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‘Et in Arcadia Ergastus’ –

The Pastoral, Tragicomedy, and the Origins of Italian Opera in Early Eighteenth–Century London

> It is my Design in this Paper to deliver down to Posterity a faithful Account of the Italian Opera, and of the gradual Progress which it has made upon the English Stage: For there is no Question but our great Grand-children will be very curious to know the Reason why their Fore-fathers used to sit together like an Audience of Foreigners in their own Country, and to hear whole Plays acted before them in a Tongue which they did not understand.
>
> [Addison, *Spectator 18*, 21 March 1711]

> All historians can do is interpret the maddingly imprecise data that has survived the vicissitudes of time.
>
> [Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites*, p.1, 1994]

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Abstract

This dissertation has a double purpose: first, to explore the significance of the pastoral genre and its application to early eighteenth-century London, but with particular focus on the pastoral opera *Gli Amori di Ergasto* by Jacob Greber. Secondly, to relate the pastoral and its transformation to tragicomedy during the emergence of Italian opera in London in the years 1705–1711. The fate of Greber's pastoral is shrouded in mystery, due partly to the nature of the sources, but also due to an understandable lack of attention to a pastoral dismissed as a failure. Nevertheless, this so-called failure, on closer inspection, can reveal significant outcomes, especially in terms of progression from pastoral to tragicomedy. It is hoped that this approach will provide another angle to the arrival of Italian opera in London, 1705–1711.

Italian opera arrived in early eighteenth-century London at a point of cultural and political turmoil. Partisan politics affected many aspects of society: the degree of involvement in European war on the one hand, and social, religious, and cultural issues at home, on the other. Cultural rivalries were conducted in newspapers, journals, coffee houses, clubs, plays, poetry, and, as to be expected, in parliament, and consequently on electioneering hustings. The polemics between Tories and Whigs in neoclassical and rationalist attitudes to the Ancients, dominated cultural discourse and affected views about the importation of Italian opera. This included the future direction of the theatre – Italian opera versus indigenous English drama.

To navigate a route through the turmoil, a forensic approach has been adopted to issues of conflict: how personal and theatrical rivalries and ambitions could dictate outcomes, how conflicting Whig ideologies may have aided Italian opera, and how Handel's *Rinaldo* came about more by chance than manoeuvre. Here it is argued that allegorical interpretations or political parallels in Handel's *Rinaldo*, or the in preceding Italian operas, have little relevance. The ease with which Curtis Price and other writers dismissed pre-Handel operas as mere pasticcios, needed closer examination. Without these experiments with their vocal, orchestral and theatrical developments, it is unlikely that *Rinaldo* could have been performed, or that Italian opera would have become established as early as 1711.

Beginning tentatively in the newly built Queen's Theatre with pastorals which were comparatively simple and inexpensive to produce, audience appetite for drama with more intricate plots, encouraged change. Competition with Drury Lane Theatre, pushed developments into a more heroic mould, so rivalry helped the development of Italian opera. Joseph Kerman's *Opera as Drama*, first published in 1956, does not concern itself with the period of this dissertation, but it provokes the question, that if opera is drama (*drama per musica*), then what sort of drama – the genres of the pastoral, heroic, or tragicomedy? Did Whig-Tory hostilities make a difference? To what extent has author intention and scholarly application affected the outcome? This study attempts to explore the issues.

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Preface

What attracted me to this study was the libretto of a pastoral opera, *The Loves of Ergasto*, aka *Gli amori di Ergasto*, which reputedly opened the new London Queen's Theatre in April 1705. Ignored by the press, reviled by contemporaries, apparently deserted by its composer, and without any known librettist or evidence of a score, this unpromising drama, all-sung in a foreign language, lasting an hour at the most, marked the beginning of Italian opera in London, heralding a genre that would blossom with the arrival of Handel a mere six years later.

Since German scholars of the period, had proclaimed that a German, Jacob Greber, had introduced Italian opera to London, and that another German, Georg Friedrich Handel, had consolidated its arrival, the fate of this 1705 immigrant opera prompted investigation. It meant following the Greber trail to Innsbruck where there was flimsy evidence of a performance, and thence to Vienna, where an MS score is now lodged in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. It was the same title as the 1705 pastoral, so the question arises to what extent there may be link.

The Vienna score reveals a different plot with Ergasto relegated to the role of a law enforcer at the end of the drama, and his place taken by Niso. At first it seemed that this manuscript, without a title, might be a different work, but in 2015, the curator, Dr Andrea Harrandt, assured me of its provenance, and that the catalogue reference was sound. However, since then, the catalogue reference has been modified. It is not unusual for opera plots to be adapted to suit audiences, but the *Ergasto* plot transformation seemed to be more radical than others.

Armed with my translation of the text from the MS score to create bilingual parallel libretto, it became clear that Greber had understood that the flimsy pastoral produced in London needed a sharper edge to the plot to make it a convincing drama. Whether familiar, or not, with Guarini's 1602 *Compendium* propounding the transformation of simple pastoral to tragicomedy, Greber was aware that the 1705 *Ergasto* needed what Guarini described as 'the mingling of tragic and comic pleasure', so that in 1711, the protagonist is arrested for murder, threatened with execution, 'consoled' by his comic servant, but exonerated at the last

moment with the appearance of the victim, fit and well. All is forgiven, and the ending is happy. The result – tragicomedy.

The Ergasto paradigm exemplifies the metamorphosis of pastoral to tragicomedy, and so is ideal as a basis for a fresh view of the embedding of Italian opera in London. Even if that transformation took place in Innsbruck, its incentive was in London. More distant is the Guarini model which filtered into London in 1591, and with continuing adaptations of *Il pastor fido* throughout the seventeenth century, influencing semiopera, and the arrival of Italian opera.

An alternative transformation of the pastoral appeared in 1708 with Ambrose Philips. His view of pastoral-to-heroic was based on a mythologised Greek notion of the Ages of the World. The pastoral had idyllic charms, but needed the heroic to give it dramatic interest. The concept of heroic can take many forms and definitions, stretching the genres from triumph to tragedy, but tragicomedy is quite specific, a potential tragedy that turns out well. This is the approach that informs this dissertation, the inevitability of a simple plot in need of complexity to sustain audience interest. It is the intention of this study to investigate the emergence of tragicomedy in the Italian operas leading to *Rinaldo* in 1711.

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Acknowledgements fall into several categories – academic content, libraries, technical presentation, and serendipitous events. Assistance has several subcategories: academic guidance, conference encounters, correspondence, and unwitting assistance. The first includes supervisor John Butt who provided ready advice at various stages in the evolution of the thesis. The student has to rely on the first supervisor for what works in a PhD, so that flights of imagination have to be curtailed from time to time. Second supervisor David McGuiness was helpful at different stages, particularly with coherence, although as paragraphs took on a life of their own, this was more difficult to control. With a book review, both John and David provided some useful hints to strengthen my analysis.

Luca Guariento (University of Glasgow, hereafter GU) assisted with the translation of *Gli amori di Ergasto* (*Niso*). Lucy Byatt (University of Edinburgh) helped with some very obscure passages, and Donatella Fischer (GU) for vetting the final translation. Otherwise, translations from German, Italian, French, are my own unless otherwise indicated.

The Biennial Baroque Conferences in Southampton (2012), Salzburg (2014), and Canterbury (2016), provided the sort of stimulating exchanges that can encourage a thesis, too many to recall, but memorable were Reinhard Strohm on the origins of *Rinaldo*, Graydon Beeks on Pope's participation at Cannons, Bruce Wood for Chrysander's sources for *Dido*, Samantha Owens for her research on Cousser, and Alison DeSimone on the early eighteenth-century London divas – all helped to focus ideas. Special thanks to Rebekah Ahrendt for sharing the then rare evidence in the life of Margherita de L'Epine.

Thomas McGeary at Urbana–Champaign Illinois provided many years of stimulating email correspondence while writing his own book, 'The Politics of Opera in the Reign of Queen Anne'. He provided many sources for opera libretti and scores. Our views on the period tended to diverge, but this made the exchange of ideas all the more revealing.

At a GU Music Department colloquium (4.11.15), Nicholas Till provided a paper on modernity in Monteverdi. During questions it became less clear how a pastoral could be defined. My quest for the pastoral took off in earnest from this point, first, its history, but especially for influences in the years 1705-11, both for spoken drama and Italian opera.

The provenance and fate of *Gli amori di Ergasto* became the springboard for the dissertation.

Consultation with History professors has been valuable as well. Discussion with Chris Black (GU) on the effect of the Italian Inquisition on opera provided insights. Thomas Munck (GU), an active musician himself, was constantly willing to engage on a variety of topics and the use of source material. Geoffrey Parker, (Ohio State University) who on a lecture tour at GU to discuss his magnum opus, *Global Crisis – War, Climate Change & Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (2013), took an interest in my thesis and suggested how many arguments should be drawn together into one focal point – later this developed into the process of pastoral-to-tragicomedy. Joachim Whaley (Gonville and Caius, Cambridge) was generous with assistance on intricacies of Holy Roman Empire coronations – Frankfurt, not Vienna.

Librarians have been particularly helpful. Joanne Docherty (GU Document Delivery Service) provided of a mass of books and documents from other libraries. Georgianna Ziegler in the Folger Library provided the critical MS Newdigate letter for 19 April 1705. From the Vienna Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, the curator, Dr Andrea Harrandt, supplied the 'Vienna' MS score of *Gli amori d'Ergasto*, and in later discussions on a visit to Palais Mollard, Herrengasse 9, A-1010 Wien, we debated the dubious title of the opera. AnnaLee Pauls in Princeton Rare Books and Special Collections provided an excellent photographed libretto copy of the bilingual title page (*Li* instead of *Gli*) of *Li Amori di Ergasto*/*The Loves of Ergasto* (1705) – Appendix 1, Illustration 2. See also the Illinois more original copy wrapped in blue paper. Other libraries supplied title pages for the *Ergasto* libretto – Chicago, Bodleian (Lucy Evans), Illinois (an original copy wrapped in contemporary blue paper), Oklahoma, and the BL. The anonymous online Historical Texts have been an indispensable source for original texts and subsequent editions from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Thanks to Judith Milhous and Robert Hume for their groundwork and mass of publications that allowed this research to develop.

Gratitude extends to those to listened to my ruminations - Zoë Carrick for listening to abstruse arguments, and for providing a quiet place to study, think, write, and store research materials. Zoë deserves the dedication of this thesis, but does not want a page to herself. Other friends, Dr Bill Alexander Eddie (Open University) who did a final post-viva

meticulous proof-reading, Dr Mike Alexander (Open University) with searching questions, and Professor Janet Radcliffe Richards (University of Oxford) whose passion for baroque opera is unique – all three prompted occasional insights at early stages of research. Thanks also to Robert Lay of Alba Music for a rich supply of scores, to Rosemary Brown of Copy & Print for reprographics, and to the NHS, Dr Dawes of Northcote Surgery in particular for constant monitoring of my health in the course of writing the dissertation.

Finally, at GU for practical thesis production and formatting, special thanks to Drew Lynch and Blair Thompson for their time and expertise, and to the GU helpdesk for unstinting help with laptop problems.

Abbreviations

AUP: Associated University Presses

BJES: *British Journal of Educational Studies*

BL: British Library

CPO: Clarendon Press, Oxford

CUP: Cambridge University Press

DL: Drury Lane Theatre

ELH: *English Literary Studies*

GU: University of Glasgow; GUL, the library

HT: Historical Texts (online)

HUP: Harvard University Press

JAMS: *Journal of the American Musicological Society*

M/G: *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence* (ed. Snyder, vols.1-2)

MGG: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1949–1968 & 1973–1986)

M&H: Milhous & Hume

MIT: Massachusetts Institute of Technology

MQ: *The Musical Quarterly*

NGDMM: *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1995, reprint p/b edition)

NGDO: *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (1997, p/b edition)

NDB: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (1966)

OCP: Oxford Clarendon Press

ODNB: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online)

ÖNB: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

OUP: Oxford University Press

PRMA: *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*

QT: The Queen's Theatre, often referred to as the Haymarket Theatre

SIUP: Southern Illinois University Press

SUP: Stanford University Press

T&H: Thames & Hudson

TLS: Times Literary Supplement

TP: title page

UCP: University of California Press

YUP: Yale University Press

[ ] square brackets refer to paragraphs within chapters

App. – Appendix; Illus. – Illustration, App.1; Ex. – Music Examples, App.2.

A Note on Dates

O.S. and N.S. – calendar references Old and New Style; the thesis keeps the old style days and dates except for the New Style year beginning on 1 January (Gregorian calendar) which was becoming more acceptable than 25 March (Julian calendar legally until 1752), e.g. the *Rinaldo* libretto (24 February) is dated 1711, and not 1710 or 1710/11, the latter used by some journals and newspapers to make chronological sense of reports on the War of the Spanish Succession, copied from foreign sources.

W.A. Speck in *The Birth of Britain* (1994, p.xii) quotes John Oldmixon (1671-1742) looking back from the perspective of 1730, claiming that he always began the year with 1 January, justifying himself with, "it has always been in use among historians, a few instances of English writers excepted. The computation from the 25th March is peculiar to law and commerce, and that too chiefly in England, tho' I know not for what reason, it having already occasion'd great confusion, especially in History" (quoted from Oldmixon, *The History of England during the reigns of the royal House of Stuart*, p.xvi).

Orthography

Original spellings, syntax, capitalisations, italics, have been preserved in quotations, also in the case of German gothic double inverted commas („xxx"). Scans of original documents have been employed for period character, where useful to illustrate an argument, or to establish a point of view. Music examples have been included in original notation. In the text, footnotes, bibliography, italics have been used for published works; book chapters, journal articles, are given inverted commas to distinguish them from the main work. Manuscripts conventionally appear in plain text, but may also appear in publication elsewhere, so presentation may vary.

Introduction: Problems, Challenges

> The tangled story of the introduction of Italian opera to London has attracted many authors and baffled many readers, but still awaits definitive treatment. Errors and misunderstandings abound, and have won acceptance by repetition….
>
> (Dean and Knapp *Handel's Operas 1704–1726*, (1987, p.140)

> Criteria of significance should not be methodological, but substantive in nature. They should be grounded in the nature of the problem itself and not in the tools of problem solving. The purpose of historical inquiry is not to vindicate a method but to discover what actually happened.
>
> (D.H. Fischer *Historians' Fallacies*, 1970, p.91)

Thesis rationale

[1] Since Dean and Knapp penned their challenge in 1987, there has been some attempt to 'disentangle' the story of the arrival of Italian opera in London, or at least to create a coherent narrative. A major step has been the 2001 Milhous & Hume online draft calendar for London theatre productions in the years 1700–1711, providing an update of an earlier draft in 1999, which in turn revised part of Emmett Avery's *The London Stage*, *Part 2: 1700-1729*. This has provided a theatrical context for the emergence of Italian opera in early eighteenth–century London. A useful historical reference has been W.A. Speck, *The Birth of Britain; A New Nation 1700–1710* (1994) which deals with the period year by year, a very useful context for the arrival of Italian opera, even if the genre is never referred to. It allows this dissertation to make the links. A very detailed reference work is *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons, 1690–1715*, in five volumes, edited by Cruickshanks, Handley, Hayton (CUP, 2002).

[2] These reference works provide a framework for the arrival of Italian opera in London, allowing detailed contexts for the War of the Spanish Succession, national aspirations, the Protestant Act of Succession (1701), rapid proliferation of newsprint, cultural conflict, moral revival promoted by the Society for the Reformation of Manners, political party ideologies, competing theatres, and crucially, the immigration of musical talent in terms of

singers, orchestral players, and scene designers. The building of the Queen's Theatre in Haymarket in 1705 provided the ideal venue for opera, although at the time it was not clear what type of opera (Milhous, 1976). However, it is unlikely that Winton Dean's expectation of a 'definitive treatment' will ever be realised. Several authors have contributed their varied accounts of the arrival of Italian opera in London. These are discussed in detail in Chapter One. This study attempts another layer of understanding to what has been achieved already, but research will never be conclusive.

