

Migrating Mozart, or Life as a Substitute Aria in the Eighteenth Century

ISABELLE EMERSON

Hikers, especially in difficult terrain, spend a lot of time looking down at the trail where, among the frequent sights, are deposits by various animals. These droppings, or scat, are packed with information about the local fauna. But they are also a significant factor in the distribution of flora, as animals and birds eat in one location and eliminate in another—a process of dissemination botanists term seed dispersal. The practice in the eighteenth century, of carrying one's favorite arias around from opera to opera, strikes me as quite similar to this paradigm in nature: the singer ingests the aria in one location, and emits it in another. The result is significantly similar: the dispersal of the material over the geographical range of the carrier.

*

There has been a tendency to regard the substitute aria as not very welcome baggage, and to assess this practice and its near relative, the *pastiche*, as not quite respectable. I suggest that we look at the practice, not as detracting from the merits of its host work, but as a means of distribution of music. In the case of Mozart's presence in London, this may be of some importance since none of his operas was staged in that city until 1806 (*La clemenza di Tito*)—fifteen years after his death. By that time, however, quite a bit of his operatic music, and many of his instrumental works, had been heard in London. The music reached England in several ways.

The first and most obvious medium was publication. A fair amount of Mozart's instrumental music was available in printed form in London. David Wyn Jones has shown a close relationship between Artaria's publications in Vienna and subsequent appearances in print by the London firm Longman & Broderip, which promptly issued prints of chamber music, symphonies, and three concertos (K. 413-415); many of these same works were performed publicly or semi-publicly.¹ Cliff Eisen has shown that more published music was available in London and in Paris than had been thought.² To the music actually printed in London, we must add the quantity of published works brought home by the many English travelers of the period, or procured in other ways by stay-at-home citizens. Examples of *vocal* music, however, appeared only rarely in print, although individual numbers might have turned up in a published collection, with such a title perhaps as "'Beat me, beat me' as sung by Mandina in the hit opera *La villanella rapita*."

¹ David Wyn Jones, "From Artaria to Longman & Broderip: Mozart's Music on Sale in London," in *Studies in Music History Presented to H.C. Robbins Landon on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Otto Biba and David Wyn Jones (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996).

² Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O.E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 136–54; and "Dissemination of Mozart's Music," in *The Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music*, ed. H.C. Robbins Landon (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1990), 190. Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), is extremely informative about London concert life in general.

A second avenue of transfer in the creation and circulation of manuscript copies, legal and illegal. These were in fact the main source for vocal music. Mozart's operas, with the exception of *Die Entführung* and *Don Giovanni*, did not appear in print until early in the nineteenth century, but manuscript copies were available. For example, a manuscript score of Acts I and II of *Figaro*, which premiered in 1786 but was not printed until 1819 (by Simrock), entered the Fürstenberg collection in Donaueschingen early in 1786; a manuscript piano version of the opera was offered for sale in Vienna in 1787.³ The score for the 1806 London production of *La clemenza di Tito* was provided by the Prince of Wales, who presumably had procured a manuscript copy during his travels. The soprano Nancy Storace is thought to have brought with her from Vienna a score of *Le nozze di Figaro*.⁴

The third significant path was provided by performance. In the absence of printed versions or easily obtainable manuscript copies, vocal music circulated widely by performance. Although Mozart's operas were not being performed in London, audiences heard excerpts via singers who inserted numbers into other operas, or performed them in concerts. It should be remembered that, once a work had been heard in public, composers lost real possession of the material—however valiantly they might have worked at preserving their rights. Thus Mozart's music could easily appear, and frequently did, with or without his approval or even his knowledge, in a work by another composer. It was indeed standard practice for composers to create arias as substitutes for music that perhaps did not well suit the singer's voice or range. The inserted number was not always identified, but often its authorship was acknowledged in a program or was known to a select few.

Throughout his life, Mozart composed a number of these substitute arias. The numbers range from the music provided in 1775–76 for members of a troupe that traveled through Salzburg, to arias written specifically for the Vienna debut in 1783 of his sister-in-law Aloysia Weber. Especially noteworthy among his later such works are the two ensembles composed for Bianchi's *La villanella rapita*, ensembles that seem to have become permanent numbers of the opera. Appendix A presents a list of these works and their recipients, together with a list of the concert arias and scenas created for singers of his operas as well as for such performers as Josepha Duschek, who was a close friend and concert performer—but not an opera singer. Mozart may well have composed for her use in concerts the scena “Non più di fiori vaghe catene,” which he then gave to Vitellia later that year in *La clemenza di Tito*, written in extraordinary haste for the late summer coronation in Prague of Emperor Leopold II.⁵

Many of the singers with whom Mozart worked appeared at some point in London, singing in opera productions, in festivals or celebrations, and often teaching.

³ See the entry for *Le nozze di Figaro*, K. 492, in the Köchel catalogue.

⁴ George Hogarth in his *Memoirs of the Musical Drama* (London: Richard Bentley, 1838) reports that *La clemenza di Tito* was chosen by Mrs. Elizabeth Billington for her benefit at the King's Theatre in 1806 due to the influence of the Prince of Wales (later George IV), who supplied the score from his personal collection. (Sesto was sung by John Braham, Nancy Storace's long-time lover and father of her son.) See Hogarth, II, 367–68. Roger Fiske states that “it is virtually certain that [Nancy] and Stephen brought back from Vienna a copy of the full score . . .,” *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 498.

⁵ See Alan Tyson, “*La clemenza di Tito* and Its Chronology,” in *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 48–60.

Appendix B provides a list of these singers, their roles in Mozart's operas, and the titles of any concert arias created for them. In addition to these singers, a number of important friends and colleagues visited and performed in London—Joseph Haydn, Lorenzo da Ponte, Johann Nepomuk Hummel.

It is clear that well-traveled highways connected the major music centers of Europe—Vienna, Paris, London, and the great Italian cities and courts. The careers of four musicians of the late eighteenth century demonstrate the effective transfer of music from center to center, and even shed light on the modes and media of the music's migration. Three—Thomas Attwood, Nancy Storace, and Stephen Storace—were English, one—Michael Kelly—was Irish; all four studied and began their adult careers in Italy before going to Vienna; all had very close ties to Mozart; and all journeyed together from Vienna to London in the early spring of 1787, after which all were vitally involved in the musical life of London.⁶ All played significant but different roles in the dissemination of Mozart's music; their activities exemplify the customary avenues by which music traveled, and also often reveal a high degree of ingenuity exercised in procuring the music.

