

Da Ponte in New York, Mozart in New York

Otto Biba

One might be surprised to learn that relatively few of Lorenzo da Ponte's letters have been preserved. In one of these, written in New York in 1824 to an unknown recipient, Da Ponte names what he considered to be five of his most important and successful libretti: *La cosa rara*, *L'arbore di Diana*, *La capricciosa corretta*, *Le nozze di Figaro*, and *Don Giovanni*. *Così fan tutte* is not mentioned, nor does he name the composers of the stated titles—Martin y Soler and W. A. Mozart (Zagonel 1995:228ff.).

When I quote this letter today in order to describe Da Ponte's self-regard, I am always asked the same two questions: Who is Martin y Soler? And why does Da Ponte's letter come from New York? I answer that Martin y Soler was born in Spain, and in the mid-1780s he was, next to Mozart and Salieri, the most successful opera composer in Vienna. Then I am asked whether Da Ponte did not also write libretti for Salieri, or why Da Ponte did not include any libretto for Salieri among his most important and successful. Indeed, he did write libretti for Salieri, and I do not know why he did not mention these. Finally, whereas Da Ponte lived in Vienna for ten years and in London for twelve, he spent thirty-three years in the United States. In fact, he lived one year longer in the US than in Italy, where he was born.

It is not just the fact that Da Ponte spent so much time in New York that surprises even educated music lovers and listeners today—it is also that, contrary to popular belief, Da Ponte did not devote himself to making Mozart, his friend and artistic partner, famous in North America.¹ In fact, the sources show us an entirely different picture.

Lorenzo da Ponte

Allow me to summarize the most important biographical facts in an overview: Lorenzo da Ponte was born Emanuele Conegliano in 1749 in the ghetto of Ceneda (now Vittorio Veneto), near Venice.² After his family was baptized in 1763, he called himself Lorenzo da Ponte. He studied theology, became a Catholic priest, and taught in a theological seminary. In 1779 he was anonymously accused of leading a lifestyle unfit for a priest. He fled the region and in his absence was sentenced to prison. In 1781 he settled in Vienna. In this city of enlightened absolutism, no one was interested in why he continued to use the title Abbé. In 1783, Emperor Joseph II appointed Da Ponte to the position of court theater poet. It was in these years

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that Da Ponte famously collaborated with Mozart on *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786), *Don Giovanni* (1787), and *Così fan tutte* (1790). After several theater scandals—jealousies, intrigue, love affairs, and prima donna behavior (see Nettl 1953 and 1966)—the police banished Da Ponte from Vienna. Despite petitioning Emperor Leopold II, he was ultimately banished to Trieste (though his debts and travel expenses were paid by the imperial court). In Trieste, Da Ponte continued to fight for his rehabilitation, but when it was granted he decided not to return to Vienna.

Da Ponte married Nancy Grahl in 1792 in Trieste. He and his wife travelled via Prague to London, where they settled and began to raise a family. In time, two daughters and a son were born. Da Ponte worked for the Italian opera in the King's Theatre as a poet, translator, and editor, and he also worked as a bookseller. In 1800 he declared his bookseller's business bankrupt and was arrested. His Italian relatives came to his rescue: his brother Paolo came to London and opened a printing business and bookshop, which the brothers ran under Lorenzo's name. Eventually Da Ponte was again overwhelmed by unpaid debts and London became very uncomfortable for him. In 1804 his wife and their children travelled to the US, where his wife's mother and other family members lived. On April 7, 1805, Da Ponte himself followed on the freighter *Columbia*. After a crossing lasting fifty-seven days, he set foot on American soil in Philadelphia.