[3] It is not the main purpose on this study to dismiss previous accounts of the arrival of Italian opera in London, but to understand them in a context, and then modify and build on them. By giving more attention to the pastoral, and the transition paradigms of Guarini, Greber, and Longus, it is hoped that the process of pastoral-to-tragicomedy will be convincing. Reference by Stanley Wells (2007) to Shakespeare's later comedies as tragicomedies, has been an incentive in the pursuit of a similar line of enquiry with the arrival of Italian opera in London (2006, Ch.7). Curtis Price's description, *en passant*, of English semi-opera as 'a five-act tragicomedy with spoken dialogue' is helpful, but needs further investigation (1987, p.122). No one so far, to my knowledge, has labelled *Rinaldo* a tragicomedy, although Winton Dean in 1969 identified Handel's *Flavio* in such a genre.[1] Otherwise, *Rinaldo* has been regarded as heroic opera. Curtis Price in his perceptive, but in some ways a flawed chapter in terms of allegory, provided a convincing argument for Rinaldo being a weak hero in an English tradition, but that, together with the appearance of the castrato, and the obligatory happy ending, unwittingly, paved the way for a discussion of tragicomedy.[2]

[4] Devotees of socio-historical approaches to opera history may be disappointed in this argument. Texts like those of Richard Leppert, who stated in his 1993 *The Sight of Sound*, that, 'hegemonic social classes' control culture, and that, therefore, opera history is the result of, 'powerful individuals … maintaining their power and modes of self-definition' (p.43), are misleading. This obscures the historic development of tragicomedy, and its evolution to Italian opera in Britain, a product, not of class control, but of unpredictable audiences hungry for the exotic on the one hand, and on the other, the need of theatres to

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[1] *Musical Times*, 'A Handel Tragicomedy' (Aug. 1969), pp. 819–822.

[2] See my discussion, Ch.6 [8/9], of Curtis Price, 'English Traditions in Handel's *Rinaldo*', Chapter 7 of *Handel: Tercentenary Collection* (1987), pp.120-137.

attract these audiences, the mainstay of patronage. The neo-Marxist fallacy that classes are cohesive entities that exercise power accordingly, does not apply to this period of study at a time when court and country were in conflict, a situation blurred by political friction between Tories and Whigs, with the former apparently indifferent to Italian opera (Vice-Chamberlain Coke excepted), and the latter at loggerheads with themselves over the issue. Italian opera appeared amidst this socio-political muddle. It was the lack of a coherent political resistance that gave Italian opera its opportunity. It was the result of evolution, trial and error, audience unpredictability, market forces, and from 1714, limited Hanoverian patronage, but even then, fickle audience attendance, that could exercise the outcome. Advocates of history as a progression of impersonal forces, may take comfort in the long-term arrival of Italian culture, which may suggest the arrival of Italian opera was inevitable. On the other hand, such advocates may resist the individualism that made it possible – the individual, George Frideric Handel. The tradition of tragicomedy was not the result of a literary manoeuvre; it emerged though a process, apparently unpredictable, but as part of a long-term allure of Italian culture [Ch.1].

[5] The argument in this study does not subscribe to a rigid methodology as criticised by the epigraph above. It attempts to show that the arrival of Italian opera was the result of a process of evolution in the course of which problems were solved as they arose, paving the way to tragicomedy. In retrospect, the years 1705 to 1711 represent a learning curve which emerged through competition between two rival theatres. There are many issues to unravel. Why the simple pastoral *Gli amori di Ergasto* at the Queen's Theatre was produced in 1705 in opposition to *Arsinoe* with its more complex plot, and attractive *mise en scene* by Thornhill at Drury Lane, needs explanation. But the dismissal of *Arsinoe* two years later after a successful run of 36 performances, is another puzzle that requires more adequate investigation, beyond that of a fickle audience. How much the success or failure of experiments in Italian opera was due to judgements made by the anonymous 'Critical Discourse' in 1709, needs closer inspection by revealing the partiality of the anonymous author, identified in the course of this study. Misinformation and abuse circulated about composers and impresarios,[3] the obscure provenance of most of the operas (1705–11), the dismissive use of the term pasticcio by Curtis Price in 1987,[4] the questionable impact of

[3] *Thomyris* (1707) is a good example – Grove Music Online and the NGDO are misleading – see Ch.4 [67-68].

[4] A collaborative approach, familiar with Shakespeare's plays, was frowned upon in the Italian operas, 1705-11.

Whig propaganda, the claim for *Rinaldo* being an 'English' opera, and the two intricate avenues of tragicomedy, both the Italian and the English – are all concerns that will preoccupy this study.

[6] The practice of all-sung opera in Italian emerged in the years 1705–1711, but its pedigree stretched much farther back. The lure of Italian culture in terms of poetry and literature has its origins in the medieval experience, and later with Renaissance humanism in literature, drama, art, architecture, and madrigals, predating the arrival of Italian opera in London.[5] There was, therefore, a long-term evolutionary aspect to the arrival of Italian opera, but unlike other arts, Italian opera was not welcomed by most literati who regarded it as a foreign genre that would damage indigenous English theatre. Nevertheless, just as Italian culture evolved in Britain, eventually, so also did Italian opera. Texts familiar to an early eighteenth–century educated populace by Herodotus, Virgil, Plutarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto, Tasso, or Guarini,[6] were adapted for operatic treatment.[7] Italian operas in London in this period have their origins mainly in Italy, their plots, and often their music. Lowell Lindgren (1972), argued that Giovanni Bononcini's *Il Trionfo di Camilla, regina de Volsci* (Naples, 1696), an opera that itself underwent a series of evolutions and adaptations, produced in London in 1706 – influenced all subsequent Italian operas in London before *Rinaldo* in 1711.[8]

[7] If the evolution of Italian opera in London is one explanation for its arrival, the problems referred to above are ones of evidence, either missing, sparse, contradictory, muddled, or partisan, and therefore in need of careful scrutiny and interpretation. Models, where they apply are given consideration, but they tend to omit evidence that does not fit the mould. Despite the historic allure of Italian culture, Italian opera immediately generated controversy on its arrival. Its very attraction threatened to subvert English culture, specifically English spoken drama and semiopera. Colley Cibber in his 1740 autobiography

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[5] See Ch.1.

[6] Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty*, (2000), p.199.

[7] See my chapters 4-6; Virgil, *Aeneid* (the war in Latium) – *Camilla* (1706); Boccaccio, *Decameron* (Day X, Tale 10; Griselda – *Clotilda* (1709); Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata* – *Rinaldo* (1711); Plutarch, *Lives* – *Pyrrhus* (1708). Although not Italian, Herodotus, *The Histories*, was a rich source for Italian opera: *Thomyri*s (1707), ?*Hydaspes* (1710), *Etearco* (1711).

[8] Lowell Lindgren, 'A Bibliographic Scrutiny of Dramatic Works set by Giovanni and his Brother Antonio Maria Bononcini' (PhD diss. Harvard, 1972). Lindgren's list of operas influenced included the Addison-Clayton *Rosamond* (1707) which strives to be a British all-sung opera. See also this dissertation Ch.5, especially [5/67] Fig.34.

was convinced that in 1705 there had been an 'infiltration', a view repeated by Curtis Price in 1979.[9] Others, like John Vanbrugh, who had built the Queen's Theatre, were convinced there was an appetite for theatrical novelty and Italianate opera might fit the bill, although in the case of Vanbrugh, his initial motive was competition with the rival theatre, Drury Lane, in the hope of attracting a larger audience.[10]

[8] Models for the arrival of Italian opera emerged during the period of its establishment. Addison identified a three-stage process – Italian opera in English, later designated as Italianate, then the bilingual stage, and finally, all-Italian productions. In order to maintain the symmetry of his model, Addison ignored Greber's *Gli amori di Ergasto* (1705) which, chronologically, belonged to the first stage, but did not fit his model since it was sung in Italian. Either Addison did not know about the opera, believed it to have been in English, or chose to ignore it.

[9] Although the merit in Addison's model is in its identification of a progression, it does not provide genuine reasons for its development. In the second stage, the imported castratos could not, or refused to sing in English. In the third stage the singers were Italian, employed to perform in Italian opera. Since all-Italian operas like *Almahide*, *L'Idaspe Fedele* (*Hydaspes*), and *Rinaldo* enjoyed a significant run of performances, there was popular support for the genre.[11] Bilingual librettos were issued in advance of performances, so these, together with familiar plots, and elaborate *mise-en-scène*, allowed the operas to be intelligible. Addison's jibe, 'fatigue of thinking', misses the point. It did not stop him attending operas in France and Italy during his Grand Tour (1799–1703),[12] but apparently not *Rinaldo* in London.

[10] Ambrose Philips in 1708, expounding on the pastoral, wrote in the Preface to his poems, that the pastoral was going out of fashion, and was being replaced by the heroic, so the model 'pastoral-to-heroic' emerged. This model was reinforced by Duncan Chisholm

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[9] *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber Written by Himself* (Dublin, 1740). *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber*, Fone (ed.), 1968, p.175. Price in *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 1979, p.112. A similar view was expressed by Eric Walter White (1951 and 1983); and Roger Fiske in 1973.

[10] For Vanbrugh's flawed attempt at audience attraction, see Ch.2 [8]; Ch.3, Fig.5 [24-31].

[11] *Almahide*: 22 pfs in 16 months (Jan 1710-May 1711); *Hydaspes*/ *L'Idaspe Fedele*: 28 pfs in 14 months (Mar.1710-May.1711); *Rinaldo*: 15 pfs in 3 months (Feb-Jun); a late start in the 1710-11 season, although revivals in 1712-14, 1717; also 1731 with revisions.

[12] Smithers, *The Life of Joseph Addison* (1954), Ch.3.

in 1974, and James Winn in 1998.[13] However, the model is valid only if the genres of pastoral and heroic are made clearer, if the years are fixed as within a time frame (e.g., 1705–11), and if exceptions are ignored, that is, pastoral scenes included within more heroic works, or performed after 1711.

[11] The pastorals of 1712 – Handel's *Il pastor fido*, Haym's *Dorinda*, a revival of the 1708 *Love's Triumph*, retitled *The Triumph of Love*, and *Calypso and Telemachus* (Hughes/Galliard),[14] demonstrate that if the dates 1705–11 had been stretched to 1712, the Philips model would have collapsed. The pastoral debates with Pope, Gay, and Swift (1713–16), show that the pastoral was a genre that was far from defunct.[15] The Scriblerus Club (1713 ff.) with members – Hughes, Pope, Swift, Congreve, Gay and Arbuthnot, promoted the neoclassical view of the Ancients, and ridiculed the rationalist, Spenser-based pastorals of the Whigs; but this made little difference to Thomas Purney, who published two editions of *Pastorals after the simple manner of Theocritus* in 1717, arguing vigorously for the Whig Moderns. The model works only if the dates are carefully chosen to fit.

[12] However, despite the flaws, the observations of both Addison and Philips do have some merit. In the case of Addison, there is an evolutionary trend from Italian opera in English to Italian; Philips, also, traces a process of evolution using the myths of the ancient Greece. Related to these structures is the Curtis Price managerial model (1978), described and illustrated with diagrams, demonstrating how three 'revolutions' in the management of Drury Lane and Queen's Theatres finally resolved with a genre separation of Italian opera and spoken drama in English, thus leaving the Queen's Theatre with a monopoly of Italian opera. The colloquial use of the term 'revolution' for a series of short-lived management manoeuvres aside,[16] there is the implication of conspiracy between Vanbrugh

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[13] Duncan Chisholm, 'The English Origins of Handel's *Pastor Fido*', *Musical Times*, 1974; James Winn, 'Heroic Song: A Proposal for a Revised History of English Theater and Opera, 1656-1711' (*18th Century Studies*, 1996/7).

[14] Operas listed in *The London Stage*, Avery (1960); the Milhous & Hume 2001 update ends with the 1710-11 season.

[15] See *The Guardian* debates, Ch.4 [19], Fig.12; also Loughery (1984), pp,57-66.

[16] The term 'revolution' is defined as the overthrow of an existing political system as with the 'Revolution of 1688', and not a routine shift of genre from one theatre to another. See Arthur Marwick, *The New Nature of History, Knowledge, Evidence, Language* (2001), p.294. In *The Nature of History* (1989), Marwick is one of the few professional historians to deal with the misuse of history, in terms of platitudes, clichés, and 'emotionally loaded usage', pp.269-70. Margaret Macmillan in *The Uses and Abuses of History* (2010), and Chris Cook's *Dictionary of Historical Terms* (1983) make no reference to the term 'revolution'. Admittedly, 'revolution' was used by Congreve in 1706 (*Letters & Documents*, 26), comparing theatre manoeuvres with

and Vice-Chamberlain Coke to ensure the arrival of Italian opera.[17] However, this study argues a case of reactive expedients rather than proactive plots.

[13] Another Price model, or rather influence, is the claim that the English tradition of semiopera is continued in Handel's *Rinaldo* (1711).[18] The influence of *The British Enchanters* has some merit in terms of plot, but takes no account of the music. Nevertheless, Price was the first scholar to venture an explanation for the so-called theatrical muddle with Italian opera leading to *Rinaldo*. In terms of plot description, his account of the weak hero emerging from semiopera, fortuitously, albeit unwittingly, fits the genre of tragicomedy – lovers thwarted in various ways, brought near to death until all is resolved at the end. This converges with Guarini's advocacy of tragicomedy (1601–2) implemented in his *Il pastor fido,* which in translation was published throughout seventeenth and early eighteenth–century London to Handel's opera in 1712, almost as a confirmation of the genre of tragicomedy (see [5/73] and bibliography).

[14] The character of Ergasto occupies an important role in this study, so it is worthwhile exploring his precedents. *The Loves of Ergasto* (*Gli amori di Ergasto*) in 1705 has a bilingual libretto, but with little else of substance to justify its existence – it is discussed in Chapter Two. Its metamorphosis through Innsbruck to Vienna shows an evolution to tragicomedy. In Guarini's term this should not be surprising. A pastoral poem dramatised naturally develops into tragicomedy – a pastoral setting but with a Guarini 'knot' separating the lovers with obstacles, but resolving difficulties to allow a happy ending. This had a precedent in the second century AD with 'Daphnis and Chloe', described as a novel or romance by the little-known Longus, but perhaps the very genre and remoteness in Lesbos allowed it to defy the Aristotelian stricture separating tragedy and comedy, and to become an early example of tragicomedy. It progresses from the simple Virgilian pastoral to tragicomedy by having two orphans initially in an idyllic environment, unconsciously falling in love, but with Chloe the victim of a love triangle. The orphans are separately

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the 'Revolution of 1688'; Oldmixon in *The Muses Mercury* (1707) used the term for theatrical union, both of which could have influenced Price, although he makes no reference to these. The *Spectator* used the term in its original meaning for the movement of the planets (nos.472/585), for the Revolution of 1688 (119/445), but also loosely as a synonym for change (nos. – 105/119/162/216/228/518/525/629). However, whether a scholarly journal should adopt the use 'revolution' for theatrical manoeuvres, is open to question.

[17] Price, 'The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700-1710' (1978); *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (1979), Ch.5, 'Theatrical Revolutions', pp.117-134.

[18] 'English Traditions in Handel's Rinaldo' (*Handel: tercentenary collection*, 1987).

kidnapped, physically threatened, but then rescued by the god Pan. The happy couple are reunited, and to enhance the happy ending, discover their natural parents.

The 'Ergasto' significance

[15] Greber's *Ergasto* is part of the process, arrived at independently. The original appearance of the character of Ergasto seems to have been in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, a genre alternating prose and eclogues, described as a medley or prosimetrum, first published in Venice (1502) and in more extended form in Naples (1504), a century before Guarini's *Compendium* (1602). Sannazaro's 'Eclogue One' sees Ergasto 'meditating solitary and silent' while his flocks wander off precariously, and is duly chided by a fellow shepherd. The translation and introduction provided by Ralph Nash in his edition *Jacobo Sannazaro, Arcadia* (1966), reveals Ergasto as the melancholic character in contrast to the more ebullient Sincero, both aspects of Sannazaro himself. Nash notes that by Chapter 10, Sannazaro has pushed the pastoral to its limit, and the poet recognised the need for a metamorphosis to the heroic (p.15).

[16] Other Ergasto appearances include Tasso's *Aminta*, published in Venice (1581) after its first performance in Ferrara (1573), and Guarini's *Il pastor fido*, also printed in Venice (1590), five years after Guarini had written the play. In Tasso, Ergasto's function is that of a messenger reporting in detail the apparent death of Aminta who has thrown himself from a rocky cliff in despair at the news of Silvia's death;[19] she has apparently been eaten by wolves. Silvia, who to that point in the play, had spurned Aminta's advances in favour of her commitment to the goddess Diana and the hunt, has survived the onslaught of wolves. When she hears the news of Aminta's demise, she is moved by compassion, but with the news that Aminta has survived, the compassion turns to love. Although performing the minor role of Aminta's apparent death, Ergasto shares the linchpin to tragicomedy and the happy ending.

