as he was suffering from a rare form of cancer and the concert was his last public performance. Artur Schnabel, another leading pianist of the time, played the piece in a similar way, taking the second movement even slower than Lipatti and thus achieving a tremendous intensity.
[18] Hildesheimer, *Mozart*, op. cit. p. 228.
[19] On this subjectivity, see Michael Steinberg, *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music*, Princeton: Princeton University, 2004, pp. 18-58.
[20] This speaks in favour of a research approach focused on the performance and especially the premieres, as Thomas Forrest Kelly used for his book *First Nights: Five Musical Premieres*, New Haven: Yale University

Press 2000. Unfortunately, there are very few works for which there is such a wealth of sources on premieres as for Handel's *Messiah* or Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, among others, which Kelly has analysed. Once again, I would like to thank Jutta Toelle from the University of Music in Klagenfurt for this and many other references.

[21] See Konrad Küster, *Mozart: eine musikalische Biographie*, Stuttgart: DVA 1990, pp. 222-226.

[22] This is the view of the British Mozart scholar Simon Keefe with regard to Mozart's subsequent works, in which he emphasises the Parisian impulses and the subsequent stylistic change. See Simon F. Keefe, "Mozart 'stuck in music' in Paris (1778): towards a new biographical paradigm", in: Keefe, (ed.), *Mozart Studies 2*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2015, pp. 23-54.

[23] Mozart to his father in Salzburg, Munich, 8 January 1779, in: *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 536.

[24] Quoted from Norbert Elias, *Mozart: Zur Soziologie eines Genies*, ed. by Michael Schröter, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1991, pp. 146-147 (footnote 2).

[25] On this episode, see Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Wien*, op. cit. pp. 46-50, Gernot Gruber, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, Munich: C.H. Beck 2005, pp. 85-90 as well as the chapter "Mozart-Anekdotik" in Melanie Unseld, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte: Wandlungen biographischer Konzepte in Musikkultur und Musikhistoriographie*, Cologne: Böhlau 2014, pp. 130-135.

[26] In an effort to evade censors, Mozart encoded words such as archbishop in his letters (he appeared there as "lrzbfocusi", the archbishop was the "lrzefaale". However, these codes were not too difficult to crack).

[27] See Elias, *Mozart*, op. cit. p. 18.

[28] In these two works, too, biographical incisions may have prompted the choice of key and the emotional tone of the piano sonata, but for reasons of space and because of the parallels with the piano sonata in A minor described above, this will not be discussed further here.

The persons mentioned here are most extensively documented in volumes 5 and 6 of the Mozart Handbook by Gernot Gruber. See Gruber, *Das Mozart-Handbuch*, 7 Bände, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag 2005-2012. The violin sonatas were published as an opus by Artaria, but were then counted individually in the Köchel catalogue as K. 296, 376-380. See Konrad, *Mozart*, op. cit. p. 140, endnote 105. See the brief biographical sketch of Trattner by Johannes Frimmel, "Einleitung", in: Frimmel and Christoph Augustynowicz (eds.), *Johann Thomas Trattner (1719-1798) und sein Medienimperium*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2019, pp. 3-8.

[29] In addition to Countess Zichy, Mozart also taught Cobenzl's daughter, who later became Countess Marie Rumbeke.

[30] On this, see Konrad, *Mozart*, op. cit. p. 89. On Mozart's other contacts and patrons, see Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna*, op. cit. p. 175.

[31] The literature on this topos is vast; once again, Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Wien*, op. cit. pp. 243-285, is very detailed and knowledgeable.

[32] At the end of 1787, he was given a position as "Kammer Musicus", with a salary of 800 guilders, but this was more of an honorary title than a position with daily duties, and it did not prevent him from composing further works.

[33] Apart from a note by Karl von Zinzendorf about a "combat", there is no evidence that this was a literal competition. It is possible that Clementi and Mozart simply performed one after the other.