He reunited with his family in New York and opened a grocery shop, but, after only three months, he fled. According to his memoirs, he left to escape an epidemic, but in fact was again avoiding his creditors—in this short time, he had already posted a loss of \$300. He and his family then moved to Elizabethtown, New Jersey (now Elizabeth), where he opened another grocery shop and went bankrupt again. He returned to New York in 1807 and worked as an Italian teacher, but four years later he moved to Sunbury, Pennsylvania, where he bought a house and sold self-distilled brandy, worked as a druggist, and traded in cleaning utensils. In 1818, facing bankruptcy yet again, relatives and friends in Philadelphia helped him pay his debts, and he finally returned to New York in April of 1819 (Krehbiel 1898; Lazare 1950; Cohen 1987; Biba 2005; 2006). Here he sold Italian language books and opened a small language school, the Manhattan Academy for Young Gentlemen, where he gave Italian lessons. The school also offered lessons in Spanish and French. French was taught by Da Ponte's wife, who soon opened the Manhattan Academy for Young Ladies.

Lorenzo da Ponte was by this time seventy years old. Now he returned to his literary and poetic talents. One of the first students at his academy was Fitz-Greene Halleck (1795–1867), who became a recognized American author and poet. It is possible that Halleck introduced Da Ponte in New

York literary circles, or led him back to literary pursuits. At any event, Da Ponte published *An extract from the Life of Lorenzo da Ponte, with the History of Several Dramas, written by Him in 1819* (Zagonel 1999:52) and began writing his detailed memoirs, which he published in three volumes beginning in 1823. A second enlarged edition was published in 1829–30 (Da Ponte 1829–30; see Zagonel 1999:52, 55ff., 63ff.). These memoirs make fascinating reading, but they are works of literature rather than historical source materials. In 1821 Da Ponte published an Italian translation of Lord Byron's English Dante edition (Da Ponte 1821; see Zagonel 1999:53), and in the following years he published other works of Italian literature. His book *Storia della lingua e letteratura italiana in New York*, published in 1827, is still available in a reprint today (Da Ponte 1827). It is significant that he saw himself as the father of Italian language and literature in New York. In 1824–25, this seventy-five-year-old Italian poet and author even conducted a duel of magazine articles with the twenty-eight-year-old American historian and novelist William Hickling Prescott about the definition of Italian narrative poetry.³

Mozart in the New World

Thus, in 1824 when Da Ponte was asked, in the midst of his flourishing second literary career, which of his libretti were the most important and successful, his list was based on literary, not musical, considerations. Neither *Figaro* nor *Don Giovanni* had been staged in New York by that time. Scores and piano/vocal reductions from these operas could, however, be bought in any music store, either in imported editions from London and Europe, or in American editions of individual numbers.⁴ Indeed, the first American edition of a number from *Le nozze di Figaro* (“Non più andrai”) appeared as early as 1794–96 in Philadelphia, at first without mention of the opera's title (Sonneck 1945:249). In 1795 the first numbers from *Die Zauberflöte* appeared in Philadelphia (Sonneck 1945:146). The first single numbers from *La clemenza di Tito* and *Don Giovanni* were published in the same city in 1802–3 and 1817, respectively. These first publications were quickly followed by others, in Philadelphia as well as in Baltimore, New York, and Boston (Wolfe 1964, 2:602–18).

Staged performances of opera in New York during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were oriented entirely towards the London repertoire. Singers from London were engaged to supplement, reinforce, and lend international glamour to the local casts in New York opera productions.⁵ These first performances were often presented in distorted arrangements.

The first Mozart opera to be staged in New York was *Le nozze di Figaro* at the Park Theatre on May 10, 1823 (Ireland 1866–67, 1:429; Ritter

1884:152ff.). The opera was performed in English in a musical arrangement by Henry Bishop which had been created for the London stage in 1819. The lead singers also came from England, notably William Pearson from Manchester, who sang the role of Figaro. *Marriage of Figaro*, as it was billed, became Mozart's most popular opera in New York, and indeed in the United States. The melody of "Non più andrai" had long been heard in the popular folk song "You'll roam no more" (unattributed to Mozart) and was even adopted into the military music repertoire (Fenner 1972:28). Over the next several years, the opera continued to appear on New York stages: productions were staged at the Park Theatre in 1827–28 and 1828–29, the Bowery Theatre in 1830–31, and the National Theatre in 1838. The first Italian-language performance of *Le nozze di Figaro* in New York took place as late as 1858 (Ireland 1866–67, 1:544, 595, 654; 1866–67, 2:282, 479).