[17] In Guarini, Ergasto, described in the list of 'Speakers'(1647) as a friend of Mirtillo, but more like a guide and adviser, who, when he discovers that Mirtillo, a recent arrival in Arcadia yearning for Amarillis, has to explain to him that Amarillis is engaged to Silvio in an arranged marriage designed to appease the goddess Diana – to deliver Arcadia from the

[19] *Aminta*, ed. Jernigan and Marchegiani-Jones (2000), parallel text, pp.148-151.

punishment of pestilence by the annual sacrifice of a virgin, so a case of duty before love. The 1647 Fanshawe edition, indeed a feature of all editions in English, does not include a translation of the lengthy Italian *Argomento* that appears, for example, in the London Italian edition of 1591, so Ergasto's explanation is vital, not only for Mirtillo, but also for the audience. But there, Ergasto's function as an adviser ends. He has no further role in *Pastor Fido*, not even in the final denouement when Mirtillo's life is in danger. The role for Ergasto in the two most celebrated and influential Italian tragicomedies, is that of a brief walk-on part.

[18] Ergasto appears in madrigals, but usually as a demented lover grovelling before a mistress, as in Monteverdi's setting of Giambattista Marino's Book 6, 'Batto, qui pianse Ergasto' in which a weeping Ergasto pleads with Chloris to hunt him rather than the deer. The result is ambiguous. In Book 7, Chloris has a happier time in the Ballet with Thyrsis. In the same Book, Ergasto has temporary success in 'Eccomi pronta ai baci', a setting from Marino, *Madrigali, XII*.[20] The anonymous mistress invites a kiss with 'baciami, Ergasto mio', but with a warning not to bite. Alas, Ergasto cannot restrain himself, and the encounter is cut short.[21] Examples like these show that with Greber's *Gli amori di Ergasto* (1705), Ergasto has advanced to the status of a central character, a shepherd-hunter, attracting the attentions of two nymphs in a love triangle, but this is a simple pastoral which concludes with Ergasto's fellow hunter discovering one of the nymphs is his long-lost sister. By the time this pastoral migrates to Innsbruck in 1707, and to Vienna in 1711, it has metamorphosed into a tragicomedy with a much altered plot, but retaining the love triangle, and the sibling discovery. The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek catalogue preserves the 1705 title, but this discrepancy is explained in Chapter Two.

[19] However, if the purpose of this study is an attempt to disentangle Dean's 'tangled story' of the arrival of Italian opera in London, the evolution from simple pastoral to tragicomedy – using an empirical, *ad hoc* approach to problems, puzzles, contradictions, is the approach adopted. There is more use of literary and socio-political context than has been employed by scholars hitherto. The focus throughout is that of analysis, producing fresh insights through a synthesis of familiar sources with the unfamiliar. The emphasis is

[20] Marino, 'Bacio Mordaci' and 'La Lira', *Rime Amorose*, (1602/14).

[21] John Whenham in *The New Monteverdi Companion* (ed. Arnold & Fortune, 1985), is not convinced by Monteverdi's setting of the bite, using chromatic shifts (F#→F; C→C#), p.227.

on primary source material throughout, but where secondary material has been used, either to complete an argument, to sharpen the debate, or to modify previous research, footnotes have been used to identify the sources, from which new perspectives can be inferred.

[20] Chapter One has adopted the historiographical approach rather than a conventional literature review, taking its cue from Peter Gay's use of the 'Biographical Essay' in his two-volume work, *The Enlightenment* (1966/70).[22] This allows an emphasis on the evolutionary nature of the arrival of Italian opera, its late adoption, textual commentary, and an explanation for the long allure of Italian culture. This demonstrates the influx and fluctuation of Italian culture from the medieval period through the Renaissance to the early eighteenth century, when pundits in literature, theatre, and opera, were preoccupied with different periods in history that informed their mindsets. The sources of influence were the Ancients (Herodotus, Theocritus, Virgil), and the Renaissance (Sidney, Lyly, Spenser, Shakespeare and contemporaries) – so these have been included. Many of these sources have not been applied to the arrival of Italian opera, especially the literary and historical sources. Study of the 'Ergasto' MS score in Vienna, has revealed fresh insights. Unearthing Italian librettos, hitherto unexplored, has similarly allowed fresh interpretations. The use of Guarini as a source for tragicomedy in the operas leading to *Rinaldo*, as far as can be discovered, has not been examined before. Chapter One includes preconditions for the arrival of Italian opera, and a reception of the pre-Handel years by Handel biographies showing the influence of John Mainwaring. An assessment of previous scholarship appears *ad hoc* throughout the dissertation.

[21] Chapter Two identifies a range of puzzles related to the inauguration of the Queen's Theatre, and focuses on the unpromising start to Italian opera. *The Loves of Ergasto* (aka *Gli amori di Ergasto*) is a case study that demonstrates how a pastoral opera with a simple plot was received but mostly ignored, but when referred to, it was with contempt. Both Greber's pastoral opera and the newly built Queen's Theatre became the object of satirical lampoon. Sources are contradictory and confusing, partly due to ideological and xenophobic hostility to Italian opera. Rivalry with Drury Lane was an additional obstacle to progress. Poor management and organisation at the Queen's Theatre did not augur well for success. Events surrounding the inauguration of the theatre are not clear and need closer scrutiny.

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[22] Readers might regard Ch.1 as an 'overture' (to borrow Gay's terminology), and due to its length, move directly to Ch.2 where the 'opera' begins. Alternatively, Ch.1 can be read as a summary of the complete Thesis.

[22] Chapter Three deals with pastorals more generally, including two more pastoral operas with more sophisticated plots, but without the tragicomical death threat. One pastoral is sung in English, and the other, a bilingual opera with Italian added. Due to political circumstances, both end prematurely in 1708. The conclusion suggests that the pastoral which has been fashionable at the end of the seventeenth century, due partially to the moral climate brought on by the Society for the Reformation of Manners, by 1708 was shifting to a more dramatic genre.

[23] Chapter Four illustrates the early stages of a shift to a more dramatic structure. Italian influence had been paramount, but English adaptations have had equal significance. Cutting across this development has been the ideological differences between Whigs and Tories which introduces a political slant to the discussion. The so-called 'Queen Operas' demonstrate three case studies showing how the pastoral could be subsumed within a more complex genre.

[24] Chapter Five uses a variety of sources including Ellen Harris, Reinhard Strohm, Duncan Chisholm, and Robert Hume to explore the shift to a more heroic opera after the decline of pastoral opera in 1708. An attempt is made to apply the views in a series of case studies, but shows that the pastoral still has a role to play. Chapter Six represents the culmination of the transition to heroic opera, but given the varieties of the term 'heroic' in this period (1708–11), the Guarini influence seems to be paramount, and a case is made for tragicomedy.

Chapter One: Historiography

> Opera was regarded as intrinsically Italian and Catholic, and therefore, in some quarters, suspect. So far as the English were concerned, it was ridiculous for the part of an ancient hero like Alexander the Great to be sung on stage by a castrato at a pitch generally associated with women, and the castration of young male singers was considered an offence against nature. Even more fundamentally, it was argued that the English language was unsuitable for setting to recitative and that drama, in any case, was better spoken.
>
> (Timms & Wood, *Music in the London Theatre from Purcell to Handel*, 2017, p.1)

[1/1] The preference for historiography over literature review is probably influenced by Peter Gay in his study – *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, two volumes, each of which concludes with a lengthy survey of his period entitled a 'Bibliographical Essay', essentially historiography. In this dissertation, which ranges widely to deal with Winton Dean's 'tangled story', historiography puts the literature into a context with a running commentary, allowing the ebb and flow of the argument to evolve for the following chapters, unimpeded by excessive background. The notion that a Literature Review should examine the most recent scholarship, and add to it, contains a caveat. If it assumes that scholarship moves in a linear progression of improvement, the above epigraph shows that this is not the case. This epigraph is basically an amalgam of Addison's partisan views in the *Spectator* and without citation.[1] As this thesis will show, Addison's loathing of Italian opera needs careful interpretation. This caution is emphasised by James Winn.[2] The above quotation is the only reference in the book to what might be considered the fundamental change in the period from Purcell to Handel, the introduction of Italian opera. The quotation is almost an afterthought for the absence of a chapter on Italian opera, 1705–1711. There is a chapter on *The British Enchanters*, but this concerns itself with a case for semiopera as genuine 'opera'. Neither the book, nor the November 2009 London Conference on which it was based, seems to have had a scholar chosen to include the introduction of Italian opera.[3]

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[1] 'it was argued …' without a 'by whom', suggests a need for closer examination of the Addison *Spectator* sources, numbers: 5 (Nicolini, Rinaldo, sparrows), 18 (the operas), 29 (recitative).

[2] 'Style and Politics in the Philips-Handel Ode for Queen Anne's Birthday, 1713' (*Music & Letters,* Nov. 2008, p.548).

[3] Unless of course there was an editorial decision to exclude Italian opera. The conference was titled, 'Purcell, Handel and Literature' by the Institute of Musical Research, held in Senate House, London, 19–21 November 2009.

[1/2] It would be useful if there was a theory of opera for the early years of eighteenth–century London. Rebecca Herissone stretches her *Music Theory in Seventeenth–Century England* (2000) to the late 1720s, and so might be expected to include a theory of early Italian opera in London. There is a reference to the *Gentleman's Journal* (Jan.1691/2) in which Peter Motteux describes recitative as 'unnatural' in opera (p.5), and to Roger North, that music and drama do not blend in the sense that one distracts from the other (pp.5–6). North's view is expanded later in the book – semiopera was not 'uniforme' in structure. Opera needed a 'pace' that would give it form. The opera should:

> 'begin with temper, and moderation, to the end of the proceeding may enlarg and aggrandise the enterteinement, and leav off at the ackme, without any flagging or back-sliding. For if an enterteinement doth not improve, it falls into nothing' (quoted by Herissone, p.223)

To reinforce the need for structure, Herissone quotes Raguenet's 1702 *Comparison*, quoting the text that Italian opera was composed of 'poor, incoherent Rapsodies without any Connection or Design', compared with the coherency of French opera (p.223). However, this is a misreading of Raguenet's irony. Raguenet starts his *Comparison* by praising French opera, merely to demolish it by comparison with Italian vigour vis-à-vis French predictability. In its 1702 original, French opera is damned with faint praise, which is why the controversy started with Jean Laurent *Le Cerf de la Viéville* (fn.32 below). Herissone's book is concerned with the mechanics of music – pitch, duration, harmony, composition, tonality, texture, and form, but the operas and the key sources for Italian opera are missing. Both the above studies emphasise a case for the historiographical approach, in which attention to the years 1705–1711, can be shown to have waxed and waned over three hundred years.[4]

[4] An alternative approach to omission is burlesque. Daniel Snowman (*The Gilded Cage*, 2009) refers to the arrival of Italian opera as a game of 'snakes and ladders', that Vanbrugh 'quaffed gleefully from the chalice he ought to have realised was poisoned', and that Christopher Rich 'ran out of steam' (pp.58-9) – this does not promote an understanding of the period; but then to top this up, there are errors: Swiney (spelling varies; Snowman uses 'Swinney') did not pay actors the same as Italian singers in 1709, and Nicolini did not have the power to 'set the company down the ludicrous path of multilingual performances while helping plunge it further into debt' (p.60). It was Vanbrugh who negotiated Nicolini's salary and set the process in motion.

The Ergasto Sources

[1/3] If comment on the period 1705–11 is sparse or misleading, dates for the inaugural pastoral in the Queen's Theatre slip easily into inaccuracy. Michael Burden, describing the period as one of 'a few early mis-steps' in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth–Century Music* (2009; Ch.12, p.386), dates *Gli amori di Ergasto* in 1706 with the wrong season (1705–06), which should read, 1704–05.[5] Christine Gerrard in her biography, *Aaron Hill: The Muses Projector*, *1685–1750* (2003), prefers *Ergasto* in 1708 (p.31), possibly confusing it with *Love's Triumph*. Without a more accurate study, errors can impair a better understanding of the period. Getting the season or year wrong, items readily available in the Milhous & Hume *Calendar* (2001), suggests a need for careful revision.

[1/4] However, given the contradictory variety of source material, attempting more careful scholarship is by no means a simple process. There is a history of misleading information. Precise dates for an *Ergasto* performance in 1705 are difficult to establish. The London *Daily Courant* is specific about 24 February 1705, but confusion arises in German historiography. Robert Eitner adopted this date in *Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten* (1898, vol.4), but tentatively attributed *The Temple of Love* (1706) to Greber.[6] In the same year, Friedrich Walter recognised the production of *Ergasto* („the loves of Ergasto") for the inauguration, of the Queen's Theatre in 1705, but also in error, ascribed *The Temple of Love* to Greber.[7] Walter Senn in 1934 repeats the 1706 *Temple of Love* attribution, but adds that *Ergasto* was originally composed for Vienna in 1701, and performed there in 1711. Misreading the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek catalogue inscription, he is convinced of performances in Vienna in 1708, and 'possibly' 1707.[8] The 1706 *Temple of Love* attribution means that Greber must have remained in London for another year after *Ergasto*. A

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[5] Locating *Ergasto* in 1706 comes from Sir John Hawkins, *General History*, 1776 (Dover ed., 1963, vol.2, pp. 810/816), which in turn comes from Colley Cibber, *Apology* (p.172, ed. B.R.S. Fone).

[6] He admits, quoting Hawkins, Saggione could be the composer.

[7] In his discussion of the transfer of the Elector Charles Philip's court, over many locations, from Düsseldorf, Innsbruck, Neuburg, Heidelberg and finally to Mannheim, Walter has the following to say about Greber: 'Jacob Greber erscheint 1703 in London, wo er sich die italienische Oper Verdienste erworben haben soll. Mit seinem Schäferspiel „the loves of Ergasto" wurde 1705 das Haymarket Theater eröffnet, ein anderes Werk von ihm „the temple of love" kam 1706 auf das Londoner Theater.' – Friedrich Walter, *Die Geschichte des Theaters und der Musik am Kurpfälzischen Hofe* (Leipzig, 1898), p.78.

[8] Walter Senn, *Musick und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck* (1934), p.316 – 'Das Haymarket-Theater wird mit seinem um 1701 für Wien geschriebenen Schäferspiel „the loves of Ergasto" eröffnet, und 1706 kommt hier seine Oper „the temple of love" auf die Bühne. In Wien wird das genannte Schäferspiel 1708 (vielleicht schon 1707) unter dem Titel „Gli amori d'Ergasto" … aufgeführt'. My Ch.3 indicates performance in London and a possible much-revised version in 1708 in Innsbruck.

baptismal certificate, dated 23 June 1705, indicates that Greber was a Kapellmeister in Düsseldorf in the service of Kurfürst Karl III. Philipp von der Pfalz (Palatine Elector Charles Philip). The current view is that he left London in the wake of his unsuccessful pastoral in 1705. *The Temple of Love* was not composed by Greber, and there is no recorded performance in Vienna. Walter Senn provides no source for the composition date of 1701 (see my Ch.2).

[1/5] German encyclopaedias compounded the errors. Gerhard Steffen in the *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (1966) acknowledges the inaugural performance for the Queen's theatre on 9 April 1705 as well as the second performance on 24 April, but repeats Walter Senn's conjecture that the *Ergasto* pastoral was composed for Vienna in 1701, despite Greber being in Italy at the time.[9] Elisabeth Hilscher in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (2008) writes in her Greber biography about a performance of *Ergasto* on 9 April, but not for the rest of the week, nor for the more secure date, 24 April, advertised in the *Daily Courant*. Walter Senn is one of her sources, but the 1701 composition date is dropped. She does however agree with a performance in Vienna, and emphasises the occasion, the 1711 coronation of Charles VI, despite the coronation having taken place in Frankfurt. It is strange that a German scholar would be remiss about this location. No doubt she was influenced by the inscription in the catalogue typescript in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Mus.Hs.17252), as was Walter Senn, that a performance must have taken place in Vienna.[10]

[1/6] If German sources are misleading, so also was the long-serving prompter, John Downes, in his 1708 memoir of the English stage, *Roscius Anglicanus*, which notes the dates of 'a Foreign Opera', 9–13 April 1705, performed by Italians, newly arrived and quickly leaving after the gentry disapproved.[11] With such disapproval one wonders why there was a reported run of five performances. The Downes dates are repeated by many scholars in English, and especially by *The London Stage 1660–1800*, Part 2, (1700–1729) vol.1, p.91.

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[9] 'Mit Grebers Pastoral „Gli amori d'Ergasto" (The loves of Ergasto), das er um 1701 für Wien geschrieben hatte, wurde am 9.4.1705 das neuerbaute Queen's Theatre (später King's Theatre) in London am Haymarket eröffnet. Es war die 1. in London aufgeführte italienische Oper. Das Werk (auch die 2. Aufführung am 24.4.) hatte keinen Erfolg'. The date 1701 comes from Walter Senn, fn.7.

[10] *Musick und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck* (1934).

[11] The quotation reads: 'And upon the 9th, of April 1705. Captain Vantbrugg open'd his new Theatre in the Hay-market, with a Foreign Opera, Perform'd by a new set of Singers, Arriv'd from Italy; (the worst that e're came from hence) for it lasted but 5 days, and they being lik'd but indifferently by the Gentry; they in a little time marcht back to their own Country'. Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (London, 1708), p.48.