Michael Kelly (1762–1826), a tenor with a gift for drama, left Ireland for Italy in 1779 (he was seventeen), and ended up in Naples. He quickly became acquainted there with the fourteen-year-old soprano Anna Selina Storace (1765–1817), known as Nancy. She had journeyed to Naples in 1778 to join her brother Stephen (1762–96), who had just completed two years of study in composition at the Conservatorio San Onofrio. Kelly and Nancy Storace were engaged in 1783 for Emperor Joseph II's new Italian opera company in Vienna. Stephen seems to have accompanied them to Vienna, but then continued to England. He returned briefly to Vienna in 1785 for the production of his opera *Gli sposi malcontenti* with Nancy singing the lead role (unfortunately she lost her voice and collapsed on stage). The four years spent in Vienna by Nancy Storace and Michael Kelly were, if not the peaks, certainly very high points of their careers, and indeed of the Italian opera in Vienna. Storace was the reigning prima donna of the city; she and Kelly

⁶ The following individual studies of these musicians are rich in information about their lives and the contexts in which they worked:

Thomas Attwood: Daniel Heartz, "Thomas Attwood's Lessons in Composition with Mozart," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 100 (1973–74): 175–83; Erich Hertzmann, "Mozart and Attwood," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 12, No. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1959): 178–84; Cecil B. Oldman, "Thomas Attwood, 1765–1838," *The Musical Times*, 106, No. 1473 (Nov. 1965): 844–45.

Michael Kelly: *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King's Theatre, and Theatre Royal, Drury Lane*, 1826; ed. with introduction by Roger Fiske (London: Oxford University Press, 1975). Fiske's careful and thorough notes correct and amplify Kelly's memories of his long and colorful life.

Nancy Storace: Geoffrey Brace, *Anna . . . Susanna: Anna Storace, Mozart's First Susanna: Her Life, Times, and Family* (London: Thames Publishing, 1991).

Stephen Storace: Jane Girdham, *English Opera in Late-Eighteenth-Century London: Stephen Storace at Drury Lane* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

Also invaluable for specific and general information about musical theatre in eighteenth-century London are Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music* (cited in note 4), and the two volumes of *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*: I. Curtis Price, Judith Milhous, and Robert D. Hume, *The King's Theatre, Haymarket, 1778–1791* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), and II. Judith Milhous, Gabriella Dideriksen, and Robert D. Hume, *The Pantheon Opera and Its Aftermath, 1789–1795* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

appeared in countless operas—by Paisiello, Salieri, Soler, Cimarosa, Bianchi—but we remember them today for their roles as Susanna and Don Basilio (plus Curzio) in *Le nozze di Figaro* in May 1786.

Thomas Attwood (1765–1838) was sent in 1783 by the Prince of Wales (later George IV) to study music composition in Naples. After two years, he decided that Mozart was the teacher for him, so in 1785 he joined his compatriots in Vienna (where Mozart set him to work writing out all the major and minor scales before tackling species counterpoint). We do not know that Stephen Storace studied with Mozart; we do know that he, like the other three young musicians, enjoyed a close personal as well as professional relationship with the composer. The role of Susanna had been created for Nancy Storace; for her farewell concert in Vienna, Mozart composed “Ch’io mi scordi di te,” “scena con Rondò mit klavier solo für Madselle storace und mich” (K. 505, 27 November 1786). In his occasionally overly inventive *Memoirs*, Kelly left detailed accounts of *Figaro*’s preparation and production, and of his friendship with the composer. Attwood’s composition notebooks⁷ are compelling evidence of his studies, and are powerfully revealing of Mozart’s compositional procedures as well as his teaching methodology.

Stephen Storace, who flitted back and forth between London and Vienna with almost twentieth-century ease, returned again to Vienna in the fall of 1786 with agreements for his sister to sing with the Italian opera at King’s Theatre and Kelly to work at the Drury Lane Theatre. Attwood’s time of study had reached its end. In February 1787, the four musicians set out for London, stopping in Salzburg where they visited Leopold Mozart, and Nancy sang for Archbishop Colloredo. The party also spent a couple of weeks in Paris, where Nancy probably sang for Queen Marie Antoinette (at least, she was introduced to her by a letter from Joseph II, the Queen’s brother⁸). Arriving in London in March 1787, all four immediately involved themselves in the musical life of the city: Nancy Storace in the Italian opera at the King’s Theatre; Kelly and Stephen Storace at Drury Lane; and Attwood once again in his former position at Court (as Page of the Presence to the Prince of Wales).

London theatre life in the late eighteenth century was complicated, and frequently interrupted by often suspicious fires. In the main, the Italian opera company, with which Nancy Storace first appeared, performed at the King’s Theatre; the Drury Lane Company, with which Stephen Storace and Kelly began their London careers, was devoted to English opera. When the King’s Theatre burned down in June 1789, the Italian company moved to the Little Theatre in Haymarket; King’s Theatre was rebuilt, but the Italian company was not permitted to perform in it. When the Drury Lane Theatre was torn down, to be reconstructed, the Drury Lane Company was permitted to use the new, enlarged King’s Theatre. In January 1793, the Italian opera was finally allowed to work

⁷ Attwood’s composition books were published by the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* in a handsome edition in 1965: *Thomas Attwoods Theorie- und Kompositionsstudien bei Mozart*, ed. Erich Hertzmann and Cecil B. Oldman; Daniel Hertz and Alfred Mann, in *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, group 30, vol. 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965).