In 1826, three years after the arrival of *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* was first performed in New York, in the original Italian. Productions followed at the Bowery Theatre in 1827 and at the Park Theatre in 1831 (Ireland 1866–67, 1:476–77, 494, 529, 646). New York's first staging of *Die Zauberflöte* occurred in 1831, translated into English and with music arranged by Charles Horn (Ireland 1866–67, 2:50). Thus the three most important Mozart operas to English-speaking audiences became part of the New York opera scene, and, returning in new productions, established their present positions in the repertoire.⁶

By comparison, Beethoven's *Fidelio* was first staged in New York in 1840 (Ireland 1866–67, 2:298; Ritter 1884:209). Just as Beethoven's opera was incorporated into New York programs comparatively late, local editions and public performances of his instrumental music lagged noticeably behind those of Mozart. After all, Mozart was "the celebrated Mr. Mozart," as he was called just five years after his death on the title page of a Mozart edition published in Philadelphia.⁷

The first known public performance in the US of an instrumental work by Mozart took place on December 14, 1786, in one of the Twelve City Concerts at the City Tavern in Philadelphia. The work was simply described as "Piano Sonata." On October 6, 1789, the second of three New York Subscription Concerts of Vocal and Instrumental Music was performed in the New York City Tavern. Included on a program of overtures by Stamitz, Vanhal, Dittersdorf, and a variety of works by other composers was a "Duett, Piano Forte and Violin, of Mozart" (Sonneck 1907:82, 188). Mozart's orchestral works seem to have been introduced to Americans slightly later, and further south: the first recorded performance of an orchestral work by Mozart in the United States took place in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1797. The program presented a "Grand Simphonie" along with compositions by Gluck, Pleyel, Krumpholz, and others (Sonneck 1907:37). In these early

years, audiences mainly became acquainted with Mozart's music in vocal and chamber music performances in semi-public concerts at residences and in musical salon circles, a fashion that had been copied from Europe.

Publishers had these genres in mind for their customers as they printed the first editions of Mozart's music in the US. I have already mentioned the first American publications of his vocal music (single numbers from his operas). Published in Baltimore in 1800, *Zwölf Variationen über ein Menuett von Johann Christian Fischer* for piano, K. 179, was the first piece of Mozart's instrumental music published in the US (Wolfe 1964, 1:280; Sonneck 1945:518). The first edition of this work had appeared in Paris in 1778, but surprisingly, the first print in Vienna, Mozart's home town, was not published until 1792, only eight years before the first US edition appeared. The two sonatas for violin and piano, K. 330 and K. 378, were published in Philadelphia between 1804 and 1814 (Wolfe 1964, 2:614).⁸

By contrast, the range of Mozart's vocal music (including arias, duets, and ensembles from his operas) available in early American editions increased rapidly after 1794. There were individual series of publications called, for example, "Canzonet[s] Composed by W. A. Mozart," published by John and Michael Paff in New York between 1803 and 1807; "Select airs from the celebrated operas composed by Mozart," published between 1819 and 1823–24 in Philadelphia; and "A selection from the vocal compositions of Mozart, united to English verses," published in Philadelphia in twenty-three volumes between 1815–16 and 1820–21 (Wolfe 1964, 2:605, 613).

In 1815, the Handel and Haydn Society was founded in Boston. Its main aim, following its English model, was the concert performance of music by Handel and Haydn for chorus and orchestra. Shortly after its foundation, the Society received an offer of several sacred choral compositions in manuscript copies for publication, including works by Mozart. The offer came from Lowell Mason (1792–1872), a bank clerk from Savannah, Georgia, who owned copies of these works (Johnson 1943:214, 237; 1965:54). This transaction initiated the Society's publishing ventures; their first volume appeared in 1821 (Handel and Haydn Society 1821). This volume, which also lists three sacred choral works wrongly attributed to Mozart in addition to the authentic works,⁹ soon became the standard repertoire for Episcopalian churches throughout the US and went through nineteen editions. Thus, on the one hand, Mozart's church music had reached America by the early nineteenth century (as evidenced by Mason's offer); on the other hand, his music was being distributed in the United States by means of handwritten copies. While the early presence of Haydn's music in the US in the form of imported and locally produced manuscript copies has been researched,¹⁰ such research has yet to be undertaken for Mozart's music.