The London Stage 1660–1800, a multi-volume prestigious work (5 parts, 11 vols), was first published 1960–70 by Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press; vol.2 was edited and introduced by Emmett L. Avery. It was the major reference work until the years 1700–1711 were edited and updated in online draft by Milhous & Hume (2001). Given the cautions provided by two editions of *Roscius Anglicanus*, one by Montague Summers (1928), and the other by Milhous & Hume (1987), together with a scathing account of Downes by W.J. Lawrence who questioned his credibility, the date entries for *Ergasto* performances were removed from the draft update in 2001, and replaced by a detailed essay on sources and context (2001; p.220).[12] The Downes reference to a foreign opera is vague. Downes could not have been a prompter for an opera in Italian, a language that was 'foreign' to him and which would do him out of a job. His indifference to *Ergasto* is further emphasised by a failure of responsibility. The NGDO (vol.3, p.1034) notes in the article 'Playbill', it was the responsibility of the prompter to organise publicity and to notify the press – Downes does not seem to have done this. Given the flimsy account of the event, he was unlikely to have been an eyewitness to a performance, and if he was, he does not record his experience.

[1/7] There is no corroboration for his account, and as Curtis Price pointed out in 1978, Italian singers were unlikely.[13] In terms of logistics, the importation of Italian singers from an unknown region in Italy, arranged by an unknown source, and at short notice, when the opera of choice had migrated to Drury Lane, suggests that the veracity of Downes's much quoted text is suspect. It does not conform to the Downes pattern – title, characters, roles, sets, clothes – these are missing from the quote. In terms of style and content, this text could have been inserted by another hand, an obvious candidate being the editor and publisher of the book, Henry Playford.

[1/8] No scholar so far has been able to explain the logistics of bringing unknown singers from Italy at short notice. Curtis Price 1978, questioned the importation of Italian singers.[14] But Price's guess that the singers comprised a 'shabby cast of foreigners' from Drury Lane is equally unlikely.[15] Why would Christopher Rich permit his singers to assist rivals at the

[12] See my Ch.2, and Milhous & Hume (1987), p.iv; also W.J. Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies* (1912), p.214-5.

[13] Price, Curtis, 'The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700-1710' (*Harvard Library Bulletin*, 1978); Music in the Restoration Theatre (*UMI Research Press*, 1979).

[14] Price, 1978.

[15] In NGDO (1992; *Amori di Ergasto*), although Price can be perceptive, he can also err. In 1978 he posited singers, 'a shabby cast' from Drury Lane. In 1992 the only singer he could identify was the Baroness, Joanna

newly-build Queen's Theatre? Who were the shabby foreigners at Drury Lane? The only Italian singer on the Drury Lane roster was Margarita de l'Epine (M&H, 2001 Calendar, p.183), then barely employed, singing at interludes, but her loyalty would have been to her partner, Jacob Greber.[16] Rich's response to her role in *Ergasto* is not recorded, although he did not need Italian singers for Italianate opera at that point, using Margherita to sing only before and after plays.[17] Knapp & Dean put forward a case for Margherita de L'Epine, her sister Maria Gallia, and the freelance Joanna Maria Lindelheim (aka, the Baroness), as having roles in *Ergasto*.[18] The *Daily Courant* adds the Italian boy on 24 April. Ziuliana de Celotte (Ziuliana Celotti) was on the roster for Lincoln's Inn Fields, transferred to Queens, but no scholar so far has investigated her possible participation in the performance of *Ergasto*.[19]

The Queen's Theatre

[1/9] The purpose of the Queen's Theatre has given rise to debate. Was it designed to be an opera house, or a more general playhouse? Donald Mullin (1967) lists 22 plays from April to June 1705, but only one pastoral, *The Loves of Ergasto*.[20] G.P.M. Dumont in *Parallèle de Plans des Plus Belles Salles de Spectacles* with drawings and plans, names the *Théatre de la Reine* an opera house, but when the book was published in 1774, it had become the King's Theatre, and was recognised as the London opera house, although by the years 1708–10, this was already becoming the case. The resonant acoustic described by Colley Cibber was suitable for singing but 'articulate sounds of a speaking voice were drown'd',[21] and perhaps

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Maria Lindehleim (Lindelheim), hardly shabby, and not on the Drury Lane roster. She must have been freelance, her agent being Nicola Haym.

[16] Also in NGDO (1992; *Amori di Ergasto*) Price claimed that Margherita de l'Epine sang in *Arsinoe*, which would have prevented her taking a role in *Ergasto*. There is no indication in the available sources of her participation in *Arsinoe*: the scores (MS in BL, Harvard) may not give the names of the singers, but they are listed in the libretto, and she is not included. In the three song collections (1706) of *Arsinoe* (*Songs in the Opera*) by David Hunter (*Opera & Song Books Published in England, 1703-1726*), pp.74-80, and in Baldwin & Wilson, the selections in *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music 1702-1711* (pp.104, 108, 111-18). Margherita does not appear in the lists. However, she was employed to sing before and after the first performance *Arsinoe* on 16 January 1705 (M&H, 2001, p.205). M&H note her contract with Drury Lane is unknown (p.220), but she continued to sing before and after plays.

[17] Rich was entirely happy with Italian opera in English (Italianate), the popularity of *Arsinoe* having had 9 performances from 16 January to 9 April. His view of opera in Italian can only be surmised at this point.

[18] *Handel's Operas 1704-1726* (revised ed.1996) p.143.

[19] M&H online Draft Calendar, p.184. Celotte did however sing in Lincoln's Inn Fields on 9 February for entertainments that accompanied the play by Etherege, *The Man of Mode.* Her tutor, 'Master Sigismond Cousser, both lately arrive'd in England', provided the music (M&H, 2001, p.210). See my Ch.2 [16].

[20] D.C. Mullin, 'The Queen's Theatre, Haymarket: Vanbrugh's Opera House' (*Theatre Survey*, 1967), p.89.

[21] *Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber* (1750), Fone edition, p.175. The resonant acoustic was in part responsible for the failure of the Queen's Theatre in the 1706-07 season. A plan to lower the ceiling to improve

this accounts for the Queen's Theatre reverting to an opera house in January 1708, after being an exclusive playhouse since the beginning of the 1706–07 season. Daniel Nalbach in 1972 quotes Vanbrugh writing to Jacob Tonson on 15 June 1703, stating, 'I have finished my purchase of the Playhouse', but the structure was such as to be more suited to Italian opera, which was still to arrive.[22] Whether this was a happy error on Vanbrugh's part, or an intentional plan, has still to be established.

[1/10] Queen Anne's patent in 1704 specified that the purpose of the theatre was to reform the 'Abuses and Immorality of the Stage' which referred to the plays like those identified by Jeremy Collier in his *Short View of the Immorality and profaneness of the English Stage* (1698).[23] The Queen's licence specified that 'a Company of Comedians' could act all 'Comedies, Tragedies, Plays, and Musicall Entertainments' and that the Lord Chamberlain 'from time to time would direct and approve'.[24] However, there were those who found it ironic that the two worst offenders in producing immoral plays that prompted Collier to write his book, were in fact Vanbrugh and his assistant manager, Congreve, at the new Queen's Theatre, and although they had promised to reform, their enemies were not going to let the occasion go unnoticed. Dr Garth's bombastic Prologue to *Ergasto* in iambic pentameter jibes, 'Majestick Columns stand where Dunghills lay//And Carrs Triumphal rise from Carts of Hay' – went into several reprints, and one in May 1705, elicited scatological responses linking the immoral plays of the managers to the origin of the theatre.[25] The Prologue had become more important than the Pastoral. The response to the opening of the Queen's Theatre (1705) became one of satire and abuse, lavishly illustrated by Donald Mullin (fn.20 above). The pastoral, *The Loves of Ergasto*, was getting much less attention than its appendages (see my Ch.2).

[1/11] In terms of close inspection, Judith Milhous provides the most thorough account of the years leading to the opening of the Queen's Theatre in 1705. Her 1976 article in *Theatre*

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the acoustics for plays was scheduled for the autumn (*Vanbrugh* biography, Kerry Downes, p.325), but since opera was transferred back to the Queen's Theatre in January 1708, the acoustical problem was solved.

[22] Nalbach, *The King's Theatre*, 1704-1867 (1972), p.2.

[23] The Queen took moral reformation seriously. She decreed a fast day on 19 January 1704 to repent national indecency, and that plays insulting religion and good manners, would be silenced by the Lord Chamberlain (Ophelia Field in *The Kit-Cat Club* (2008), p.135.

[24] *London Gazette*, 21-15 December 1704; also quoted in Nalbach, pp.5-6.

[25] Thomas McGeary, 'A Satire on the Opening of the Haymarket Theater' (*Restoration and 18C Theatre Research*, 2000; *Correction* in 2001). See also, *The prologues and epilogues of the eighteenth century 1701-1720*, Vol.1, ed. Danchin (pp.265-269).

Survey, 'New Light of Vanbrugh's Haymarket Theatre Project' is a model of its kind. She admits that parts of the story, in the absence of further evidence, 'remain obstinately vague', but she made remarkable findings, which has stimulated more research. She identified the subscribers to the building of the theatre, scotched the view that location remoteness was its failure, and showed that the theatre was not necessarily a Kit-Cat project,[26] although this did not convince Ophelia Field in 2008.[27] Milhous was able to show that the Queen's Theatre was not merely for the benefit of Betterton's players from Lincoln's Inn Fields, since Vanbrugh wanted to open with an Italian opera,[28] but 'frantic haste' to compete with Drury Lane, and poor management, led to a disastrous inauguration of a theatre, the building of which was at that point unfinished.

[1/12] However, in noting the 'complete lack of fanfare' for the theatre's inauguration, Milhous explains it as follows – the theatre had already been opened in late November 1704 with a concert for the Queen. But the evidence for this has since been described as 'garbled'.[29] This study shows that the lack of fanfare was due to Vanbrugh's failure to advertise.[30] However, the Milhous view that Downes was correct, that the singers came from

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[26] Milhous shows that this view of the Queen's Theatre comes from the newspaper, *The Rehearsal of Observator* (5-12 May 1705), with the jibe 'a Temple for their Dagon', referring to the Kit-Cat Club. This view has simply been repeated by scholars – Robert Allen, 'The Kit-Cat Club' (*Review of English Studies*, 1931), and in quoted works above, by Mullin and Nalbach (Milhous, p.144). See also Field (fn.23, 27). Milhous identifies 29 subscribers, not 30 as in Philip Carter in ODNB (2005). Of the 29, only 11 of whom were Whig Kit-Cat members.

[27] Field's book *The Kit-Cat Club*, although well researched, does tend to exaggerate the influence of this Whig club, but evidence of its influence on the emergence of Italian opera is hard to find. This study argues that Whigs were too preoccupied with British nationalism, to espouse a foreign operatic genre.

[28] This view is modified in her 1979 book, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields*, 'Haymarket basically carried on the policies of Lincoln's In Fields rather than relying heavily on Italian opera (especially in the years 1706-07), p.189. However, Milhous shows in detail how the management skills of Christopher Rich at Drury Lane were far superior to those of Vanbrugh (p.195). Milhous provides a detailed account of Vanbrugh's attempts at a Union of the two theatres, but failed (1979; pp.201-202). However, she sticks with Downes's account of the inauguration of the Queen's Theatre with singers from Italy: 'I am inclined to think that that he [Downes] knew the difference between Lincoln's Inn Fields house singers, and strangers imported from Italy' (1979; p.199), but what Price had claimed in 1978, was singers from Drury Lane, not from Lincoln's Inn Fields.

[29] The evidence is questioned in M&H (2001) *London Stage* update (p.180). No explanation is given in the update, but it is not needed. The source is questionable. Milhous uses the *Diverting Post* (25.11.04 – 2.12.04) as evidence for Queen Anne's visit to the Queen's Theatre, but there is no date for the concert and nothing is known about the singer, Segniora Sconiance. There is no corroboration for the story in the *Diverting Post* of a Queen's visit, and there was no mention of a fanfare either.

[30] The *Diverting Post* announced on 16 December 1704 that *Arsinoe* would be performed in Drury Lane, so then, the alternatives for the Queen's Theatre were works by Daniel Purcell or John Eccles [2/16,17.27].

Italy, was questioned by Curtis Price two years later.[31] It is a surprise that an article by Milhous with such acute perception did not ask the questions – who organised the singers from Italy at such short notice, and that since Downes's Italian singers had returned to Italy, who sang in the later performance on 24 April? (see my Ch.2).

Ergasto – English or Italian?

[1/13] Related to singers from Italy, a debate developed in the 1970s over the language in which *Ergasto* was sung. This had its origins in 1705 with an initial lack of enthusiasm for the subject – no one declared unambiguously which language was used in the performance. In 1705 the language was either ignored or referred to cryptically. In January 1707, the first issue of *The Muses Mercury*, a journal dedicated to 'Poems, Prologues, Song, Sonnets, Translation, another Curious Pieces, Never before Printed', summarised the progress of Italian opera to that point. The section on operas, praises Clayton's *Arsinoe* and *Rosamond*, and curiously, is optimistic about the Eccles *Semele* and the Daniel Purcell *Orlando furioso*, but the first was not performed, and the second, not composed. There was no mention of *The Loves of Ergasto*, neither its existence nor the language. 'A Critical Discourse' in 1709, appended to the translation of Raguenet's 'Comparison between French and Italian Musick and Opera's',[32] dealt with the period 1705-08 when Italian opera was making its first appearance. It refers to a Pastoral that opened the Haymarket Theatre with an oblique reference to the composer, 'Gia—o Gr—r', but no mention of the language in which the Pastoral was sung (p.66).

[1/14] In the *Tatler* (Apr.1709 to Jan.1711), Richard Steele had little interest in Italian opera beyond mockery, but he did admire the acting ability of Nicolini. In *Spectator 18* which followed on the heels of the *Tatler*, Addison made an attempt to account for the progress of Italian opera. But his tripartite model of Italian opera, first in English, then bilingual, and finally all-Italian, concentrating totally on language, excludes *Ergasto*, which did not fit his

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[31] Price, 'The Critical Decade' (1978).

[32] Full title: 'A Critical Discourse on Opera's and Musick in England, and a Means proposed for their Improvement'. It deplored Italian opera in English, except where the anonymous author had a major role in the score and the performance. See my Ch.5, fn.14, for a possible identification of the author. The 'Discourse' is appended to a translation of Raguenet's *Parallèle des italiens et des françois en ce que regarde la musique et les opéra* (1702) – *A Comparison between French and Italian Musick and Opera's…to which is added A Critical Discourse, (London* (1709). Raguenet (1660-1722) was a doctor of medicine and a priest; he was tutor to the nephews of the Cardinal de Bouillon; he was a respected author of theological treatises, a biographer of Oliver Cromwell, and author of a compendium on Roman monuments. His *Parallèle* caused a stir in France because it promoted the superiority of Italian opera over the French.

argument. Whether the exclusion was deliberate, or an omission based on inattention, is not clear.[33] Titles were not Addison's strong point. During his Italian Tour (1701-03), he claimed to have attended eight operas, but provided the titles for none. For the years 1705-11, the only title is *Arsinoe*, but only to mock the translation. No other opera is mentioned by name, so no surprise that *Ergasto* is missing. A bigger surprise is that *Rinaldo* gets no mention. When *Spectator 18* appeared on 21 March, *Rinaldo* had already eight performances, and was deemed a success, but Addison had already resorted to mockery in *Spectator 5* (Tues 6 Mar.1711), which ironically, may have stimulated interest in the opera.

[1/15] Thereafter, not only the language of *Ergasto*, but the pastoral itself is ignored or gets short shrift. John Mainwaring in his life of Handel (1760), regards the pre-Handel period as a 'reign of nonsense', and quotes Addison as his source.[34] Hawkins in 1776 mentions 'the *Loves of Ergasto*', implying English, and reinforces this with Cibber's 'translated opera', but gets the year wrong (1706).[35] Burney consigns the '*Loves of Ergasto*' to a footnote, opens the Haymarket Theatre on 9 April 1705 (correct) with a play by Dryden (error), and has *Ergasto* as an afterpiece to *The Consultation* on 24 April (correct).[36] There is no mention of the language in which the pastoral was sung.

[1/16] In the course of the twentieth century, as the the consensus moved towards *Ergasto* sung in Italian, Roger Fiske in 1973 in *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, an early detailed study that scrutinised the operas from 1705-1711, questioned the language used for *The Loves of Ergasto* – had it been sung in Italian, why there was no reference to this at the time. Fiske insisted that Cibber, despite writing some 35 years after the event, would have remembered the language if in Italian.[37] Fiske concludes *The Loves of Ergasto* was sung in English. From then until the end of the century, the language of *The Loves of Ergasto* was discussed with more caution.