⁸ Storace requested that Emperor Joseph give her a letter for the Queen, but he declined, preferring instead to enclose such a letter in a dispatch to his ambassador in Paris, Comte de Mercy-Argenteau. Joseph tellingly described Storace’s talents: “If she [the Queen] wishes to listen to her sing, I think she will be pleased with her skill and technique, although she isn’t as outstanding singing to the keyboard as she is on the stage, where she acquits herself much more worthily.” Quoted in Brace, *Anna . . . Susanna*, 63.

at the new King's Theatre—but only for two nights a week; the other five nights belonged to Drury Lane. At this point, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the manager of the Drury Lane Company, put Stephen Storace and Kelly in charge of running the Italian opera season in addition to their work with the Drury Lane Company. It was now that Attwood joined the seriously overworked Stephen Storace as assistant with Drury Lane productions, and turned to composing, mainly short “afterpieces,” for the musical theatre.⁹

Of the four, Nancy Storace performed most conventionally in the transport of Mozart's music: she simply inserted arias of her choice into whatever opera she was singing. The first mention (but not necessarily the first instance) of such an insertion came in May 1789, when she was joined at the King's Theatre by her old friend and musical partner Francesco Benucci, the Viennese Figaro to her Susanna. The two made history by singing in Giuseppe Gazzaniga's *La vendemmia* “Crudel! Perchè finora” from *Figaro*; it has been claimed that this was the first performance on a London stage of a Mozart number.¹⁰ They had not sung this together in *Figaro*, by the way, for it was performed by Susanna and Count Almaviva (sung in Vienna by Stefano Mandini, 1750-c. 1810). Benucci returned to Vienna to create Guglielmo in *Così fan tutte* in January 1790. In February 1790, he was again in London at the Little Theatre in Haymarket to sing with Storace Francesco Bianchi's *La villanella rapita*, for which Mozart had written two ensembles, a trio “Mandina amabile” (K. 480), and a quartet “Dite almeno in che maniera” (K. 479), which was apparently performed now as a quintet. The *Morning Herald* raved that “All the music of the opera deserving celebrity is by Mozart—and it is to the praise of Storace that so many of these have been introduced.”¹¹ In addition to the two ensembles, Storace also sang her old *Figaro* aria “Deh vieni non tardar” and “Batti, batti bel Masetto” from *Don Giovanni*.¹²

The *Figaro* aria was not unexpected, but where did she get “Batti, batti” composed after her departure from Vienna? Is this evidence that she continued to be in contact with Mozart? It may be. On the other hand, if we remember that Benucci, who had been in London for the 1789 season, had sung, in May 1788, the role of Leporello in the Viennese production of *Don Giovanni*, it seems very likely that he might have brought the music with him—perhaps at Mozart's suggestion. We may also surmise that Benucci brought with him a few other tidbits from the Viennese *Don Giovanni*. On 8 March 1790, just a week after Storace's success in *La villanella*, her frequent stage partner John Bannister and Elizabeth Billington sang “Là ci darem la mano” in a comic opera, *The Czar*, by William Shield (1748–1829) at Covent Garden.¹³ Were they given

⁹ See Curtis Price, “Italian Opera and Arson in Late Eighteenth-Century London,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42, No. 1 (1989): 55–107; and Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 512–14 and 522–26.

¹⁰ Frederick C. Petty, *Italian Opera in London, 1760–1800* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1972), 271 n. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 274. The King's Theatre had been destroyed by fire on 17 June 1789, so the Italian opera company was performing at the Little Theatre in Haymarket. See Price, Milhous, and Hume, *The King's Theatre*, 423–32.

¹² Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents*, 251, no. 256.

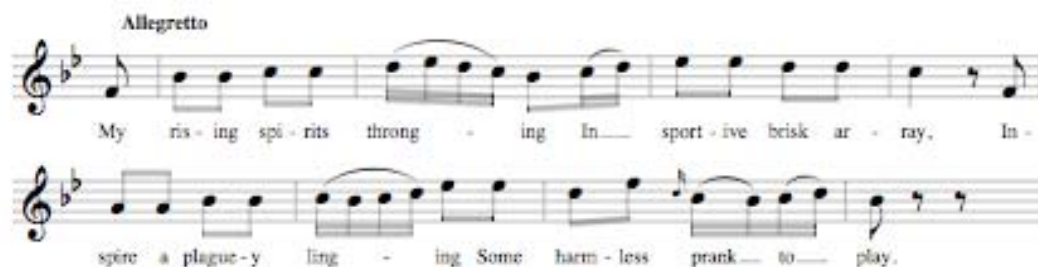
¹³ Brace, 81; Fiske, 541. Brace gives the name as John Bannister, while Fiske has Charles. Charles Bannister, a comedian who often sang bass parts at the Drury Lane Theatre, was the father of John, known as Jack. I think it likely that Mrs. Billington's partner in “Là ci darem” was Jack, the younger Bannister, who was a baritone—as called for in Mozart's opera.

the music by Benucci? If so, this is further evidence that Benucci did not bring merely his own role of Leporello with a number or two for Storace, since “Là ci darem” is sung by Don Giovanni and Zerlina. The English version of “Là ci darem,” with the text “Should worldly cares oppressing,” was quickly published as “Composed by Sig. Mozart, adapted by Mr. Shield.”¹⁴

These few instances exemplify the usual mode of musical migration: singers traveling from city to city, opera to opera, taking with them their own music as well as other attractive pieces. The continued presence of Mozart’s ensembles in *La villanella rapita* demonstrates the frequent persistence in other productions of inserted numbers. Although no special enthusiasm for the Storace-Benucci duet, “Crudel! Perchè,” was shown by the critics—apart from its being, in 1789, perhaps the first Mozart to be heard on a London stage—it can claim the distinction of being the first publication in full score of anything from *Figaro*: it was published that same year by Birchall & Andrews as “a favorite Duet . . . sung in the comic opera of La Vendemmia.”¹⁵

After the King’s Theatre burned down in June 1789, Storace performed mainly at Drury Lane, where Stephen by now was the principal composer for the theatre. She remained there, with occasional forays into the Italian opera, until 1797. In addition to singing opera, she participated in concerts, including the annual Handel Commemoration Festivals in Westminster Abbey, she took part in benefits, and she sang at festivals around the country. It is hard to believe that she would *not* have sung a good deal of the music written for her by Mozart, including her scena “Ch’io mi scordi di te,” from the farewell concert in Vienna.