Da Ponte and Opera in New York

We have seen, then, that even ten years before Da Ponte arrived in New York, the local music scene and the music business regarded Mozart as “the celebrated Mr. Mozart.” By 1800, eight works by Mozart had been published in the United States, and in the next quarter-century, some 170 pieces would appear (Sonneck 1945:518; Smith in Wolfe 1964, 1:x). The year that Da Ponte finally settled in New York, 1819, also marked the publication of a series of arias from “celebrated operas by Mozart” in Philadelphia.¹¹ This is in addition to all the imported and local sheet music and manuscript copies already circulating. Mozart’s music arrived and spread in the US before Da Ponte arrived on American shores and without his help. He was not needed to promote Mozart, and Da Ponte recognized this.

In 1831, the Italian tenor and opera impresario Giacomo Montresor was preparing a New York tour of his company, and asked Da Ponte for advice on what to perform. Da Ponte answered that Mozart and Rossini were the most popular composers in America. Montresor should, therefore, include *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni* as well as *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and *La gazza Ladra* in the repertoire of his company (Zagonel 1995:447). Da Ponte transitioned from advisor to organizational and commercial partner for the tour in the autumn and winter of 1832–33, acting “in behalf of a committee of subscribers” (Ireland 1866–67, 2:60). The tour’s program, however, for which Da Ponte was partly responsible, did not include Mozart. Under the direction of Da Ponte and Montresor, four Rossini operas and one work each by Bellini and Mercadante were performed at the Richmond Hill Theatre and the Bowery Theatre (Ireland 1866–67, 2:61ff.; Krehbiel 1898:18ff.; Ritter 1884:201ff.). We see then that the tour repertory included music by (in Da Ponte’s opinion) only one of the two most popular composers in New York, alongside examples of contemporary Italian opera. Incidentally, Montresor’s and Da Ponte’s opera business was bankrupt by the end of the season.

Nevertheless, even as his venture with Montresor was failing, Da Ponte was busily making his next grand plan. He found sponsors to build an “Italian Opera House” at the corner of Church and Leonard Streets, near Broadway in Lower Manhattan. This was intended to be the first theater solely for opera performance in New York. It opened on November 18, 1833, under the direction of Da Ponte, his friend Rivafinoli, and Carlo Salvioni of Milan. The first season consisted of one opera by Salvioni, one each by Pacini and Cimarosa, and six Rossini operas. Although Mozart’s Italian operas would have been right at home in a season that also included Cimarosa, Mozart was not programmed at Da Ponte’s theater. The season of sixty-eight performances showed a loss of \$30,000, not for lack of public interest, but because of the extravagant sums invested in the productions

(Ireland 1866–67, 2:95–96; Krehbiel 1898:34ff.; Ritter 1884:203ff.; Dizikes 1993:71–80). Da Ponte was bankrupt yet again and finally withdrew from the music business. His theater continued without his involvement for a second season of fifty-seven performances. In 1836 the opera house was sold. The new owners of the building named it the “National Theatre,” and it was under their ownership that the theater originally built by Da Ponte finally included Mozart on its program. In March of 1838, they performed *Figaro* (Ireland 1866–67, 2:282–83; Ritter 1884:203ff.).¹²

This set of circumstances is remarkable: in London, Da Ponte was closely involved in the Italian-language repertoire of the King’s Theatre and even edited older Italian-language operas. Yet during his employment at the King’s Theatre, not one Mozart opera was performed. In the season immediately after he left, *La clemenza di Tito* was staged (Köchel [1862] 1964:721). And later in New York, wherever Da Ponte had an active part in opera productions, no work of Mozart was staged. We do not find even the slightest evidence in any of a variety of sources that Da Ponte ever promoted Mozart’s music. He only represents himself as a champion of Mozart and his music once—in an expanded edition of his memoirs.