[1/17] In the wake of Fiske's book, Curtis Price, who had questioned the presence of singers from Italy, hedged his bets with, 'probably the first London stage work to be sung completely

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[33] Given the title in English at the time, Addison may have thought, if he though at all, that *Ergasto* was in English.
[34] *Memoirs of the Life of the late George Frederic Handel* (1760), pp.77-78.
[35] *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 1776 (Dover edition, 1963, vol.2, p.810).
[36] *A General History of Music*, 1789 (Dover, ed. Mercer, vol.2, p.655).
[37] Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (1973), pp.34-35.

in Italian' (1978, p.46). Not so sure in 1982 were Milhous & Hume with 'probably sung in Italian',[38] but then revised by Hume in 1984, 'undoubtedly in Italian'.[39] In 1989, Elizabeth Gibson's dissertation, *The Royal Academy of Music, 1719-1728* was published by Garland, and in the Introduction (p.6), she quotes *The Loves of Ergasto* as the first opera "after the Italian manner", performed in 1705, that is, sung in English, but ignoring *Arsinoe* that preceded it. Donald Burrows in 1993 was convinced *Ergasto* was an 'Italian opera sung in Italian';[40] but in 1994 he modified his view with 'at least partly in Italian', ignoring the information in the *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (NGDO).[41] In the same year, Winton Dean in his revision of *Handel's Operas* agreed with Curtis Price in NGDO, the singers 'were probably not imported but recruited locally', and the opera was sung in Italian. However, he included another piece of speculation – the singers 'doubtless included Margherita de l'Epine, who was Greber's mistress, and perhaps her sister Maria Gallia, and Joanna Maria Lindelheim, known as the Baroness'.[42] This is the current view except that the *Daily Courant* on 24 April specified the Italian boy playing the part of Licoris. My own argument on the matter of which language was used, could have been solved by an examination of the libretto. The Italian text in rhythm, rhyme, and meter, is vastly superior to the English translation which is less poetic, and with irregular stress and scansion, probably more awkward to sing.

A Vienna Gli amori d'Ergasto?

[1/18] It is clear from his first edition of the *Annals of Opera* that Loewenberg knew of a version of *Gli amori d'Ergasto* in the catalogue of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB). Curtis Price in NGDO calls it another opera sharing only the same title'. This study has investigated just to what extent the Vienna opera differs from the London 1705 Pastoral. According to Loewenberg the London version had its origin in *Gli amore piacevoli d'Ergasto* by Aurelio Amalteo (Vienna, 1661), but a comparison of texts has still to be investigated if the libretto can be found. What this study has done, is to translate the text from the ÖNB score, and to compare it with the 1705 libretto. There is a difference in

[38] *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 1706-1715*, ed. Milhous & Hume (1982), p.xxii.

[39] Robert Hume, 'Opera in London, 1695-1706' (*British Theatre and the Other Arts*, S.S. Kenny, p.85).

[40] 'London: Commercial Wealth and Cultural Expansion' p.358 *The Late Baroque Era* George J. Buelow (edit).

[41] Donald Burrows, *Handel* (1994), p.61. However, two years earlier, Curtis Price in NGDO, vol.1, p.112, in the article *Amori di Ergasto, Gli*, stated categorically the opera was in Italian. In the 1970s, it was well established that the Loves of Ergasto, despite the use of the title in English, was sung in Italian (Milhous, 1976, pp.151-2; Price, 1978, p.46).

[42] *Handel's Operas* 1704-1726, (1994), p.143.

characters, in pastoral location, and length, but the triangular relationship is identical, one male in love with two females – the dilemma is solved with one of the females being a long-lost sister. The 1705 opera is a simple pastoral, and the Vienna opera is a tragicomedy, with an alleged murder exposing the accused to execution. But with the victim turning up in time, alive and well, there is a reprieve, and a happy ending. This is just as Guarini predicted in 1601–02, that for a pastoral to succeed on stage, it would need to become a tragicomedy.[43]

[1/19] Translating seventeenth century Italian (probably Venetian) is no mean feat; experts consulted were helpful, but also bemused. The real challenge came with the following inscription in the ÖNB catalogue, accessed in 2014:

> ("Gli amori d'Ergasto"). "Pastorale". Opera pastorale in tre atti. praecedit "prologo", ubi mentio fit Elisabethae Christinae: "del grande Augusto intanto la degna amata sposa, l'eccelsa Elisabetta ..." qua re verisimile fit, hoc opus anno 1707 vel 1708 primum exhibitum ac Carolo VI. imperatori dedicatum esse. Part.

This piece of evidence has misled German scholars, including Loewenberg, who believed that there was a performance of *Gli amori d'Ergasto* in Vienna when Elisabeth Christina was on a visit in 1707. If Loewenberg could be misled, how great is the challenge for the modern scholar? Loewenberg concludes:

> Eitner, followed by all books of reference, dates the score *c*.1701, whereas Weilen (Catalogue no.581) gives the date of *c*.1707–08, on the authority of an allusion in the prologue (not found in the London libretto) to the bride of the Emperor Charles VI, Elisabeth Christina of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who was in Vienna from May 1707 to April 1708.

There is no record of a visit to Vienna in 1707. There is, however, a reference to her passing through Innsbruck on the way to Barcelona. This study attempts to solve the problem. Providing the context, a translation, and an interpretation of the ÖNB inscription, is referred to in Chapter Two which attempts to show that claims for Vienna need more scrutiny.

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[43] Translated in Alan Gilbert, *Literary Criticism, Plato to Dryden* (1962), pp.504-33. This text is the foundation document for the main argument in this dissertation.

The Pastoral Sources

[1/20] Chapter Three is a study of the pastoral for a better understanding for what was expected in early eighteenth–century London.[44] Starting with Ambrose Philips's view of the English pastoral in 1708, it has a pessimistic outlook of its future, given the attractions of more heroic poetry. The test for this chapter is to consider whether the Philips model in 1708 has any relevance for Italianate pastoral opera which was eclipsed by more dramatic Italian opera, or whether the pastoral still had a function within a more heroic genre. With this in view, much attention is given to the three Italianate pastoral operas, including the emergence of a bilingual pastoral in the third of these. This is particularly important since the pastorals have had little attention, ignored completely by NGDO and trivialised by James Winn in his otherwise thorough account of the introduction of Italian opera in the years 1705–11 in *Queen Anne Patroness of Arts* (2014, p.425). The key primary sources for the Italianate Pastorals are the *Muses Mercury* (1707), essentially Whig, and 'A Critical Discourse' (1709), an essay promoting all-Italian opera. In the climate of post-Restoration theatre reform, encouraged by the continuing influence of the Society for the Reformation of Manners and Jeremy Collier,[45] the debate emerges as to whether the Italianate Pastorals were part of this reformation. The emergence of sentimental drama, in which the Italian pastorals play a part, has had different interpretations by J.W. Krutch and Robert Hume.[46]

[1/21] The role of Peter Motteux in the emergence of Italianate opera needs more attention. Without his involvement, the first stage in the emergence of Italian opera would have been curtailed. Exploring the literary productions of Peter Motteux, a Huguenot refugee, who shortly after his arrival in London, was editing the *Gentleman's Journal* (1692–4), was writing plays, publishing translations, producing masques and musical interludes in collaboration with John Eccles, Richard Leveridge, John Weldon, and a musical version of John Fletcher's *The Island Princess* (1699) as a semiopera with Daniel Purcell. Soon he was involved in the Italianate operas from *Arsinoe* (1705) to *Love's Triumph* (1708) for which

[44] Key texts are *Virgil, The Pastoral Poems* (ed. E.V. Rieu), *Virgil, The Eclogues* (parallel text, Guy Lee); Theocritus *Idylls* (trans. Verity, ed. Hunter). Online Historical Texts show that Virgil *Eclogues* were rarely out of print, but Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days* less so. The view of Ambrose Philips is influenced by Hesiod's *Theogony*. He would have had access to the 1659 and 1672 parallel Greek-Latin editions in Cambridge. The rare publication of Hesiod's works suggest that it was of academic interest only. There was only one translation available in early eighteenth-century London, that of George Chapman (pub.1618).

[45] Society for the Reformation of Manners, founded 1691; Collier, *A Short View of the Immorality, and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698 ff.).

[46] Krutch, *Comedy and Conscience after the Restoration* (1949); Robert Hume in *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (1976). For discussion Ch.3, fn.13.

he was able to collaborate with Nicola Haym and Charles Dieupart. The wordbooks for these works, listed in Grove and ODNB, can be found in online Historical Texts. Motteux's biographer, Robert Cunningham, provides detailed information on the literary productions, but less so for the operas.[47] *Songs from the New Operas* are listed in David Hunter, and many of them in *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music, 1702–1711*.[48]

The Fate of the Pastorals

[1/22] Chapter Three explores the fate of the Italianate Pastorals in some detail. One view is that of theatrical instability which prevented the pastoral from settling in. Curtis Price in 'The Critical Decade' (1978) sees the disruption caused by the 'three revolutions', Italian opera being shifted, with the approval of the Lord Chamberlain, from the Queen's Theatre to Drury Lane and back again. Price takes the view that the Lord Chamberlain had 'dictatorial powers over the theatres' (p.50), but Milhous & Hume in their edition of *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers 1706–1715* (1982), differ in that Lord Chamberlain Kent left theatrical work, and especially opera, to Thomas Coke, quoting Vanbrugh's letter to the Earl of Manchester as evidence on 11 May 1708.[49] But in 1987, Price, referring to the *Coke Papers*, is convinced that in the years 1705–1711, there was a 'concerted attempt to manipulate taste, sometimes skilfully' (p.121), referring to his 'three theatrical revolutions', which he sees as proactive, rather than the reactive view taken by this study.[50] For J. Merrill Knapp in 1984, however, the arrival of Italian opera 'came about largely by accident', encouraged by the influence of Italian culture and the presence of Italian singers.[51]

[1/23] For the premature demise of *The Temple of Love*, sandwiched between two semioperas, the move of opera to Drury Lane in the 1706–07 season with Christopher Rich preferring the more dramatic Italianate opera, is offered as an explanation. Opera, back in the Queen's Theatre in 1708, *Love's Triumph* suffered due to a programme of sabotage from Drury Lane, and a general election. For political conditions R.O. Bucholz, *The Augustan*

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[47] Robert Cunningham, *Peter Anthony Motteux, a Biographical and Critical Study, 1663-1718* (Oxford, 1933).
[48] Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England 1703-1726* (1997), Baldwin & Wilson, *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music, 1702-1711* (Ashgate); http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90675990/f2.double
[49] *Coke Papers*, Introduction, p.xxix; the letter referred to is 11May 1708, Vanbrugh to Manchester in Venice.
[50] See thesis Introduction [12], Ch.3 [20]; Price in 'English Traditions in Handel's Rinaldo', p.121; Ch.7 of *Handel: Tercentenary Collection* (1987), ed. Sadie and Hicks.
[51] Knapp, 'Eighteenth-Century Opera in London before Handel, 105-1710', Ch.4, p.67 (*British Theatre and Other Arts*, ed. Shirley Strum Kenny (1984).

Court (1993), is helpful, and for biographies, *The House of Commons 1690–1715*, (Cambridge, 2002), has profiles of MPs not available elsewhere.

Vanbrugh, Rich, Opera Finance, the Press.

[1/24] Competition between Vanbrugh at the Queen's Theatre and Rich at Drury Lane, played a significant role in the arrival of Italian opera in London. What appeared to be a war of attrition, turned out to be a zig-zag, circuitous route to all-Italian opera. For the most part Rich, whose total concern was profit, was able to outwit the idealistic Vanbrugh who was too busy with his architectural projects, and networking with his aristocratic patrons to focus on the management of the Queen's Theatre [3/26–7]. It was Rich's eye for profit [3/30]) that kickstarted the shift to Italian opera with three 'queen' operas, first in English with *Arsinoe* (1705), *Camilla* (1706), and thirdly, the bilingual *Thomyris* in 1707. Although Price argues a case for Vanbrugh using his influence with the Lord Chamberlain to advance the cause of Italian opera, this was not the case in the 1706–07 season when Rich, sensing that Italianate opera was more profitable, was happy to let his underpaid and abused actors move to the Queen's Theatre, which left Vanbrugh's plans for Italian opera in disarray.[52] However, Rich's triumph was short-lived. When Italian opera was transferred back to the Queen's Theatre, this time due to a rebellion by unpaid singers, it did not take long for the returning actors to rebel against Rich's parsimony. An actors' rebellion in 1709 forced the Lord Chamberlain, after frequent warnings, to 'silence' Rich, meaning Drury Lane closed and Rich was removed on 6 June 1709.

[1/25] For a general background to the Vanbrugh-Rich contribution, the Milhous & Hume draft Calendar of *The London Stage, 1700–1710* (2001), their *Theatrical Documents* (1991, vol.1), and their edition of the *Coke Papers* (1982), particularly for the data on opera financing, are a constant asset. *William Congreve: Letters and Documents* (1964) provides local gossip in his letters to Joseph Keally in Ireland on the difficulties experienced by Italian opera, but by 1710 letters cease – when Swift writes to Stella (26 October 1710), that

[52] There is no full biography of Christopher Rich, but the ODNB account by Judith Milhous is a fair substitute. She emphasises Rich's reluctance to pay actors, even when making lucrative profits. The implication is, that when Rich saw Vanbrugh's mismanagement lead to bankruptcy in the 1705-06 season, he leapt at the chance to control Italian opera in the following season, his actors all too happy to move to the Queen's Theatre with the approval of the Lord Chamberlain. The Vanbrugh biography gives a detailed account of Vanbrugh's ideals and mismanagement, Kerry Downes, *Sir John Vanbrugh* (1987). For Rich, see Highfill, Burnim, Langhans (eds.) *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians,* Dancers, (1973-93), and Julie Anne Sadie, *Companion to Baroque Music* (2002), p.303.

Congreve 'is almost blind with cataracts growing in his eyes'.[53] More intricate detail is supplied by the journal for the years 1678–1714, kept by Narcissus Luttrell, and printed in *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs* (1857) – Vol.VI for the years 1705–1714, is the most relevant.

[1/26] The political event of 1708 was an abortive Jacobite rebellion aided by a French invasion force which failed to invade.[54] The sources show that the threat of invasion was over by 11 March 1708, but *Love's Triumph* played on until 17 April. Nevertheless, Vanbrugh in a correspondence with the Earl of Manchester in Venice, seemed to use the threat of invasion as a reason for diminishing attendance figures at the Queen's Theatre – *The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, vol.4, Geoffrey Webb (ed.) in 1927. The key dates of the Jacobite threat, 6-12 March, may have coincided with the slump in the fortunes of opera, but when the threat was over, the slump continued. It is true that the government-sponsored *London Gazette* for 8 March 1708 made the most of the occasion to rouse patriotic fervour, and that the *Daily Courant*, 1-20 March, found that news of the Jacobite threat provided good copy for the coffee houses, which rarely if ever took an interest in Italian opera, but in a final letter to Manchester in Venice, Vanbrugh listed reasons for the decline of Italian opera, mainly the spiralling cost of Italian singers.[55] However, Vanbrugh tried to be optimistic, but could not have anticipated the arrival of Nicolini in December 1708, and the temporary collapse of Drury Lane opposition in 1709.

Pastoral – Transition, Attitudes, Context

[1/27] Chapter Four considers the difficulty in defining pastorals as is shown in the differing attempts by Ellen Harris and Timothy Neufeldt, but overwhelmingly, it is the literary historians who command the field, their limitation for this study being that they give pastoral operas little attention. Recent literary historians explore the pastoral. Bryan Loughrey in 1993 provides a concise account of the emergence of the pastoral from Theocritus to the twentieth century (pp.8–26), a documentary critique of the pastoral (pp.27–74), and for those interested in the definition of the pastoral, he provides documentary accounts from W.W. Greg (1906) to Peter Weston (1984) in over 108 pages. The rest of the book is devoted to

[53] *William Congreve: Letters and Documents*, letter 41, p.58.

[54] Specific sources: Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty* (2000), Michael Fry, *The Union* (2007), Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites* (1994), Henry Snyder (ed.), *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol.2. (1975), *The Letters of Joseph Addison* ed. Graham (1941), the journal of Narcissus Luttrell, vol.6, p.416.