Michael Kelly’s contribution to migration is of a similar nature, but with the addition that he made at least two, perhaps more, trips to Paris, where he seems to have actively scouted around for music to delight English audiences. He remained a member of the Drury Lane Company for most of his life, although he sang with the Italian opera at the King’s Theatre when they needed his tenor.¹⁶ The wanderings of “Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen” (*Die Zauberflöte*, 1791) illustrate Kelly’s activities. He visited Paris during the summer of 1792, and heard there the very popular opera *Les visitandines* by François Devienne (1759–1803). One of its tunes must have remained in his head, for it crossed the Channel to resurface the following December (1792) in Stephen Storace’s opera *The Pirates*, with the text “My rising spirits thronging.”¹⁷



¹⁴ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 541.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 506.

¹⁶ Kelly was noted for singing his high notes in full voice, unlike most contemporary tenors who shifted into falsetto (Girdham, *English Opera*, 67).

¹⁷ Fiske, 516–19.



The first phrase is an almost exact replica of “Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen” from Mozart’s 1791 *Zauberflöte*; the second deviates, not, perhaps, to its benefit. But the very deviation suggests that the composer—Kelly, Storace, Devienne—was relying on memory rather than on a notated version. Mozart was not given credit in 1792; perhaps Storace did not know the authorship, perhaps Kelly did not. A 1796 program does, however, cite Mozart as the composer, which may indicate that the music of *Die Zauberflöte* had become known in the meantime, or that some foreign tourist or returning Englishman (or woman), had recognized the tune and revealed its true authorship. The tale illustrates the freedom with which music could move—and move without relying on notation.

An even more impressive instance of such migration, albeit not musical, involves Beaumarchais’s *La folle journée ou le mariage de Figaro*. Burned by the wildfire success of his first Figaro play, *Le barbier de Séville*, success that profited Beaumarchais not at all since the play was pirated far and wide, the author determined not to let *Figaro* escape his financial grasp. But he reckoned without the ingenuity and indefatigability of Thomas Holcroft, an English librettist. Holcroft made his way to Paris, found a French assistant, sat every night for a week or so in the theatre, scribbling away, and returned with what Roger Fiske, who tells the story, assesses as a “surprisingly close” transcription of the play.¹⁸

The existence of written-out music (including orchestral parts such as Gertrud Mara is supposed to have carried around with her) in theatre archives and other collections may provide concrete evidence of a tune’s travels. Once performed, however, both music and text entered the public domain, to be poached by industrious scribblers and musicians as well as by music-loving amateurs. We can easily believe that the Prince of Wales, a great admirer of the “enchanted” Storace, and a frequent visitor to the Vienna opera, might have sung or whistled “Non più andrai” from *Figaro* to Nancy Storace or Michael Kelly—“that cute little tune—what are the words again?”—to which either one of those capable opera singers, trained to memorize entire operas, would surely have responded with the entire aria.

“Non più andrai” had in fact an unusual career: it actually migrated out of its medium, from a baritone aria to a keyboard piece that appears in Jane Austen’s manuscript notebook, in her hand. How did it get there? Its journey reveals the variety of manifestations that might be experienced by a musical number. In 1791 Sheridan’s Drury Lane Company had possession of the new King’s Theatre, with its large auditorium and

¹⁸ Ibid., 301. Fiske’s source was the memoirs of Holcroft. Fiske notes that the partial lighting of theatre auditoriums surely helped Mr. Holcroft in his pirating endeavor.

stage. In December that year they put on a great spectacle, a revival of David Garrick's *Cymon*, for which the Duke of York loaned his military band. The band seems to have continued to be on loan, for it appeared again the next season in Attwood's piece, *The Prisoner* (18 October 1792), in which baritone Thomas Sedgwick sang "Where the Banners of Glory are streaming" to Mozart's martial aria. The tune quickly appeared in print (Longman & Broderip): "The Duke of York's new march, as performed by His Royal Highness's new Band in the Coldstream Regt of Guards . . . arranged . . . by C. F. Eley."¹⁹ And then it turns up again, a Mozart unicum, in Jane Austen's notebook, having wandered as a baritone aria to London where it became a march for the band in Attwood's work, and thence metamorphosed into a keyboard piece entitled simply "The Duke of York's New March performed by the Coldstream Regiment."²⁰

Scholars have generally assumed that Attwood got the music from the score of *Figaro* probably brought to London from Vienna by Nancy Storace. She may have done so, but no such score has ever turned up. Whether or not the score made it to London, the point is that none of these four musicians would have needed it in order to replicate a musical number from an opera with which they were all *very* familiar. The music could easily travel without the vehicle of notation.

On returning to England, Thomas Attwood resumed his former position with the Prince of Wales. In 1791 he was appointed music teacher to the Duchess of York and, in 1795, to the Princess of Wales. He was nominated organist of St. Paul's Cathedral and composer to the Chapel Royal in 1796. In January 1793 he joined the Drury Lane Theatre as assistant to Stephen Storace, and began composing "afterpieces" for the theatre productions. *The Prisoner* (8 October 1792), with its hit tune, the "Duke of York's new march," was followed by a number of pieces, each including some item by Mozart:

Osmyn & Daraxa (March 1793): two numbers including a fandango presumably from *Figaro*

The Mariners (May 1793): "In diesen heil'gen Hallen" from *Die Zauberflöte*

Caernarvon Castle (August 1793): the letter duet from *Figaro*

The Adopted Child (May 1795): advertisements mention music by Mozart though none has been found; could this have been an advertising ploy?

The Red Cross Knights (August 1799): based on Schiller's *Die Räuber*: "Bei Männern" (*Die Zauberflöte*)

Il Bondocani (November 1800, at Covent Garden): end of finale from *Die Entführung*²¹

Although Attwood was not particularly successful as a theatre composer—he seems to have wielded too heavy a hand for the light musical theatre fare favored at the Drury

¹⁹ Ibid., 519.

²⁰ I am grateful to Kathryn L. Libin for supplying the clue to the final stage in this journey: she informed me that "Non più andrai" appears as No. 18 in Jane Austen's personal collection, a keyboard piece with the title "The Duke of York's New March performed by the Coldstream Regiment." It is listed as CHWJA/19/2 in the catalogue of Austen's collection: Ian Gammie and Derek McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music: The musical world of Jane Austen seen through the manuscripts and printed editions held by the Jane Austen Memorial Trust at Chawton* (St. Albans: Corda Music Publications, 1996).