Let me explain briefly how this notable instance came about: in the fall of 1825, Manuel Garcia, a Spanish tenor and composer famous throughout Europe, had come to New York with an opera company he had put together. During the season of 1825–26, they gave seventy-nine performances in the Park Theatre of five Rossini operas, three of Garcia’s own operas, and Mozart’s *Don Giovanni* (Ireland 1866–67, 1:465–77; Ritter 1884:186–88). In his memoirs, Da Ponte explains that he introduced himself to Garcia in New York as the librettist of Mozart’s *Don Giovanni* and convinced him to stage this opera. Indeed, he claims to have even offered Garcia financial support to include Mozart’s opera on his program. But why now? Why for Garcia? And why didn’t Da Ponte offer such assistance earlier to other theaters or opera companies? According to Da Ponte, Garcia accepted the offer and his company rehearsed the opera (Livingston 1929:448; Gugitz 1924, 3:261–63; see also Dizikes 1993:72). This would imply that the New York premiere of *Don Giovanni* happened entirely because of Da Ponte. There is, however, no source which confirms Da Ponte’s claim, and no evidence to show that the opera was included in the tour program at such short notice. Da Ponte’s claim has been questioned in the specialist literature ever since the 1884 publication of Frederic Louis Ritter’s book *Music in America* (1884:183–84; see also Dizikes 1993:72). In any event, the first performance of *Don Giovanni* took place on May 23, 1826. Next to Rossini’s *Barbiere di Siviglia*, which opened the season, and Rossini’s *Tancredi*, *Don Giovanni* was the most successful of the nine operas performed by Garcia’s company during that

season (Ireland 1866–67, 1:476–77). The opera orchestra which had been assembled in New York for this guest season was unusually large for New York, numbering seven violins, two violas, three cellos, two double basses, two each of flutes, oboes, clarinets, horns and trumpets, one bassoon, one timpanist, and a musician at the piano. The concertmaster conducted the orchestra (Ritter 1884:186). Such information about the performances themselves, gained from press reports, is more valuable to us today than the questionable claims found in Da Ponte's memoirs.

Why would Da Ponte have found it necessary to represent himself in just a single instance in his memoirs as Mozart's champion in New York? And this, despite his evident promotion of performances of Italian contemporary opera in this city? I suspect these are psychological issues, difficult to get to the bottom of. Mozart was dead and world-famous. Da Ponte, alive, and despite his many bankruptcies living fairly well in New York, still never achieved similar fame. He probably knew that even his historic collaboration with Mozart would not make him famous, since a librettist is always overshadowed by the composer. Perhaps being seen, just once, as promoting the more famous man was exactly the position which would elevate him in the eyes of his readers—if not in the United States then in Europe.¹³

It is particularly interesting that whenever Da Ponte spoke of his past as court theater poet, he did not especially emphasize his collaboration with Mozart. Rather, he listed Mozart—one of the two most popular composers in New York—alongside a number of other composers who were certainly not more famous, and who in any event were much less well known in New York. I began this essay with one example, but there are others. In a letter of 1835 he wrote, "I was the poet of Joseph II. I wrote thirty-six libretti which inspired compositions of Salieri, Weigl, Martin, Winter, and Mozart" (Zagonel 1995:491). In the same year he also recalled, "I wrote thirty-six libretti for Salieri, Martin, Weigl, Winter, Storace, and for Mozart" (Zagonel 1995:495). And in a letter written in the year of his death, 1838, he wrote, "I am the author of thirty-six libretti, the poet of Emperor Joseph II, of Salieri, Martin, Mozart" (Zagonel 1995:508).

When, however, the Viennese poet Nikolaus Lenau met Da Ponte in New York in the 1830s, Da Ponte immediately found it necessary to explain why he was not, or indeed could not be, concerned with Mozart in New York. He said that soon after his arrival in New York, he had revealed himself at a reception as the librettist of *Don Giovanni*. He had tried to explain what had moved the two collaborators to create this work, what they wanted to express, and what their aims were. He was told that no one in New York was interested in how he or Mozart had earned their living in Europe, nor in how their works had come to be created (Kürnberger 1855:471). One

apparently appreciated art in New York but did not need prophets from the Old World to explain it.