[55] This thesis, Ch.4

interpretation. In 1996, Paul Alpers investigates the history of the pastoral thematically over 429 pages. He explores pastoral conventions, shepherds, lyricism, narration, insisting on mode as opposed to genre, and devoting most attention to historical development with Theocritus, Virgil, Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, and Wordsworth. There is a final chapter on the pastoral novel which includes George Eliot, Thomas Hardy, and the lesser known Sarah Orne Jewett. The focus is exclusively literary. Terry Gifford in 1999, has a much smaller and more concise book. He defines pastoral in three different ways: early poetry to drama, with the maxim, 'No Shepherd, no pastoral'. A second definition emphases the countryside, and a third, ecology. His wider perspective allows him to refer to travel books, *The Archers* and the *Guardian's* Country Diary. None of these texts deals with pastoral opera.[56]

[1/28] Earlier literary authors, more sympathetic to pastoral opera, or helpful to the discussion, include W.W. Greg (1906), J.E. Congleton (1964/1968), Audra & Williams (1961), and Renato Poggioli who are referred to in Chapter Four.[57] In musicology, Ellen Harris (1980) is a central text. Otherwise, books on opera have less interest in pastoral and many ignore the genre completely. Some of these books do make occasional reference to pastoral: Michael Robinson (1972), David Kimbell (1991), Ellen Rosand (1991), Roger Parker (1994), Gary Tomlinson (1999), and Grout/Williams (2003). Other volumes on opera make no reference to the pastoral: Edward Dent (1968), Joseph Kerman (1956), Gary Schmidgall (1977), T.F. Kelly (2004), Herbert Lindenberger (2010), and Carolyn Abbate & Roger Parker (2012).[58] Given the neglect paid to pastoral opera, the field is wide open for research.

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[56] Loughery, *The Pastoral Mode* (1984/1993), Alpers, *What is Pastoral* (1996), Gifford, *Pastoral* (1999/2010). The Neufeldt dissertation (2006) relies a lot on Alpers and Loughery, even adopting the term 'mode'.

[57] Walter W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (1906); J.E. Congleton, 'Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England, 1684-1717' (*Studies in Philology*, 1944), and *Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England 1684-1889* (1968.); Renato Poggioli, (ed. Giamatti, A. Bartlett) *The Oaten Flute* (1975).

[58] Robinson, *Opera before Mozart* (1972, p.74), Kimbell, *Italian Opera* (1991; p.47 ff.), Rosand (*Opera in Seventeenth Century Venice* (1991, p.54), Parker, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Opera* (1994, pp.50-1), Tomlinson, *Metaphysical Song* (1999; pp.24-5), Grout/Williams, *A Short History of Opera* (2003; passim); Dent, *Opera* (1968), Kerman *Opera as Drama* (1956/2005), Schmidgall, *Literature as Opera* (1977), Kelly, *First Nights at the Opera* (2004), Lindenberger, *Situating Opera, Period, Genre, Reception* (2010), Abbate & Parker, *A History of Opera; the Last Four Hundred Years* (2012).

[1/29] For Italian pastoral drama the main source is Battista Guarini in his justification of tragicomedy in 1601–02.[59] When Italian opera arrived in London, another debate was brewing, one that tended to eclipse Italian pastoral opera. Tonson's *Poetical Miscellanies* in 1709, resurrected a quarrel over attitudes to the pastoral in England between a reverence for the Ancients, and the need by the Moderns to make the pastoral more relevant to conditions in England. Both sides used French influence to assist their cause, Boileau and Rapin for the Ancients, and Perrault and Fontenelle for the Moderns. Translations of Rapin's *Discourse on Pastorals* and Fontenelle's *Treatise upon Pastorals*, appeared in print, and fanned the flames of hostility. Johnathan Swift saw the debate in terms of a battle, John Gay in terms of satire, whereas Joseph Addison and Thomas Tickell used the press to argue their case, and Purnell, his poetry.[60] How Pope used the Whig periodical *The Guardian* (1713) to discredit Philips, is a study in itself. The debate is discussed in detail by Joseph Levine in *The Battle of the Books* (1991), and *Between the Ancients and the Moderns* (1999).

English Pastorals, Addison, Rosamond, Wonders in the Sun

[1/30] Whig ideology found its pastoral inspiration in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, but as Philips argued in 1709, the heroic aspects of the *Faerie Queene* tended to overshadow the pastoral. However, another influence was gaining ground. By the 1690s English pastoral drama was flourishing in London with a combination of English satire, burlesque, or mock-pastoral, but with little sign of Spenser who was becoming more of an ideal rather than a source of imitation.[61] Guarini was making an impact. His influence first came to London in the late Elizabethan period. *Il pastor fido tragicomedia pastorale* was published in London in 1591, a year after its first publication in Venice.[62] Its publication included Tasso's *Aminta*, both of which appeared in the original Italian. Soon there were translations of *Pastor fido* in 1602, 1630, and 1633, with the more famous one by Richard Fanshawe in 1647. More editions of Fanshawe followed in 1664, 1676, and 1692. With John Fletcher's *The Faithful*

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[59] *Il Pastor Fido, tragicommedia ... con un compendio di poesia*, Guarini; Allan Gilbert (trans./ed.) *Literary Criticism: Plato to Dryden* (1961), *Compendium of Tragicomic Poetry*.

[60] Swift, *A Tale of a Tub to which is added a Battel between the Ancient and Modern Books* (1704/1710); Gay, *The Shepherd's Week in six Pastorals* (1714); Addison, *The Spectator* (1711), and Tickell, *The Guardian* (1713), Purney, *Pastorals after the simple manner of Theocritus* (1717), the model for the Whigs because he used a vernacular Doric Greek, as Spenser had used an archaic form of English, an imprecise parallel which Pope would satirise [4/22-23].

[61] *The Lover's Luck* (1695), *Cinthia and Endimion* (1696), *The World in the Moon* (1697), *Rinaldo and Armida* (1698), *The Virgin Prophetess* (1701), *The Fickle Shepherdess* (1703), and *The British Enchanters* (1706).

[62] Soko Tomita, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1558-1603* (2009) p.65. Italian books continued to be printed in London, see Soko & Masahiko, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1603-1642* (2014).

Shepherdess (1609/10), acknowledging tragicomedy as the future of drama, a trend had been set for others to follow, although not fully accepted by Ben Jonson and John Dryden.[63]

[1/31] For Addison opera had political significance. He took a special interest in Granville's opera, *The British Enchanters* (1706). He wrote the Epilogue in which he compares the author with Orpheus, and refers to 'victorious MARLBRO' as Alcides (Hercules).[64] Devotees of political allegory see Amadis as Marlborough. Robert Hume in 1998, refers to the opera merely as 'a jingoistic exercise in British patriotic fervour', but Curtis Price in 1987 ('Political Allegory'), claimed that Granville's Amadis represents the Duke of Marlborough, 'a great warrior recently returned from foreign victories', but is cautious about relating it to Blenheim (1704), since Stoddart Lincoln 'suggests' the semiopera was written 1701-1703.[65] Amanda Winkler in 'Musical Politics in George Granville's *The British Enchanters'* describes the opera as a political work, but her argument relies on later adaptations of the work in 1707 and 1732.[66] She interprets the calls of the freed prisoners, 'Liberty, Liberty' as British jingoism, and invents flag-waving absent from the text (p.192). It may be that when *The British Enchanters* ceased to be a semiopera (1706), and became a play in 1707, political allusion became more indulgent.[67] Abigail Williams in *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture, 1681-1714)*, deals with the politics of the period in relation to literature, but has nothing to say about *The British Enchanters*, and has only one brief reference to Italian opera.[68]

[1/32] Quinault's 1684 *Amadis*, is reflected in Granville's use of structure, characters, and plot, which have little to do with British politics (Ch.4, fn.66; Illustration 20 in Appendix 1). Granted, Curtis Price reluctantly admits that Granville was 'under the spell of Quinault's

[63] Nicolas Perella, *The Critical Fortune od Battista Guarini's "Il Pastor Fido"* (1973), pp.64-68, 111-112. Guarini's influence can be found in Sydney, Spenser, Shakespeare, Fletcher. However, Dryden rejected both Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, as inferior to Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*.

[64] Danchin, *The prologues and epilogues of the eighteenth century, first part, 1701-1720* (pp. 315-16). Matthew Prior also refers to MARLBRO (in capitals), see Speck, *The Birth of Britain* (1994), p.73.

[65] Hume, 'The Politics of Opera in the late seventeenth-century London' (*Cambridge Opera Journal*, 1998), p.38; Price, 'Political allegory in late-seventeenth-century opera' *Music & Theatre*, *essays in honour of Winton Dean*, Nigel Fortune (ed.) 1987, p.25.

[66] 'Musical Politics in George Granville's *The British Enchanters*' in *Queen Anne and the Arts*, ed. Reverand, 2015 (187).

[67] Price 'Political Allegory' (1987), pp.25-27, pointing out that when Granville revised *The British Enchanters*, in the collected edition, topical allusions were suppressed (p.27). See also M&H (2001) pp.313 ff. for performances.

[68] Williams, p.232, 'the Kit-Cats came to play a large part in the introduction of Italian opera in England', but 'not all the Kit-Cats approved'.

Amadis', but with 'a lifelong abhorrence for French and Italian opera', the emphasis being on the tradition of English opera ('English Traditions', 1987, p121). In 'Political Allegory' (also 1987), Price takes a more analytical view of the Quinault origin of Granville's semiopera in 1706, and its adaptation as a straight play in 1707, given the transfer of all musical performances to Drury Lane. Including Woodstock in the 1707 play, does suggest a Marlborough connection but whereas the semiopera in 1706 ran for twelve performances, the play in 1707 managed a mere three, suggesting a political interpretation, less satisfactory. Granville, in the end suppressed any political allusions (Price, p.27). This did not deter Amanda Eubanks Winkler who explored the Lully connection as the basis of Granville's *Enchanters*, determined to show that the English context of a French opera provided an ideal opportunity for British jingoism and flag-waving (Ch.4, [27/32] fn.73). However, there are differences which may well reflect English taste. Granville gives more attention to the Roman emperor, giving him a name, Constantius, who then becomes involved in a love triangle with Oriana and Amadis. This creates a dilemma for Oriana – her duty to obey her father's wish to marry a Roman emperor, or to follow her love for Amadis. In Quinault, there is no dilemma – Oriane is convinced Amadis is unfaithful, and prefers a more reliable husband. With Granville the dilemma is solved in the end when Constantius appears, and frustrated in love, stabs himself. Common to both Quinault and Granville is Oriana's conviction that Amadis is unreliable – in Quinault she suspects Amadis has a new lover, Briolanie, but in Granville, her frustration is Amadis having abandoned her for years of warfare. In the end difficulties are resolved in a happy end, a plot that is closer to Quinault, and even to Guarini tragicomedy, than to British politics.

[1/33] If the political reference to politics in *The British Enchanters* was mild, Addison's libretto for the opera, *Rosamond*, in the following year, was nothing short of political propaganda. Since it espouses Whig ideals, it has attracted more comment. The most thorough articles are those by Brean Hammond (2006) and Luis Gámez (1995).[69] Hammond traces the history of Rosamond, and its attendant myths through *The Chronicle of Fabyan* (1504), John Stow, in *The annales of England* (1601), John Speed's *The Historie of Great Britaine* (1611), and Thomas May, *The reigne of King Henry the Second written in seaven bookes. By his Majesties command* (1633). May's account firmly establishes Rosamond as

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[69] Hammond 'Joseph Addison's Opera *Rosamond*: Britishness in the Early Eighteenth-Century' (2006), and Gámez 'Mocking the Meat it Feeds on: Representing Sarah Churchill's Hystericks in Addison's *Rosamond* '(1995)

a folk-heroine, an English beauty, but with Queen Eleanor as the poisonous, vindictive French villain.[70] Why, therefore, Addison chose the Rosamond plot for his opera is not clear. The parallel, offered by the opera, that Henry II is the model for the Duke of Marlborough, implicates the Duchess whose model would be the infamous Queen Eleanor.[71] In April 1706, Addison sent a draft handwritten libretto to the Duchess, but her response is not recorded. She made no objection to the performance of the opera, or to its dedication to her.[72]

[1/34] Gámez tries to account for the mindset of the Duchess of Marlborough with two hypotheses. The first, he puts down to '*hystrica pathi*, and particularly in the culturally constructed hysteria accepted by the friends and lovers of Sarah Churchill' (p.271), and the second, Sarah's conviction that the Duke was unfaithful to her. However, the question arises as to whether her confused emotional state in the years 1703-04, explains her behaviour in the years that follow. The first emotional crisis occurred with the death of her seventeen-year-old son, the heir to the dukedom, but quoting Lawrence Stone's *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (1977), and citing individual examples of many women 'crazed by the death of a child', tells us little about Sarah herself. She was silent on the matter and insisted that the Duke burn her letters. Gámez has to admit that 'Sarah's precise feelings must remain conjectural' (p.272).[73] Sarah's conviction that there was another woman in the Duke's life, has better evidence in that the Duke's letters protest his innocence (pp.273-5). However, the matrimonial crisis seems to have been resolved by May 1704 (p.274), so would have little relevance for the opera in 1707. Nevertheless, whether Gámez's views help to explain Sarah's reaction to the portrayal of Queen Eleanor in *Rosamond* is a point worth further investigation.

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[70] Hammond, p.614. Subsequent ballads, short accounts, and at least one play, not discussed by Hammond, emphasise Queen Eleanor's guilt as a murderess: *The Lamentable Ballad of Fair Rosamond, King Henry the Second's Concubine* (1659); *A mournful Ditty of the Lady Rosamond, King Henry the Second's Concubine, who was poysoned to death by Queen Elenor in Woodstock Bower near Oxford to the tune of Flying Fame* (1658-64); a short 13-page history, *The Life and Death of Rosamond, King Henry the Second's Concubine, and how she was poisoned to Death by Queen Elenor* (1670/1686-88); and a play, *Henry the Second, King of England, with the Death of Rosamond, a Tragedy* (Mountfort, 1693).

[71] Just in case the audience miss the parallel of Marlborough with Henry II, the prologue makes it clear.

[72] 'Rosamond', manuscript draft of the libretto partly in Addison's handwriting sent to the Duchess of Marlborough, '2 April 1706' – Harvard Houghton Library [MS Hyde 11]. Thanks to Tom McGeary for bringing this document to my attention.

[73] Gámez, p.272. Also see ODNB. The question of inheritance was resolved by an Act of Parliament on 21 December 1706. Following the euphoria stimulated by the victory at Ramilles (May 1706), the Act stated that since Marlborough had no surviving male heir, titles and inheritance would be transferred to his daughters (John Hattendorf, ODNB, 'Churchill, John, first Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722'). Whether this had a therapeutic effect of the Duchess is open to question.

[1/35] *Rosamond*, spawned a degree of literature unusual for the promotion of any opera at the time. The political link with Woodstock and Blenheim is unmistakable. On Marlborough's return to London after the victory over the French at Blenheim in August 1704, the Queen, on 28 January 1705, granted him the former royal manor of Woodstock with funds to build a stately mansion, not merely as a family seat, but a building to commemorate the victory at Blenheim. The manor at Woodstock carried with it the memory of Rosamond Clifford, the mistress of Henry II, so that Rosamond and Blenheim became intertwined.[74] A history of ballads, narratives, myths of Rosamond, linked to panegyrics of Blenheim, made Addison's libretto the ideal basis for an English opera.[75] However, the advantage of English folklore, and the dedication to the Duchess of Marlborough, did nothing for the success of the opera, which on subscription, ran for only three performances.

[1/36] Given the power of the Rosamond history and myth with Whig promotion, the short run of the opera is a puzzle. Blaming Clayton's music from a present-day perspective is the easy solution, but given the success of *Arsinoe* with 36 performances, his music must have had an appeal in the years 1705-1707. Given the lack of source material on the subject, a judgement is difficult. *The Muses Mercury* in February 1707, gave *Rosamond* high praise, 'the Town has by its Applause justify'd the Character we presum'd to give it from our own Judgement. The Harmony of Numbers, and the Beauty of the Sentiments are universally admired' – written by John Oldmixon, a Whig and friend of Addison, so perhaps partisan, but he was attempting to give a fair judgement for a mixed readership, and saw prospects of the opera as auspicious. However, the puff did not improve the opera attendance. A convincing reason for the short run of *Rosamond*, still needs to be found.

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[74] So prestigious was the victory at Blenheim ('Höchstadt' to the Austrian Allies), the first major defeat of the French in 40 years, it blocked any further attempt to attack Vienna, and put an end to Bavaria as an effective ally to the French (Hattendorf, ODNB). The gift of Woodstock provided Marlborough with 22,000 acres of land with revenue of £6.000 per annum, topped up with a parliamentary endorsement of £5,000 made available for Marlborough's lifetime.

[75] See thesis Ch.4 [37-38]; panegyrics include Addison's own poem, *The Campaign* (1704), to celebrate Marlborough's victory at Blenheim, John Oldmixon's *A Pastoral Poem on the Victories at Schellenburgh and Bleinheim* (1704), and William Harison's *Woodstock Park* (1706). Abigail Williams in *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture 1681–1714* (2005) has a detailed discussion of the origins of Blenheim Palace and of Harison's poem (pp.143-7). Virgil Heltzel in *Fair Rosamond* (1947) perpetuates the myth, and Gámez (1995) adjusts it yet again (Ch.4 [35] ff.