[34] The pianist and musicologist Siegbert Rampe has made a great contribution to resolving the question of how and on which instruments Mozart played his works and on his use of historical instruments. In addition to many recordings, see the work *Mozarts Claviermusik* cited above.

[35] In 1776, Mozart even composed a concerto for three pianos (K. 242) for the Lodron family, where the mother and two daughters played the piano. As the younger daughter in particular was not yet such an advanced pianist, the work was less demanding – in any case, it shows once again how much the composer's work depended on his patrons and the broader social context.

[36] Unfortunately, little is known about this music entrepreneur. Brief references can be found in Elaine R. Sisman, *The Jupiter Symphony No. 41 in C major, K. 551*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993, p. 4. On the performance venues of this period, see also Otto Biba, "Grundzüge des Konzertwesens in Wien zu Mozarts Zeit", in: Rudolf Angermüller et al. (eds.), *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1978/79*, Kassel: Bärenreiter 1979, pp. 132-143.

[37] See, for example, Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*, London: Faber & Faber 1971, p. 214. There is a detailed and more positive discussion in Joachim Brügge/Claudia Maria Krispel (eds.), *Mozarts Orchesterwerke und Konzerte*, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag 2007, pp. 215-227 [Mozart-Handbuch, vol. 1]

[38] Schubart (1739-1791) rose to the position of court poet and theatre director at the Württemberg court in Stuttgart towards the end of his life, but was known above all for his socially critical writings and criticism of the nobility.

[39] The first performance in Vienna apparently took place in an "academy", as concerts were often called at the time, in November 1781 at the Auernhammers' house, the second in the Augarten. See the preface to the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* V/15/2, Kassel: Bärenreiter 1976, p. IX.