²¹ Fiske, 518–19 (*The Prisoner, Osmyn and Daraxa, The Mariners*), 510 (*Caernarvon Castle*), 532 (*The Adopted Child*), 577 (*The Red Cross Knights, Il Bondocani*).

Lane Theatre—his persistent inclusion of his mentor’s music continued to bring it before the London public.

Stephen Storace played a variety of roles in the migration of Mozart’s music. Beginning in November 1787, he published in twelve installments *Storace’s Collection of Harpsichord Music*, offering music he had apparently gathered in Vienna. By the time the last installment appeared, in December 1789, the *Collection* had presented to the London public three of Mozart’s clavier concertos (K. 413, 414, and 415 of 1782–83), several chamber works, and a number of piano solos. Among the solos was Mozart’s Sonata K. 331 with the “Rondo alla Turca”; the chamber works included the E-flat piano quartet, K. 493, composed in June 1786, and, surprisingly, the G major Trio, K. 564, dated by Mozart 27 October 1788,²² i.e. nearly two years after Storace had left Vienna, thus providing actual evidence of continued communication between the two—or did Benucci (who had returned to the King’s Theatre in May 1789) put that in his suitcase along with the items from *Don Giovanni*?

As the principal composer at the Drury Lane Theatre (his position was clinched by the popularity of his 1789 piece, *The Haunted Tower*), Storace produced theatre pieces—most of them with his sister singing the lead roles—at a steady rate until his death in 1796. His uses of Mozart’s music cover a wide range, from the usual simple borrowing to more complex procedures.²³ We have already noted (see above, page 7) the appearance in *The Pirates* (November 1792) of “Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen.” In *The Iron Chest*, based on William Godwin’s novel *Caleb Williams*, Nancy Storace sang a duet with John Bannister, “Sweet little Barbara,” which follows very closely the melodic outlines “Se vuol ballare” (*Figaro*):

²² Derek Carew, “Chamber Music: Piano and Strings,” in *The Mozart Compendium* (cited above, note 2), 295.

²³ See Girdham, *English Opera*, chapter 8, “Borrowings,” for a thorough discussion of eighteenth-century views on borrowing, and especially of the ways in which Storace used borrowed materials. In his descriptions of the individual operas, Fiske (*English Theatre Music*) also provides helpful information about Storace’s techniques.

Andante

Sweet lit - tle Bar - ba - ra, When you are ad - van - cing,
 Poor lit - tle Bar - ba - ra can feel her heart dan - cing.

Sweet lit - tle Bar - ba - ra, try cares — you re - move.
 When lit - tle Bar - ba - ra is

met by her love. Should I be griev'd, ove, Oh what would you say? —

Tat - tle to you, love, and quat - tle to you, love, and kins your cares and griefs a - way.

Se vuol bal - la - re, si - gnor Con - ti - no, se vuol bal - la - re,
 si - gnor Con - ti - no, il chi - tar - ri - no le suo - ne - rò,
 il chi - tar - ri - no le suo - ne - rò, sì, le suo - ne - rò, sì, le suo - ne - rò.

But often, instead of simply quoting, Storace uses Mozart's music as a model to play with. For example, his opera of January 1791, *The Siege of Belgrade* (which premiered on the night of Haydn's arrival in London), draws in its overture openly and lavishly on Mozart's "Rondo alla Turca" (published in *Storace's Collection of Original Harpsichord Music*). Here, however, he builds on the music, extends it, adds episodes; in other words, makes it a collaboration rather than a borrowing. In several other operas, Storace draws upon musical and dramatic procedures from the Mozart-Da Ponte *Figaro*, but does not quote the music. In another example, from *The Siege of Belgrade*, we find a letter duet similar in technique, but not in music, to that of the Countess and Susanna. *The Cherokee* of December 1794 presents the duetting servants constantly interrupted by their mistress's bell, as in the opening duets of *Figaro* and Susanna. *The Pirates* (1792) features a duet in which the woman gives first the correct, and then the wrong, response to her lover; "Crudel! Perchè finora," in which Da Ponte and Mozart presented exactly

this situation, was a popular insertion in *La vendemmia*, and had been published three years earlier (Birchall & Andrews, 1789) as “a favorite Duet . . . sung in the comic opera of *La vendemmia*.” Thus Storace availed himself not only of musical material, which he might have used as a straightforward borrowing or as a framework to build upon—with credit almost always given to the original composer—but also of borrowed dramatic situations, drawing upon the work of Mozart and of his librettist, Lorenzo da Ponte (who was himself in London, engaged as a librettist at the King’s Theatre from late 1793 to 1798).

Summary and Conclusions

These four musicians provide examples for the various ways in which music could move about in the eighteenth century. Striking is the realization that such movement was not dependent on a written act. Certainly, many musicians carried music around with them; we may be certain that Stephen Storace brought home to London a large collection. Nancy Storace surely brought with her from Vienna a score of *Figaro*, and doubtless many other works. Thomas Attwood brought with him, at the very least, the notebooks containing his composition studies with Mozart. Michael Kelly undoubtedly came home from Vienna and Paris with suitcases full of music. But they all returned to London with their *heads* full of music. For seasoned performers like Michael Kelly and Nancy Storace, it would have been no difficult feat to carry in their memories a multitude of tunes, even of entire operas; composers like Attwood and Storace would have been equally capable of retaining what they had heard. So the written act assumes less importance in this migration, and the extent of travel looms larger.