[1/37] The limited success of the opera may have been unexpected in view of its overt appeal to British nationalism in time of war, but the influence of folklore continued. By 1708, the power of the Rosamond myth became a political weapon in the hostilities between Whigs and Tories, which makes the short run of the opera a puzzle. In 1708 *A New Ballad to the tune of Fair Rosamond* was published.[76] It was a political attack on Abigail Masham, Queen Anne's new favourite, who was ousting the Duchess of Marlborough, who had held that position since becoming groom of the stole in 1683, a position on which the Whigs relied to keep Queen Anne sympathetic to their cause, and the loss of which may have promoted the ballad (Illus.14).[77] A popular history with a lengthy title was published in 1708 – *The Unfortunate Concubines*, *The History of Fair Rosamond, Mistress to Henry II; And Jane Shore, Concubine to Edward IV; Kings of England, Showing how they came to be so; With their Lives, Remarkable Actions, And Unhappy Ends*. It takes a different political view, showing with illustrations how a monarch could take advantage of an innocent girl, 'to gratifie his lustful Pleasure' leaving her in the lurch as an expendable item when she became an embarrassment (Illus.15). This is not a point that seems to have occurred to Addison in his choice of the Rosamond theme for his opera.

[1/38] Another ballad in 1708, attacks Marlborough, who, although he had been bipartisan in politics, was siding with the Whigs in demanding the removal of Robert Harley. This *New Ballad to the tune of Chivy Chace* compares Marlborough with the Earl of Essex in the reign of Elizabeth I, referring to pensions and excessive power. It does not suggest beheading Marlborough as a traitor, but puts his heroics in question, and anticipates his removal at a later date (Illus.16). In 1708, the year of the last Italian pastoral, politics took a shift in direction. As a result of the increased rivalry and bitterness between Whigs and Tories, the dispute over the value of the war with France, became paramount in political discourse. Until

[76] The tune seemed to have more success than the opera. *The Songs in the New Opera called Rosamond compos'd by M^r^. Tho:Clayton* were successful as well, the first edition advertised in the *Daily Courant* on 10 March with 14 songs, and a second edition with 42 songs, advertised in the *Post Man*, 29 April 1707. *Rosamond* was performed on 4, 15, 22 March 1707, so it seems that Clayton's music may not have been entirely the cause of the short run (data in Hunter, *Opera & Song Books* (1997), pp.102-107; also, Milhous & Hume, *Calendar* (2001), pp.347-351.

[77] Abigail Masham was a cousin of the Tory Robert Harley, who in January 1708 was in a power struggle with the Whig favourite, Sidney Godolphin, for the position of first minister. Although Queen Anne preferred the Tory, Harley, Marlborough backed his old friend and colleague, Godolphin, and threatened the Queen he would resign his position as Commander-in-Chief unless Harley was removed. Parliament endorsed the Queen's decision to remove Harley, arguing, that Marlborough, at the height of his power following the battles of Blenheim (1704) and Ramilles (1707), was indispensable to the outcome of the war against France.

this point war aims were bipartisan in nature, but in 1708, the Whig policy became the invasion of France and the defeat of Louis XIV, but Tories were more inclined towards peace.[78] The Whigs won the general election in 1708, so perhaps their aggressive policy and promotion of Marlborough as hero, rendered the peaceful pastoral genre irrelevant for the time being.[79]

[1/39] With Addison presenting his version of a Whig opera, all-sung in English, beginning in the pastoral environs of Woodstock, and ending in heroic triumph with real persons (Henry II, Queen Eleanor, and the specific reference to Marlborough), reflecting an aspect of the pastoral espoused by John Oldmixon in 1704,[80] D'Urfey has a different Whig approach in *Wonders in the Sun*, described as a 'Comick Opera' on the libretto title page.[81] Sources for this unique semiopera are thin on the ground.[82] However, two authors have taken an interest – William Appleton and Roger Fiske.[83] Appleton concentrates on D'Urfey's songs to counter the advance of Italian opera. Fiske goes further seeing *Wonders in the Sun* as a 'sequel' to *The Man in the Moone* (1658). *The Man in the Moone* is relevant, but is not a sequel as shown in Chapter Four [4/45] of this study. To disentangle the twists of the plot, *The Man in the Moone: of a Discourse of a Voyage thither by Domingo Gonsales*, by Francis Godwin (1638/1658) is indeed helpful, in that it explains in detail, items that are mysterious in *Wonders in the Sun*. It belongs to a genre of lunar-inspired plays that appeared seventeenth-century London.[84] This thesis takes a close analysis of D'Urfey's plot, and shows that in some respects, it is a take, or even a spoof, on the Italian pastoral genre, in its comic quest for an arcadian solution to the trials and tribulations of human existence.

[78] See Hattendorf in ODNB, Marlborough biography; also, Hoppit, *Land of Liberty* (2000), pp.298-99.
[79] The abortive French invasion of Scotland in March 1708 may have influenced voters in the May election, Ch.3 [37-41].
[80] See thesis Ch.4 [38].
[81] Although the first performance of *Rosamond* was 4 March 1707, Addison sent the completed MS libretto to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, on 2 April 1706, three days before the first performance of *Wonders in the Sun*. How the Duchess viewed Addison's libretto, and her implied identification with Eleanor, is not recorded in the sources. How Addison reacted to D'Urfey's opera, if at all, is not recorded either, perhaps a sign that he dismissed it as irrelevant to the Whig future of English opera.
[82] The NGDO (1992) has no entry for *Wonders in the Sun*. Jonathan Prichard in the D'Urfey ODNB dismisses the opera as 'a lengthy, expensive, spectacular failure', and Margaret Laurie in Grove, 'a burlesque pasticcio' – not much scope for debate there.
[83] William Appleton, 'Introduction' to the ARS-104 edition (1964) of *Wonders in the Sun*, and Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, pp.41-2.
[84] Plays by Ben Jonson (1620), John Wilkins (1638), Aphra Behn (1687), Elkanah Settle (1697), and Daniel Defoe (1705). See Ch.4 [46].

The Three Queens – *Arsinoe*, *Camilla*, *Thomyris* (1705- 1707)

[1/40] Sources for the three queen operas are mixed. Apart from the librettos and song collections which are available for all three operas, scores are available for *Arsinoe* and *Camilla*, but not *Thomyris*.[85] This means that performances of two operas are possible. A *Camilla* revival was performed at the University of Hull 25-6 January 1980,[86] the first performance since 1728, but a similar revival of *Arsinoe* with two available scores (BL, Harvard), has not been found. It is not hard to see why. *Arsinoe* was denigrated from an early stage. The power of *A Critical Discourse* to influence later writing has been influential. In 1709 it condemned Clayton's *Arsinoe* to a 'Hospital of the old Decrepit Italian Opera's', and Hawkins in 1776 claimed it comprised 'airs which he [Clayton] mangled'. Neither the *Discourse* nor Hawkins were specific about their judgements, and Burney added to the vilification. By the twentieth century, Eric Walter White, Roger Fiske, and Curtis Price were continuing in the same vein. With condemnation along these lines, it is little surprise that scholars stay clear of serious investigation or performance. Despite 36 performances of *Arsinoe*, no adequate explanation has been provided for the success of this opera in the years 1705-1707. All that Winton Dean could suggest was that the audiences were taken in by the novelty.[87] *Camilla*, on the other hand, received unanimous praise, and performances continued until 1728, a total of 111 of them in London.

[1/41] *Camilla* has the additional advantage of Lowell Lindgren promoting its potential. From his PhD thesis in 1972 to the facsimile score of *Camilla* in 1990, with many articles and book chapters in between, so subsequently, *Il trionfo di Camilla* has been provided with more extensive research than any other opera of the period.[88] Lindgren argues with some

[85] For *Arsinoe* there are two sources for the London libretto, the Tommaso Stanzani Bologna and Venice versions, both discussed in Ch.4 [57-59] as to which may be the original libretto. The MS Clayton scores are available from the British Library [Egerton MS 3664: c 1705], and Harvard Houghton [HTC-LC; M1500.C685 A6 1705]. A special thanks to Tom McGeary for providing the original Petronio Franceschini *Arsinoe* score (1676), Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, Venezia [shelfmark It.IV,393(=9917)], now available through www.internetculturale.it . Since Clayton's *Arsinoe* has been vilified by historical judgements, comparing the Franceschini and Clayton scores would be ideal. The Franceschini score shows the Venice version to be the original with the two scenes, Act 1/i/ii, cut in Bologna and London. There is no indication that the opera was revived after 1676 (Selfridge-Field, 2007). During his period in Venice, 1702-04, Clayton had access to a libretto, evident from his opera, but initial perusal suggests no trace of the Franceschini score.

[86] *Musical Times*, April 1980, a favourable report by Lowell Lindgren.

[87] *Handel's Operas 1704-1726* (revised edition, 1995), p.142.

[88] Lindgren, 'A Bibliographic Scrutiny of Dramatic Works set by Giovanni and his Brother Antonio Maria Bononcini' (PhD diss. Harvard, 1972). Lindgren's list of contributions to the thesis are listed in the bibliography.

justification that the opera *Camilla*, set a standard, and influenced the operas to follow, *Rinaldo* excepted. However, it is doubtful if *Thomyris* was influenced by *Camilla*. Whereas *A Critical Discourse* praises *Camilla*, it despises *Thomyris*, and is specific as to why. It condemns Heidegger in his compilation of arias from a selection of Italian operas – a genuine pasticcio. Perhaps this has downgraded *Thomyris* to the point that it is not worth an entry in Grove. Nevertheless, *Thomyris* had a successful run at the time, and so was deemed to be one the more successful operas leading to *Rinaldo*. Both *Camilla* and *Thomyris* plots were grounded in the classics, *Camilla* in Virgil's *Aeneid,* and *Thomyris* in Herodotus, *The Histories*, texts familiar in early eighteenth-century London, but substantially altered to suit the genre of tragicomedy. Comparing original sources with early eighteenth-century updates, provides some insight into audience expectation.

A Pastoral framework 1695-1708

[1/42] Given that the pastoral genre is the foundation of this study, there are two Essays that encompass the years 1695 and 1708, ones that have not featured in other studies so far. The death of Queen Mary in 1695 was a landmark in the history of the pastoral. It was a time for the outpouring of grief, artificial or genuine. *An Essay upon Pastoral* including *An Elegy dedicated to the Ever Blessed Memory of Her Most Serene Majesty Mary the Second, Queen of England* (Ch.4, Fig.18), initiated a period of English pastorals, a genre ideal for elegy [4/77]. This saw a shift to a more innocent form of drama that ran counter to the licentious trend in Restoration drama, and pre-empted Collier's famous attack in *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698), which denounced blasphemous and indecent plays that offended the morals of the nation. Following this pastoral trend in English drama, the years 1705 to 1708 saw the emergence of Italian pastoral opera, a development cut short by circumstances.[89]

[1/43] The second text in 1708 is a vigorous defence of the Virgilian pastoral, *An Essay upon Pastoral with Some Brief Reflections on Eclogue Verse*, written by 'a Gentleman of Quality'. This argues a case for the Ancients and the neoclassical view of Virgil. Its devotees included Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, and Swift. The Essay represented an optimistic contrast to the pessimism of Ambrose Philips who represented the Moderns with the rationalist interpretation of the classics through the legacy of Spenser. Philips's pastorals were published in 1708, and in the wake of Addison's short-lived *Rosamond*, recognised that the

[89] See Ch.3 'The fate of the pastorals' [3/20] ff.; [4/78] ff.

Whig pastoral was floundering. The Whig victory in the 1708 general election, put a greater emphasis on the heroics of verse, war, and politics.

Difficulty in defining Heroic Opera

[1/44] Chapter Five confronts the problem of defining heroic opera. There are many definitions. Opera scholars provide definitions in line within their expertise – Winton Dean, Ellen Harris, Reinhard Strohm, Duncan Chisholm, David Kimbell, Curtis Price, and of course, Dryden. Literary scholars, similarly, have a variety of definitions – Robert Hume, Arthur Kirsch, Harold Brooks, Allardyce Nicholl, and Eugene Waith. [90] Given this complexity, the genre of tragicomedy has its attraction – misplaced lovers, the Guarini knot, the creation of tension usually with the threat of death, but problems are resolved, and the ending is happy.

The Operas: Pyrrhus, Clotilda, Almahide, Hydaspes, Etearco

[1/45] *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* (Dec.1708) does not have an entry in NGDO, a sign of its unimportance in the history of opera, and a view reflected partially by Merrill Knapp in 1984.[91] Nevertheless, the opera had 22 performances in its first season (1708-09), and saw many revivals after that. The hypercritical 'Critical Discourse' (1709) rates *Pyrrhus* as second in quality after *Camilla*, even if the author was heavily involved in the production of both operas. A measure of success were *Songs in the New Opera, Call'd Pyrrhus and Demetrius*, which saw three editions during the season between January and June 1709.[92] Part of the success for a classically nurtured audience was the myth of Pyrrhus in *The Aeneid*, the history in Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*, and how this was adapted for an Italian opera. The libretto was dedicated to Lady Ryalton who had family links to the duumvirs, Marlborough and Godolphin, government leaders with the Whig victory in the general election of May 1708. Whether there was a political connection between the opera and the Whig government, or with the Battle of Malplaquet (September 1709), Marlborough's 'pyrrhic' victory in which he lost 20,000 men, twice those of the French, is discussed in Chapter Five.[93]

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[90] Robert Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the late Seventeenth Century* (1990).

[91] Knapp, 'Eighteenth-Century Opera in London before Handel, 1705-1710', S.S. Kenny, *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, p.100. The arias added by Haym were 'competent but dull', although the few arias but Alessandro Scarlatti were acceptable.

[92] See Hunter (1997), pp.139-151, 167-170; 1709 editions – 20 Jan., 9 Feb. several editions (Walsh), 25 Jun. (Cullen), all editions 54 numbers.

[93] Ch.5 [6, 29]; see also, Hayton, *History of Parliament, The House of Commons, 1690-1715, House of Commons, 1690-1715*, vol.1, p.227; Hoppit (2000), p.297; Brendan Simms *Three Victories and a Defeat* (2007) p.56; Aaron Graham, *Corruption, Party, and Government in Britain, 1702-1713* (2015), p.96.

[1/46] *Clotilda*'s provenance is more difficult to ascertain. Two librettists have been identified, two different composers have been quoted, and there may be at least two different plots.[94] The London version had seven performances in March 1709, but had to compete with two popular operas, *Pyrrhus* and *Camilla*, the latter in its fourth year, and featuring the crowd-pulling Nicolini. *Clotilda* performances coincided with the publication of 'A Critical Discourse', which condemned the opera, not least due to the compilation of arias adapted by Heidegger. Nevertheless, the songs sold well – two editions on 15 April (Walsh), and as late as 29 November 1709, a lavish edition by John Young, which suggests that the opera would have had better prospects in difference circumstances.[95] The opera seems to have suffered the fate of being outmanoeuvred by its enemies. The plot of *Clotilda*, as it appeared in London, had its source in Boccaccio's *Il decamerone* (X/10), similar to that of the later opera, *Griselda*.[96]

[1/47] *Almahide* (1710) was another Heidegger production, and taking on board the criticism that audiences were finding the language mix confusing, for *Almahide*, Heidegger produced the complete opera in Italian.[97] There must have been a demand for this, since in the months January 1710 to May 1711, it ran for 24 performances. Although the opera is based on *Amor tra nemici* (Appendix; Illus. 6-8) for which Heidegger had acquired the score,[98] he cut most of the arias, and replaced them with ones from other scores and composers,[99] thus creating a pasticcio opera.[100] It is variously estimated that Heidegger kept only 11 out of 43 Ariosti arias, and replaced the rest with 17 arias from two Bononcini operas.[101] This would leave a shortfall of 15 arias, and even if the plot were heavily cut or adapted, 28 arias constitute a thin content for any opera at the time. Lindgren's 1972 thesis presents a different account,

[94] Sources: M&H (2001), Neri biography ODNB (1992), vol.; Selfridge-Field (2007) – see Ch.5, fn.39.
[95] Hunter (1997), *Songs in the Opera call'd Clotilda*, 15 April 1709, the first edition with 43 songs, and another corrected edition with 67 songs (pp.153-157); 29 November 1709, an expensive edition (pp.171-173).
[96] The *Griselda* plot, originally with a Zeno libretto, proved more popular; set by some 15 composers: e.g., Antonio M. Bononcini (1718), Alessandro Scarlatti (1721), Giovanni Bononcini (Rolli libretto, 1722); NGDO, vol.3, pp.547-48.
[97] That is, the main plot – there is a comic insert in English included the 1710 libretto at the end of Act I.
[98] Heidegger may well have had the German libretto from the Austrian ambassador, Count Gallas, along with the score.
[99] Heidegger also changed the name of the heroine from Asteria to Almahide to capture the familiarity of Dryden's *Conquest of Granada* and Buckingham's *The Rehearsal* – see Ch.5 [31-34].
[100] The success of Heidegger pasticcio suggests that audiences at the time were more interested in tuneful melodies than in an authentic work by a single composer.
[101] *Almahide*, NGDO, vol.1, p.95, short entry by Baldwin and Wilson.