This may or may not have happened exactly as Da Ponte claimed. Da Ponte will have seen that he could neither make Mozart more famous nor gain personal fame by associating himself with Mozart. This, of course, is no reason for him to have effectively ignored Mozart in all his activities in New York, but we should not hold this against him. Mozart certainly did not need promotion by Da Ponte in New York, and Da Ponte had to make his way in the New World without Mozart's help. From the perspective of many Europeans, on the other hand, Da Ponte needed to either pretend to champion Mozart or at least heavily exaggerate his promotion of the composer. This he did in his memoirs, which were not written for English readers in the US but were instead intended for Italian readers in New York or in Europe. They were also soon translated into German (Da Ponte 1847). Da Ponte's explanation for Nikolaus Lenau may have been a rare and honest indication of why he had not presented himself as a Mozartian in New York.

Da Ponte at Columbia

The area in which Da Ponte aspired to fame and achieved some success was Italian literature. He was proud of being “creator of the Italian language in America” (Krehbiel 1898:180). Out of patriotic fervor for Italian language and literature he applied for the as yet non-existent post of professor of Italian language at Columbia College on May 2, 1825. In September of that year, he was awarded the post, but the registered students, and not the College, had to pay his fees (Krehbiel 1898:175).¹⁴ Thus Da Ponte established an honorable and unique position for himself, similar in some respects to his position as court theater poet in Vienna or to Mozart's appointment as chamber composer for the emperor, a post which was especially created for Mozart.

An important factor in Da Ponte's appointment was certainly the influence of Clement Clarke Moore (1779–1863), one of the curators of Columbia College. Moore and Da Ponte had been acquainted since 1807 and became close friends around 1819. Moore, a poet and author (he wrote the children's poem *The Night before Christmas*), also founded an Episcopalian theological seminary in New York and published a dictionary of the Hebrew language. He was a wealthy member of New York society and his friendship with Da Ponte indicates the New York social circles in which Da Ponte felt at home. The association with Moore also suggests where Da Ponte secured sponsorship for his opera enterprises which, after all, were first and foremost a means of promoting Italian language and culture.

It is remarkable how much energy Da Ponte expended in his old age to promote Italian language, literature, and culture through a variety of activities. By the mid-nineteenth century, it was said that “more than two thousand scholars have been initiated in the language of Italy by him” (Francis 1858:260). Between 1826 and 1829 he sold entire portions of his personal collection of Italian literature to the Columbia College Library and even worked on a new catalogue for the Library (Cohen 1987:21ff.; Krehbiel 1898:176). He also worked for other New York libraries, was still active as a bookseller, and published stock catalogues of his inventory which mainly consisted of Italian titles but also included works in French and German.¹⁵

Before I close, I would like to eradicate yet another popular legend: it has repeatedly been maintained that Da Ponte died impoverished, unknown, and forgotten in New York. There is no evidence to support this; indeed, all evidence proves the contrary. On August 17, 1838, Da Ponte died in New York. On September 29, the *New York Mirror* published a portrait of Da Ponte on its front page along with an obituary which filled more than the entire page (Ward 1838). The requiem mass was celebrated in the old St. Patrick’s Cathedral on August 20. Among other music, the Cathedral Choir sang Allegri’s *Miserere*, the work which Mozart had heard during his visit to Rome as a boy and written down from memory. This was, however, not a deliberate allusion to Da Ponte’s connection to Mozart. Rather, the *Miserere* had first been published by Charles Burney in London and quickly became one of the best known and most popular pieces for choir; this popularity spread from London to New York. Furthermore, we have detailed descriptions of the city’s formal leavetaking of Da Ponte. The funeral service, the long funeral procession, and the graveside ceremony, all organized by the Italian community in New York, were clearly impressive to the eye-witnesses.¹⁶