[40] See, again, Brügge and Krispel (eds.), *Mozarts Orchesterwerke*, op. cit. p. 221. For more detail on the cadenzas in K. 365, the number of which is apparently disputed, which again suggests that they were largely freely interpreted, Michael Raab, "Mozart und die Kadenz: Zu den 'Solo-Kadenzen' im Konzert für zwei Klaviere Es-Dur KV 365", in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 2001, Kassel: Bärenreiter 2003, pp. 287-294.
[41] See the precise estimates of Mozart's income in 1782 and 1783 in Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Wien*, op. cit. pp. 150-152.
[42] Quoted from Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna*, op. cit. p. 215.
[43] According to the first biographer of Mozart, Franz Xaver Němeček, cited in Harald Salfellner, *Mozart und Prag*, Prague: Vitalis 2006, p. 103.
[44] Cited in Peter Fricke, *Von Mozart zu Madonna: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Popmusik*, Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenheuer 1998, p. 7. See also the entire first chapter on the "Birth of popular music" (pp. 7-26).
[45] In 1785, the emperor attempted to revive the Singspiel. On this and Mozart's operas in Vienna, see Ian Woodfield, *Cabals and Satires: Mozart's Comic Operas in Vienna*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2019, pp. 4-6.
[46] Cited in Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna*, op. cit. p. 228.
[47] On the differences between the theatrical and operatic versions, see Rudolph Angermüller, *Figaro: Mit einem Beitrag von Wolfgang Pütz „Le Nozze di Figaro" auf dem Theater*, Munich: Bayerische Vereinsbank 1986, p. 59.
[48] Representatives of this school include the co-editor of the Mozart Handbook, Dieter Borchmeyer, "Mozart - Zeitgenosse der Französischen Revolution," in: Claudia Maria Krispel and Gernot Gruber (eds.), *Mozarts Welt und Nachwelt*, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag 2009, pp. 111-126 [Mozart Handbook, vol. 5] and the political scientist Udo Bermbach, *Wo Macht ganz auf Verbrechen beruht: Politik und Gesellschaft in der Oper*, Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt 2007, pp. 101-125.
[49] See Michele Callela, "Mozarts Le nozze di Figaro und die Revolution: die Konstruktion eines Mythos," in: Carola Bebermeier and Melanie Unseld (eds.), "*La cosa è scabrosa": Das Ereignis "Figaro" und die Wiener Opernpraxis der Mozart-Zeit*, Vienna: Böhlau 2018, pp. 43-60. However, Rudolph Angermüller had already come to similar conclusions, even attesting to Mozart's "lack of interest in politics", Angermüller, *Figaro*, op. cit. p. 60. For a similar, though not quite as apodictic analysis, see William Weber, "The Myth of Mozart, the Revolutionary," in: *The Musical Quarterly* 78/1 (1994), pp. 34-47.
[50] The *Münchner Staatsgelehrte und vermischte Nachrichten aus Journalen, Zeitungen, und Correspondencen* [*Münchner Zeitung*] No. 73 (9 May 1786), p. 291, took a similar view to Zinzendorf.
[51] This was reported in the *Mannheimer Zeitung*, No. 61 (22 May 1786), accessible online at {https://sites.google.com/site/mozartdocuments/documents/1786-05-10-figaro] (last viewed March 2021).
[52] Cited in Angermüller, *Figaro*, op. cit. p. 77.
[53] Rosselli, *The Life of Mozart*, op. cit., p. 91, is referencing his colleague Michael Robinson.
[54] On the gender dimension of opera, see Richard Andrews, "From Beaumarchais to Da Ponte: A New View of the Sexual Politics of 'Figaro'", in: *Music & Letters*, vol. 82, no. 2, 2001, pp. 214-33.
[55] On Mozart's stylistic devices, see the detailed account by Charles Ford, *Music, Sexuality and the Enlightenment in Mozart's Figaro, Don Giovanni and Così fan tutte*, Oxford: Routledge, 2016.
[56] According to Braunbehrens's precise calculations, Mozart's income fell to around 2,000 florins in 1786, in principle not a small sum, but nevertheless a sharp decline compared to the two previous years, when he had earned very well, especially with his concerts. Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Wien*, op. cit., p. 154. His income recovered in 1787, partly due to his journey to Prague, as discussed later in this chapter.
[57] On the history of the city, see the highly informative catalogue accompanying the exhibition celebrating the 250th anniversary of Mozart's birth, Archiv hlavního města Prahy (ed.), *Praha Mozartova. Kulturní a společenský život v Praze 1780-1800*, Prague: Scriptorum 2006. On the number of inhabitants cited here, see Josef Petráň, "Praha 1780-1800", in: *Praha Mozartova*, op. cit. pp. 8-17.
[58] However, this also applies to Hungary. See David Wyn Jones, *Music in Vienna 1700, 1800, 1900*, Woodbridge: Boydell 2016, pp. 58-69, on the production of the coronation opera *Costanza e Fortezza* by the Viennese court conductor Johann Josef Fux.
[59] Bondini would make a worthy subject of a separate study on the music market, as he continued to perform with his troupe of singers and actors at the court theatre in Dresden and also on the summer stage in Leipzig. His career epitomises the close links between Bohemia and the Holy Roman Empire and Saxony, which were deliberately forgotten by Austria after 1866 and especially after 1945.
[60] *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung* of 12 December 1786, quoted from Otto Erich Deutsch (ed.), *Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens: Serie X: Supplement*, Kassel: Bärenreiter 1961, p. 246.
[61] The term "German dances" or "Germans" at the time often referred to *Schleifer*, *Dreher*, and other precursors to the waltz. On these compositions and the ball, see Salfellner, *Mozart und Prag*, op. cit. p. 180.
[62] Mozart to Gottfried von Jacquin in Vienna, Prague, 15 January 1787, in: *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, op. cit., vol. 4: 1787-1857, p. 10.