One cannot work long with such musicians without realizing how interwoven were their careers and lives. A number of singers who appeared in Mozart’s operas, from the earliest to the latest, traveled to London, in some cases even settled there. Venanzio Rauzzini, who sang Cecilio in *Lucio Silla* (Milan, 1772), and for whom Mozart wrote the motet “Exsultate, jubilate” (K.165, 158a, January 1773), appeared in London at the King’s Theatre from 1774 to 1777, and then settled in Bath. The very young Nancy Storace studied with Rauzzini, as did the youthful Michael Kelly, and both visited him regularly after they returned to London. It is tempting to think that Rauzzini might have sung for Storace his motet, “Exsultate,” and that she might in turn have sung *her* Mozart, “Ch’io mi scordi di te” (provided she could find a pianist up to the task). Tracing the routes singers and composers followed, we see that they were continually coming into contact. It was not at all unusual for Benucci to pair up with Storace in London, soon after having sung Leporello in the Viennese *Don Giovanni*, and then returning to Vienna to create Guglielmo in *Così fan tutte*. Singers based in London had music brought to them by friends, colleagues, and admirers. To the professional performers, we must add the numbers of amateurs, students, collectors, all of whom brought music into a new environment.

My goal in this research was to assemble information about the various ways in which the travels and performances of musicians involved in music theatre/opera served to disseminate music over a geographical range, with the idea that the dispersal of Mozart’s vocal music played a role in the reception of his operas in London in the early

nineteenth century. Unfortunately, I have found no reviewer or memoirist kind enough to state specifically, for example, that, by 1811, when *Die Zauberflöte* was first performed in London, most of the melodies were familiar. But the various bits and pieces of evidence—critics remarking on items by Mozart (“All the best music was by Mozart . . .”), diary entries and letters referring to music, citations in programs—support the conclusion that by the time *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, and *Die Zauberflöte* arrived in London (1812, 1817, and 1811, respectively), a considerable portion of the music was already known, thanks to the power of melody to migrate and to the very respectable, important roles played by singer, director, and composer, as they digested and then reproduced the music in a foreign land, fulfilling their task of seed dispersal in the new environment.

Appendix A

Insert Arias, Ensembles

Köchel
No.

- 209 “Si mostra la sorte.” Aria, tenor; Salzburg, 19 May 1775; 2 fl, 2 horn, str; probably for an opera buffa
- 210 “Con ossequio, con rispetto.” Aria, tenor; Salzburg, May 1775; 2 ob, 2 horn, str; probably for Piccinni’s *L’astratto, ovvero Il Giacator fortunator*
- 217 “Voi avete un cor fedele.” Aria, soprano; Salzburg, 26 Oct. 1775; 2 ob, 2 horn, str; for Galuppi’s *Le nozze di Dorina*?
- 256 “Clarice cara mia sposa.” Aria, tenor; Salzburg, Sept. 1776; 2 ob, 2 horn, str; for Antonio Palmini, in Piccinni’s *L’ostratto*?
- 435 “Müßt ich auch durch tausend Drachen.” Aria, tenor; Vienna? 1783? fl, ob, cl, (416b) bsn, 2 horn, 2 tpt, timp, str; for a German opera? Orchestration incomplete
- 178 “Ah, spiegarti, o Dio.” Aria, soprano; Vienna, June 1783; keyboard version only, (417c) intended for Aloysia Weber in Anfossi’s *Il curioso indiscreto*?
- 418 “Vorrei spiegarvi, o Dio!” Aria, soprano; Vienna, 20 June 1783; 2 ob, 2 bsn, horn, str; for Aloysia Weber’s Vienna debut in Anfossi’s *Il curioso indiscreto*
- 419 “No, no, che non sei capace.” Aria, soprano; Vienna, June 1783; 2 ob, 2 horn, tpt, timp, str; for Aloysia Weber in Anfossi’s *Il curioso indiscreto*
- 420 “Per pietà, non ricercate.” Aria, tenor; Vienna, 21 June 1783; 2 cl, 2 bsn, 2 horn, str; for Johann Valentin Adamberger in Anfossi’s *Il curioso indiscreto*

- 432 “Così dunque tradisci...Aspri rimorsi atroci.” Rec & Aria, bass; Vienna, 1783; (421a) 2 fl, 2 ob, bsn, horn, str; for Karl Ludwig Fischer in Bernasconi’s *Temistocle*
- 479 “Dite almeno in che mancai.” Quartet, soprano, tenor, bass, bass; Vienna, 5 Nov. 1785; 2 ob, 2 cl, 2 bsn, 2 horn, str; for Bianchi’s *La villanella rapita* (replaced secco rec), sung by Celeste Coltellini, Vincenzo Calvesi, Francesco Bussani, Stefano Mandini.
- 480 “Mandina amabile.” Trio, soprano, tenor, bass; Vienna, 5 Nov. 1785, 2 fl, 2 ob, cl, 2 bsn, 2 horn, str; for Bianchi’s *La villanella rapita* (replaced secco rec), sung by Celeste Coltellini, Vincenzo Calvedsi, and Stefano Mandini.
- 489 “Spiegarti non poss’io.” Duet, soprano, tenor; Vienna, 10 Mar. 1786; 2 ob, 2 bsn, 2 horn, str; for private performance of *Idomeneo* (Prince Johann Adam Auersperg)
- 490 “Non più, tutto ascoltai...Non temer, amato bene.” Aria, soprano; Vienna, 10 Mar. 1786; 2 cl, 2 bsn, vln obbligato, str; for private performance of *Idomeneo* (Prince Johann Adam Auersperg)
- 540a “Dalla sua pace.” Aria, tenor; Vienna, 24 Apr. 1788; fl, 2 ob, 2 bsn, 2 horn, str; for Francesco Morella in Vienna *Don Giovanni*, replaced “Il mio tesoro”
- 540b “Per queste tue manine.” Duet, soprano, bass; Vienna, 28 Apr. 1788; 2 fl, 2 ob, 2 bsn, tpt, str; for Luisa Laschi Mombelli and Francesco Benucci in Vienna *Don Giovanni*
- 540c “In quali eccessi...Mi tradì quell’alma ingrata.” Aria, soprano; Vienna, 30 Apr. 1788; fl, 2 cl, bsn, 2 horn, str; for Catarina Cavalieri in Vienna *Don Giovanni*
- 541 “Un bacio di mano.” Aria, bass; Vienna, May 1788; 2 ob, bsn, horn, str; for Francesco Albertarelli in Anfossi’s *Le gelosie fortunate* (Vienna, June 1788)
- 577 “Al desio, di chi t’adora.” Aria, soprano; Vienna, July 1789; 2 basset horn, 2 bsn, 2 horn, str; for Francesca Adriana Gabrielli (“La Ferrarese”) to replace “Deh vieni, non tardar” in 1789 Vienna revival of *Figaro*
- 578 “Alma grande e nobil core.” Aria, soprano; Vienna, Aug. 1789; 2 ob, 2 bsn, horn, str; for Louise Villeneuve in Cimarosa’s *I due baroni di Roicca Azzura*
- 579 “Un moto di gioja.” Arietta, soprano; Vienna, Aug. 1789; fl, ob, bsn, horn, str; for Ferraresi in 1789 Vienna revival of *Figaro*