In its obituary of Da Ponte, published August 18, 1838, the day after his death, the *New York Evening Post* described him as having retained the enthusiasm and fire of youth even into old age. The funerary coat of arms, which was carried at the head of the funeral procession, bore the Latin inscription “Lorenzo da Ponte, exceptionally valued by the sciences, by the state and among the Muses, a great lover of his native country and an eager Christian” (Ward 1838:106). This last characterization may refer to Da Ponte’s having, in his old age, reconciled himself to the church he had left without dispensation in his youth. These, however, are purely biographical questions which did not concern us in this essay. I have instead tried to describe the complicated relationship between a famous composer and the librettist who worked with him, and who for nearly a half-century struggled with that relationship even from the remove of the New World.

Notes

An earlier version of this paper was read at the colloquium commemorating the 200th anniversary of Lorenzo da Ponte's arrival in the New World, organized by the Da Ponte Institute of Vienna and the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University, in New York on October 11, 2005, in the Teatro of the Italian Academy. Sections of this paper were recently published elsewhere in German as Biba (2005) and (2006).

1. This misleading picture (that Da Ponte devoted himself to making Mozart's reputation in America) has been perpetuated by many scholars, most of them writing in German but also some writing in Italian and English.

2. This overview follows Da Ponte's very subjective and not always truthful memoirs as well as literature about Da Ponte. For two editions of the memoirs with careful annotations, see Gugitz (1924) and Livingston (1929). From the literature I mention Russo (1922), Hodges (1995), Rescigno (1989), Lanapoppi (1992), and Goertz (1985).

3. These debates are reprinted in Prescott (1824) and (1845).

4. See Sonneck (1945) and Smith (in Wolfe 1964).

5. The first complete Mozart opera performed in London was *La clemenza di Tito* in 1806. *Die Zauberflöte* followed in 1811, *Le nozze di Figaro* in 1812, and *Don Giovanni* in 1817. See Köchel ([1862] 1964:721, 713, 546, 599).

6. The New York premiere of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* took place in 1862 as part of Carl Anschütz's German Opera Season in the Old Wallack Theatre (Ritter 1884:332). *La clemenza di Tito* and *Così fan tutte* were only premiered in New York in the twentieth century.

7. "The Fowler. A favorite song by the celebrated Mr. Mozart. Printed and sold at G. Willig's Musical Magazine No. 165 Market Street, Philadelphia." Sonneck dates the edition 1795, while Upton dates it 1795–97 (Sonneck 1945:146).

8. The first piano sonata by Mozart published in New York appeared in 1810 and was, unfortunately, not authentic (Wolfe 1964, 2:614).

9. These were "The saffron tints of morn appear," "Thou who lov'st the desert wild," and "Holy, Lord God of Hosts" (the Sanctus from the Mass K. Anh. 233/C1.06).

10. See Norton (1932), Lowens (1979) and (1981), and Kidd (1987).

11. See Wolfe (1964, 2:613): "Select airs from the celebrated operas composed by Mozart. Arranged for the piano forte, with an accompaniment for the flute ad lib., by J. F. Burrowes, Philadelphia," published by Bacon & Co. Wolfe dates the edition 1819.

12. It would be interesting to know what Da Ponte thought and felt about this.

13. He took for granted that the readership of his memoirs would be widespread and not limited to New York.

14. Da Ponte's son-in-law Henry James Anderson was appointed professor of mathematics and astronomy at Columbia College in 1825, the same year Da Ponte accepted his post.

15. When Columbia College celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on April 13, 1837, the ceremony included a canon by William Byrd, a Te Deum by an unnamed composer, and the *Rex tremendae majestatis* and *Benedictus* from Mozart's Requiem (Columbia College 1837:16). Yet not even this unusual combination of works can have originated with Lorenzo Da Ponte, who was eighty-eight at the time and was not represented on the committee of professors preparing the ceremony.

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16. "His remains were followed to the grave by many of our most distinguished citizens" (Francis 1858:263). See Ward (1838:106) and Tuckerman (1868:536) for other eye-witness accounts.

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