[63] Reported by Němeček in his biography. In an encore, Mozart played the aria "non piu di andrai" at the request of the audience, see Salfellner, *Mozart und Prag*, op. cit. p. 190.
[64] Again quoted from the letter to his friend Gottfried von Jacquin, cited in Salfellner, *Mozart und Prag*, op. cit. p. 185, in which Mozart also stated that he was "very much longing for Vienna again" (ibid. 186).
[65] Letter from Mozart to Gottfried von Jacquin in Vienna, Prague, 15 and 25 October 1797, in: *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, op. cit. vol. 4, p. 55.
[66] On the aesthetics of Mozart's operas and his combination of words and music, see Laurenz Lüttecken, *Mozart: Leben und Musik im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, Munich, Beck 2017, pp. 45-52, where the author emphasises Mozart's Enlightenment thinking, as suggested by the title.
[67] On Mozart's income, see again Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna*, op. cit. pp. 151-152. His income cannot be determined exactly because Mozart only kept limited records. On the other hand, we know quite precisely what his debts were; Mozart had to borrow large sums of money for the first time in 1788.
[68] Mozart's name does not appear in the citizens' oath books during the last five years of his life. See: Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Bestand 1.2.4.1.B2 – Bürgereidbücher Duplikate, vols. 8-9.The alternative to proof of assets through home ownership was the "ability to practise a trade" (which typically meant membership in a guild). Another obstacle would presumably have been the ten-year residency period. The great advantage of acquiring citizenship was that it gave you access to the benefits of the Bürgerspitalstiftung, which stepped in when citizens fell into poverty through no fault of their own. Brigitte Rigele, "Wiener Bürgerrechtsverleihungen in der Neuzeit", in: *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 45/3 (1990), pp. 185-187.
[69] For this quote and Mozart's funeral in Vienna, see Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna*, op. cit. p. 452 and pp. 441-448. According to contemporary witnesses, six relatives and six friends and fellow musicians were present in Vienna. Later, Georg von Nissen, the husband of Mozart's widow Constanze, used the quote almost verbatim in his biography of the composer.
[70] The next generation increasingly resisted this form of Germanisation, not least because of the often humiliating experiences they had as non-native speakers at schools and universities, where German was taught almost continuously from primary school onwards. The title of the biography was *Leben des K. K. Kapellmeister Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart, nach Originalquellen beschrieben*.
[71] In 1816, a biography was published in Milan, which, following the Congress of Vienna, had been reincorporated into the Habsburg Empire. In between, two biographies were published in Erfurt and Breslau, but not in the Habsburg Empire or in Vienna. See Gernot Gruber, "Biographik", in: Gruber and Joachim Brügge, *Das Mozartlexikon*, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2005, pp. 116-123 [Mozart-Handbuch, vol. 6].
[72] Another source of inspiration was, of course, Peter Shaffer's 1979 play *Amadeus*. In 1898, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov had presented the opera "Mozart i Saljeri", drawing on a verse drama by Pushkin. In this work, Salieri poisons Mozart, while the social critique of the capital's aristocratic elites was omitted. This remained a common Czech belief.
[73] Salfellner, *Mozart and Prague*, op. cit. p. 311.
[74] There are differing accounts of the household in which Carl Thomas lived. According to Michael Lemster, *Die Mozarts: Geschichte einer Familie*, Salzburg: Benevento 2019, p. 331, Carl Thomas actually lived with the Duscheks; according to another source, he only went there to eat and lived mainly with Němeček. See also Viveca Servatius, *Constanze Mozart: Eine Biografie*, Vienna: Böhlau 2018, pp. 182-183.
[75] Salfellner, *Mozart and Prague*, op. cit. p. 321.

[76] Both quotations are from a letter to the later owner of the Duscheks' estate, where he and his father had spent many pleasant weeks. Quoted from Salfellner, *Mozart und Prag*, op. cit. p. 321. On his later career, see Servatius, *Constanze Mozart*, op. cit. pp. 273, 282, 369-373.
[77] His second middle name was Wolfgang, which his mother added to Gottlieb (Latinised Amadeus) two years after his birth.