- 580 “Schon lacht der holde Frühling.” Aria, soprano; 17 Sept. 1789; 2 cl, bsn, horn, str; orch only sketched; for Josefa Weber Hofer, in Paisiello’s *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (production cancelled)
- 582 “Chi sà, chi sà, qual sia.” Aria, soprano; Vienna, Oct. 1789; 2 cl, 2 bsn, 2 horn, str; for Louise Villeneuve in Soler’s *Il burbero di buon cuore*
- 583 “Vado, ma dove?” Aria, soprano; Vienna, Oct. 1789; 2 cl, 2 bsn, 2 horn, str; for Louise Villeneuve in Soler’s *Il burbero di buon cuore*
- 584 “Rivolgete a lui lo sguardo.” Aria, bass; Vienna, Dec. 1789; 2 ob, 2 horn, 2 tpt, timp, str; originally for Guglielmo in *Così fan tutte*, replaced by “Non siate ritrosi”

Concert Arias with Orchestra

- 88 (73c) “Fra cento affani e cento.” Aria, soprano; Milan, Feb./Mar. 1770; 2 ob, 2 horn, 2 tpt, str
- 77 (73e) “Misero me...Misero pargoletto.” Rec & aria, soprano; Milan, Mar. 1770; 2 ob, 2 bsn, 1 horn, str
- 82 (73o) “Se ardire, e speranza.” Aria, soprano; Rome, 25 Apr. 1770; 2 fl, 2 horn, str; for castrato Giovanni Manzuoli (Ascanio in *Ascanio in Alba*, 1771)
- 83 (73p) “Se tutti i mali miei.” Aria, soprano; Rome, Apr./May 1770; 2 ob, horn, str; for Anna Lucia de Amicis? (Giunia in *Lucio Silla*, 1772)
- 74b “Non curo l’affetto.” Aria, soprano; Milan/Pavia, early 1771; ob, horn, str; composed soon after *Mitridate, rè di Ponto*, Milan, Dec. 1770
- 255 “Ombra felice.” Rec & aria, alto; Salzburg, Sept. 1776; 2 ob, 2 horn, str; for castrato Francesco Fortini
- 272 Aug. “Ah, lo prevedi... Ah t’invola agl’occhi miei.” Rec & Aria, soprano; Salzburg, 1777; 2 ob, 2 horn, str; for Josepha Duschek (oratorio and concert singer)
- 294 “Alcandro, io confesso...Non so d’onde vieni.” Aria, soprano; Mannheim, 24 Feb. 1778; 2 fl, 2 cl, 2 bsn, horn, str; for tenor Anton Raaff, changed to Aloysia Weber (Madame Herz in *Der Schauspieldirektor*, 1786; Donna Anna, Vienna *Don Giovanni*, 1788)
- 295 “Se al labbro mio non credi.” Aria, tenor; Mannheim, 27 Feb. 1778; 2 fl, 2 ob, 2

- bsn, 2 horn, str; for Anton Raaff (*Idomeneo*, in *Idomeneo*, Munich, 1781)
- 486a “Basta, vincesti...Ah, non lasciarmi.” Rec & aria, soprano; Mannheim, 27 Feb. (295a) 1778; 2 fl, 2 bsn, 2 horn, str; for Dorothea Wendling (*Ilia* in *Idomeneo*, 1781)
- 316 “Popoli di Tessaglia...Io non chiedo eterni dei.” Rec & aria, scena, soprano; (300h) Paris, Mannheim, 20 July 1778–8 Jan 1779; ob, bsn, 2 horn, str; for Aloysia Weber
- 368 “Ma che vi fece...Sperai vicino il lido.” Rec & aria, soprano; Salzburg, 1779–80; 2 fl, 2 bsn, horn, str; for Elisabeth Wendling? (*Electra* in *Idomeneo*, 1781)
- 369 “Misera, dove son!...Ah! non son’ io che parlo.” Rec & aria, soprano; Munich, 8 Mar. 1781; 2 fl, 2 horn, str; for Countess Josepha von Paumgarten
- 374 “A questo seno deh vieni...Or che il ciel.” Aria, soprano; Vienna, 1781; 2 ob, 2 horn, str; for castrato Francesco Ceccarelli
- 119 “Der Liebe himmlisches Gefühl.” Aria, soprano; keyboard version (of 2 ob, 2 (382h) horn, str?); for Aloysia Weber?
- 383 “Nehmt meinen Dank, ihr holden Gönner.” Aria, soprano; Vienna, 10 Apr. 1782; fl, ob, bsn, str; for Aloysia Weber
- 416 “Mia speranza adorata...Ah, non sai qual pena.” Rondo, soprano; 2 ob, 2 bsn, 2 horn, str; Vienna, 8 Jan. 1783; for Aloysia Weber
- 431 “Misero! O sogno...Aura che intorno spira.” Rec & aria, tenor; Vienna, Dec. (425b) 1783? 2 fl, 2 bsn, 2 horn, str; for Johann Valentin Adamberger? (*Belmonte* in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, Vienna, 1782)
- 505 “Ch’io mi scordi di te?...Non temer, amato bene.” Aria, soprano; Vienna, 26 Dec. 1786; 2 cl, 2 bsn, 2 horn, piano obbl, str; for Nancy Storace’s farewell concert in Vienna (*Susanna* in *Le nozze di Figaro*, Vienna, 1786)
- 512 “Alcandro, lo confesso...Non so d’onde vieni.” Aria, bass; Vienna, 19 Mar. 1787; fl, 2 ob, 2 bsn, horn, str; for Ludwig Fischer (*Osmin* in *Die Entführung*, 1782)
- 513 “Mentre ti lascio.” Aria, bass; Vienna, 23 Mar. 1787; fl, 2 cl, 2 bsn, 2 horn, str; for Gottfried von Jacquin
- 528 “Bella mia fiamma...Resta, o cara.” Rec & aria, soprano; Prague, 3 Nov. 1787; fl, 2 ob, 2 bsn, horn, str; for Josepha Duschek (originally for Jacquin?)
- 538 “Ah se in ciel, benigne stelle.” Aria, soprano; begun Mannheim? 1778? completed Vienna, 4 Mar. 1788; 2 ob, bsn, horn, str; for Aloysia Weber (Lange)

- 539 Ein deutsches Kriegslied (“Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein”). Lied, bass; Vienna, 5 Mar. 1788; piccolo, ob, 2 bsn, horn, perc, str; for Viennese comedian Friedrich Baumann, Jr.
- 612 “Per questa bella mano.” Aria, bass, Vienna, 8 Mar. 1791; fl, ob, 2 bsn, horn, str, dbl bass obbligato; for Franz Gerl and Friedrich Pichelberger (Gerl sang Sarastro in *Die Zauberflöte*, Vienna 1791)

Appendix B

Mozart’s Singers in London

- Adamberger**, Johann Valentin (1740–1804). Tenor. Belmonte (*Die Entführung*, Vienna); Herr Vogelsang (*Der Schauspieldirektor*, Vienna, 1786). Studied with Giovanni Valesi; sang at King’s Theatre, London, between 1777 and 1779.
- Albertarelli**, Francesco (fl. late 18th c). Baritone. Don Giovanni (Vienna, 1788). Sang concerts in London 1791 and 1792.
- Amicis**, Anna Lucia de (c. 1733–1816). Soprano. Giunia (*Lucio Silla*, Milan, 1772). Studied with Vittoria Tesi-Tramontini. In London 1762–63.
- Benucci**, Francesco (c.1745–1824). Bass-baritone. Figaro (*Le nozze di Figaro*, Vienna, 1786); Guglielmo (*Così fan tutte*, Vienna, 1790); Leporello in Vienna *Don Giovanni* (1788); Bocconio in the unfinished *Lo sposo deluso*. At King’s Theatre in London with Nancy Storace, 1789.
- Bernasconi**, Antonia, née Wagerle (c.1741–1803). Soprano. Aspasia (*Mitridate*, Milan, 1771). King’s Theatre, London 1778–80.
- Bussani**, Dorotea, née Sardi (1763–after 1800). Soprano. Cherubino (*Figaro*, Vienna, 1786), Despina (*Così fan tutte*, Vienna, 1790). Married to Francesco Bussani. After 1809 at King’s Theatre, London.
- Fischer**, Johann Ignaz Ludwig (1745–1825). Bass. Osmin (*Die Entführung*, Vienna, 1782); “Non so d’onde viene” (K. 512, for Aloysia Weber Lange) arranged for him, 1787; “Così dunque tradisci . . . Aspri rimorsi atroci” (K. 432/421a) perhaps written for him. Studied with Anton Raaff. Sang in London, 1794, 1798. Sang Count Almaviva in London *Figaro* (Haymarket Theatre, 1812).
- Gabrieli** [Gabrielli], Francesca Adriana [known as “Ferraresi (Ferrarese) del Bene”] (c.1755–after 1799). Soprano. Fiordiligi (*Così fan tutte*, Vienna, 1790), “Un moto di gioia” (K. 579) and “Al desio di chi t’adora” (K. 577) composed for her to sing

- as Susanna in Vienna revival of *Figaro* (1789). In London, King's Theatre, 1785 and 1786.
- Gieseke** [Giesecke], Karl Ludwig [real name: Johann Georg Metzler] (1761–1833). Actor, librettist, scientist, minor roles, First Slave (*Die Zauberflöte*, Vienna, 1791). 1814, Professor of Mineralogy, Dublin. 1816, member later vice-president Royal Irish Academy. Prepared German versions of *Figaro* (1792) and *Così fan tutte* (1794) for Freihaus-Theater productions.
- Girelli (-Aquilar)**, Antonia Maria (fl. 1752–72). Soprano. Silvia (*Ascanio in Alba*, Milan 1771). In London for 1772 opera season.
- Kelly**, Michael (1762–1826). Tenor, composer, theatre manager, music publisher. Don Basilio and Don Curzio (*Le nozze di Figaro*, Vienna, 1786). London, 1787, Drury Lane and King's Theatre to end of his life.
- Manzuoli**, Giovanni (c.1720–82). Castrato soprano. Ascanio (*Ascanio in Alba*, Milan, 1771). Friendly with Mozarts in London (1764–65), may have given Wolfgang singing lessons. In London for 1764–65 season, King's Theatre.
- Rauzzini**, Venanzio (1746–1810). Castrato soprano, composer, teacher. Cecilio (*Lucio Silla*, Milan, 1772). Mozart composed “Exsultate jubilate” (K. 165/158a, 1773) for him. Moved to England 1774, sang at King's Theatre 1774–77, moved to Bath in 1777 and remained there. Pupils included John Braham, Michael Kelly, Gertrud Mara, Nancy Storace.
- Storace**, Anna Selina [Nancy] (1765–1817). Soprano. Susanna (*Le nozze di Figaro*, Vienna, 1786). Mozart also wrote the part of Eugenia in the unfinished *Lo sposo deluso* (1783–84) for her, and the concert aria “Ch'io mi scordi di te? . . . Non temer, amato bene” (K. 505). London, King's Theatre and Drury Lane from 1787 to 1797; Covent Garden and Drury Lane 1801–08, died in England 1817.
- Tenducci**, Giusto Ferdinando (1735–90). Castrato soprano, composer. Met Mozarts in London, 1764; Wolfgang met him again at Saint Germain, 1778, and undertook the writing of an aria for him, with four concertante solo parts (piano, oboe, horn, bassoon) (K. Anh. 3/315b, lost?). In London in 1758, lived and performed there for c. thirty years; last (?) performance King's Theatre, May-June 1785.