19 arias from various Bononcini operas to add to the 11 Ariosti arias, so a total of 30 arias out of 44 Ariosti originals.[102] *Songs in the New Opera, Call'd Almahide*, published on 16 February 1710, include 43 arias (Hunter, 1997, pp.179-185). Since Lindgren was an expert in Bononcini arias, the other 14 arias (not 25, fn.102) must have come from other composers, not yet identified. Lindgren's figure of 25 unidentified arias ignores the 11 arias retained by Heidegger from Ariosti.

[1/48] Despite this detail and the opera's success, secondary sources for *Almahide* and Heidegger are few. The opera has a short entry in NGDO by Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, and the Lindgren 1972 dissertation may present conflicting accounts, but in this case, 'The Accomplishments of the Learned and Ingenious Nicola Francesco Haym' (1987), shows how a paternity issue gave Heidegger complete control over the production of *Almahide* after the relatively unsuccessful *Clotilda*.[103] A scholarly biography of Heidegger, might reveal his ability in appropriating arias from a range of different operas by different composers, a skill of no mean feat, and one in which Handel excelled, but the derogatory pasticcio descriptor has been a deterrent. Without such a biography, the scholar has to rely on short routine biographies – Lindgren's 'Heidegger' entry in NGDO (vol.2, pp.684-05), the Milhous entry in ODNB, Milhous & Hume editions of *Coke Papers* (1982), their online *Calendar* (2001), and the Pat Rogers, *Pope Encyclopedia* (2004) entry, which makes a plea for a scholarly biography of Heidegger.[104] The Highfill, Burnim & Langhans *Biographical Dictionary* (1982), provides the basis for such a biography.[105]

[1/49] *Hydaspes,* or *L'Idaspe fedele*, is based on Francesco Mancini's, *Gl'amanti generosi*, an opera that had three different librettists in Naples, the second of them adding to previous

[102] See Lindgren 1972 dissertation, p.232 (his total 44 arias) – Polifemo (1), Regina (1), Turno (4) + overture, Polifemo or Turno (2), Mario (11) – total 19 arias. Lindgren concludes (p.239), 'many composers might be responsible for its 25 arias not attributable to GB', thus ignoring the original Ariosti 11 arias. See this thesis Ch.5 [67] Fig.34 for a summary of Lindgren's Bononcini arias adapted in 7 operas – *Thomyris* (1707), *Love's Triumph* (1708), *Pyrrhus* (1708), *Clotilda* (1709) *Almahide* (1710), *Hydaspes* (1710), *Etearco* (1711).
[103] This thesis, Ch.5 [21ff.], but especially [26].
[104] One could include 'Heidegger and the Management of the Haymarket Opera, 1713-17', Milhous and Hume (1999), which although outside the period leading to *Rinaldo*, provides insights to Heidegger's ability to manoeuvre a situation to his own advantage.
[105] Highfield et al, *Biographical Dictionary* (1982), vol.7, pp.233-241; this is a more detailed account than NGDO or ODNB. It surveys previous dictionaries and secondary source material, and is not adversely influenced by the partiality of primary sources like 'A Critical Discourse' (1709). It includes a list of 11 portraits of Heidegger, one of them with Heidegger at the harpsichord in mingled company at Montagu House (Laroon).

material, and the third, the more famous, Silvio Stampiglia, adding comic characters.[106] The London version, rearranged by Nicolini, who had sung in the Naples originals, cut the comic characters, and preserved the fight with the lion. Nicolini was the star attraction, and witnesses like Colley Cibber in his memoir,[107] Richard Steele in *Tatler 115*, and Addison in *Spectator 13*, marvelled at Nicolini's acting ability. But that was the extent of their appreciation. It took an Uffenbach to provide a detailed account of *Hydaspes*, which demonstrates just how backward were English theatre critics when it came to Italian opera.[108]

[1/50] The success of both *Almahide* and *Hydaspes* is all the more remarkable given the context of their production. An altercation between Nicolini and the manager, Swiney, over the castrato's arrears in salary and other payments long overdue, brought Italian opera to the brink of collapse. Since 1709 Nicolini had starred to great success in *Pyrrhus*, and revivals *Camilla* and *Thomyris*, the future of *Almahide* and *Hydaspes* was dependent on him, but Swiney's budget had been stretched to the limit. Nicolini demanded immediate payment or threatened to return to Italy. A reconstruction of the crisis is possible from the Milhouse & Hume editions of *The Coke Papers* and *The London Stage* (2001 Calendar), but the resolution of the conflict is still unexplained.[109]

[1/51] *Etearco* had its premiere on 10 January 1711, advertised in the *Daily Courant* on the same day, and was produced by Haym, recently returned to active service. How the Bononcini score came to Haym through Lord Halifax is considered in Chapter Five [58-61]. As with all operas from 1705 to 1711, the libretto is the starting point, but in the case of

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[106] The NGDO does not include an entry for *Hydaspes*, but *Gl'amanti generosi* (Mancini) is represented. Within the article there is a brief reference to the London *Hydaspes*, aka *L'Idaspe fedele* (vol.1, p.106). A facsimile of the MS Mancini score is available in Garland Publishing (New York & London, 1978) with an Introduction by Howard Mayer Brown.

[107] Cibber, *An Apology*, (ed. Fone, 1968) pp.210-11.

[108] See Ch.5 [42] for his journal *Merkwürdige Reisen*, which has a section on 'Reisen durch Engelland' (Ulm 1753). London in 1710 gets particular attention, especially the Queen's Theatre on Tuesday 30 May (OS), but Tuesday 10 June in Uffenbach's journal (OS day, NS date) for the last performance in the season of 'Hidaspis' [sic]. It is worth comparing Uffenbach's account of Nicolini's fight with the lion (Ch.5, [42]) with that of Addison in Spectator 13 (15 March 1711; thesis, Ch.5 [43]) – objective description versus flippant mockery. In this study (Ch.5), Addison and Steele are shown to trivialise Italian opera [43-47].

[109] *The Coke Papers* contain Nicolini's contract (doc.74), Swiney's renovations to the theatre with investments in scenery and costumes (pp.123-5), and Nicolini's letters demanding payment (docs.83-85). On 22 May 1710, the day before Nicolini was due to sing his role of *Hydaspes* (*Calendar* 2001, p.573), Swiney lodged a complaint about the singer's ultimatum in Chancery, but somehow the dispute was settled out of court. Milhous & Hume (eds.) simply say 'Nicolini remained with the opera company for the next two seasons' (p.142). See thesis Ch.5 [49-50].

Etearco, it is misleading in one respect – the argument (synopsis) describes the account of events from the Fourth Book of Herodotus, *The Histories*, which is not the quite the plot of the opera.[110] The wicked stepmother in Herodotus is dropped.[111] Instead, the unmarried King Etearco pursues a lady of the court who is much more interested in his brother, which provides a convenient triangular relationship of mismatched lovers. The king's condemnation of his daughter by drowning is common to both narratives, and so also the failure to carry out the deed, but thereafter the stories diverge. The opera opens with a pastoral scene, the princess 'Fromina in a Shepherd's Habit', with her intended husband turning up, and addressing her as 'beauteous Nymph'.[112] Thereafter, Stampiglia, having indulged himself in the pastoral, pursues a plot of revenge combined with the theme of lost-and-found, but there is sufficient content to suggest a tragicomedy. *Etearco* ran for only seven performances in January 1711, which must have been an embarrassment for Haym, who in 'A Critical Discourse' (1709) had berated a pasticcio genre like *Almahide*, which annoyingly for him, ran for 24 performances in four months.[113]

The Lindgren Dissertation, Lord Halifax, Count Gallas

[1/52] Although the main purpose of this dissertation, is the exploration of the pastoral and its influence in the development of Italian opera in London, the contributory personnel – Vanbrugh, Rich, Motteux, Haym, Heidegger, Swiney, Hill – have important roles to play, but the question arises with Halifax and Gallas, especially since Lindgren, in his 1972 dissertation, was convinced they were contributors. Lindgren insisted that Halifax was 'a great patron of the arts', and 'a principle figure' in persuading Bononcini to come to London. But Bononcini did not come to London until 1720, and this thesis argues that the Halifax contribution rests on a score of *Etearco* provided to Haym through the Earl of Manchester, for the short performance run in January 1711. There is no scholarly biography of Halifax that has explored the facts. In 1715 on his death, an anonymous publication of 366 pages appeared,[114] *The Life and Works of Charles, Late Earl of Halifax, including a History of His Lordship's Times*, but it is a collection of his poems, a hostile response to Dryden's *Hind*

[110] The Stampiglia Naples libretto (1708) has exactly the same error – see Fig.33.

[111] Wicked stepmothers do not appear in tragicomedy, but there are wicked kings in abundance who are forgiven in time for a happy ending.

[112] See Fig.32.

[113] Disappointing for Haym, but demonstrates that an opera by one composer (e.g., *Rosamond*) is not a guarantee of success (cf. fn.100 above). As a consolation for Haym, 36 *Songs in the Opera of Etearco* were published by Walsh and Hare on 6 March 1711. If this signified the hope of a revival, it was unfounded (Hunter, pp. 201-204).

[114] Although an anonymous biography, Addison gives a clue in a letter (Ch.5, fn.111).

and the Panther,[115] his political appointments, a memoir of his life, and his last will and testament. Despite the allegation that Whigs promoted Italian opera (Ch.6), this eulogistic Whig production makes no reference to opera. In *The House of Commons 1690-1715*, volume 4 (pp.850-880), Mark Knights (1998) provides a lengthy biography of Halifax (Charles Montagu 1661- 1715), but there is no mention of Italian opera. Lindgren may have provided an inflated view of Halifax's contribution to Italian opera.

[1/53] Lindgren notes that Johann Wenzel, Count Gallas, served in London as the ambassador from Vienna from 1705-11, years of the arrival of Italian opera, and precisely during the reign of the opera-loving Holy Roman Emperor Joseph I, who was allied to Britain against France in the War of the Spanish Succession. Lindgren concludes on the basis of this, that Gallas, given his acquaintance with Giovanni Bononcini, then a favourite composer in Vienna, would have encouraged Italian opera in London. Lindgren's claim that Count Gallas supplied Heidegger with scores by Bononcini and Ariosti, is not impossible, but seems far-fetched, and has no corroborative evidence (p.297). Nevertheless, Heidegger did have access to a number of scores for *Almahide*, and Gallas as donor is not out of the question. For some reason, Lindgren regarded the Gallas donation of Bononcini arias for *Almahide* in 1710 as 'diplomatic gesture' (p.230).

[1.54] However, Lindgren's analysis of Gallas's role in diplomacy needs some revision. *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*,[116] shows no consultation with Gallas during the War of the Spanish Succession. Nevertheless, the Gallas mission was to prolong the war with France to the advantage of the Austrian empire, and the claim of the Austrian candidate to the crown of Spain as Charles III. Gallas pursued his objective with a network of sympathisers, mainly Whigs, and used enciphered messages to promote his cause. Any interest in Italian opera may have been a cover for his real objective. Lindgren quotes Churchill, *Marlborough His Life and Times*, vol.IV, pp.398-401, using the Harrap Sphere 1967 paperback edition, to support his argument, but misses the text (p.400) that the Gallas's enciphered messages were being decoded and read by government officials; he was accused of being a spy, his activities made public, and his diplomatic status suspended.[117]

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[115] See thesis, Ch.5, fn.106. For Halifax's dubious patronage see [56-57]; for incompetent patronage, fn.107.
[116] Henry Snyder (ed.) *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence* vols.1-2 (1979).
[117] Diplomatic immunity seems to have protected Gallas against charges of criminal action, but he was loth to return to Vienna, and lingered on incognito in England until the issue blew over. See *Marlborough, His Life and Times*, vol.IV, pp.400-401; also thesis Ch.5 [61].

English and Italian Tragicomedy considered

[1/55] The *Etearco* lost-and-found theme had a tradition in English literature since Elizabethan times. Stanley Wells sees the late Shakespearian Romances as tragicomedies – *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale*, in which the lost-and-found theme is central to the plot.[118] In 1709, Jacob Tonson published two editions of *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear*, edited by Nicholas Rowe, one edition with the full text, and the other, abridged with illustrations, presumably in an attempt to appeal to a wide range of interest. However, productions were selective, in that leading critics of the time were still heavily influenced by Aristotle and the rigid division of the genres, and therefore despised tragicomedy.[119] Italian opera did much to remedy attitudes, albeit unwittingly. As critics like John Dennis, Richard Steele, and Joseph Addison, railed vigorously against the growing appetite for Italian opera, tragicomedy with its dramatic tensions and happy endings, was reinforcing the appeal of the genre. Opera as such, did not come under attack for its tragicomical plots, more for its foreign, non-English excessive appeal to aural and visual emotions rather than to the word – in many respects for critics, Italian opera did not even qualify as drama.

[1/56] To distinguish English tragicomedy from its Italian counterpart, Robert Hume is particularly helpful.[120] He identifies four main characteristics of English tragicomedy, and this study attempts to use his template as a basis of comparison with the plots of Italian opera.[121] The main difference is in the plots – English drama with multi-layered plots, and Italian opera with simple plots. This meant more varied outcomes to the dramas. Whereas Italian opera, after untying the Guarini knot in the plot, could easily fit one villain with forgiveness as an act of mercy, in English drama, mass pardon for reprobates would weaken

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[118] Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare & Co.* (2007), Ch.7. Before Shakespeare or Fletcher, Sir Philip Sidney had already raised the issue of tragicomedy in 1583, but dismissed it as a 'mongrel' genre, much preferring the Sannazaro's *Arcadia* of 1504, but even this work could be considered a tragicomedy, as Sidney's own *Arcadia* – thesis Ch.5 [64]. However, it was not with poetry, verse, or prose, but with drama on the stage that tragicomedy comes into its own. On Sidney, Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, *Courtier Poet* (1991), *Sir Philip Sidney Arcadia* (ed. Maurice Evans, especially the Introduction, (1977), and *Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. Jean Robertson, are particularly helpful.

[119] See *Gilbert Literary Criticism* (1962), pp. 63-124; *Classical Literary Criticism: Aristotle, Horace, Longinus* (1965), pp.29-75, ed.T.S. Dorsch. John Dennis and Joseph Addison in particular followed the Aristotelian line, and so, despised tragicomedy. However, dramas billed as tragicomedy were produced in the first decade of the eighteenth century: e.g., *A King and no King* by Beaumont & Fletcher, and *Henry IV with the Humours of Sir John Falstaff* – see Ch.5 [62].

[120] Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the late Seventeenth Century* (1990).

[121] Ch.5 [65]. Parags. [69-80] attempt to explore the relevance of the Hume model to the pre-Rinaldo Italian operas.

the outcome, so justice or retribution, was meted out accordingly, but achieving an English happy end. The Italian genre may have been influenced by Stampiglia, or ultimately, Guarini, but the English version, evolved through Shakespeare, Fletcher, and other Elizabethan dramatists.[122]

[1.57] Editions of the reference work, *Glossographia*, show some awareness of English tragicomedy. The original edition by Thomas Blount (1618-79), whose *Glossographia, or a Dictionary Interpreting all such Hard Words* (1656), sees Italian opera in four categories – tragedy, tragicomedy, comedy, and pastoral, but the 1707 edition, *Glossographia Anglica Nova*, by different editors,[123] although including Blount's name on the title page, defines opera simply as 'a sort of Solemn Entertainment of Musick upon the Theatre or Stage, and is very common in *France* and *Italy*'. Tragicomedy is merely a combination of 'tragedy and comedy'.

[1/58] The original Blount edition (1656) gives opera more attention than the 1707 edition.[124] The John Harris *Lexicon Technicum* is more interested in maths, science, and technology, with music as one of the seven sciences. There is, however, an entry for 'Opera', which is regarded as mainly French or Italian, and with an account of structure.[125] There is no reference to Purcell's operas, or a classification. In *Glossographia* (1707), words like 'Drama' or 'Play' get no entry, and 'Theater' is a 'Play-house or Stage'.[126] If editions of *Glossographia* were the standard guide to knowledge in the early eighteenth century, Italian opera has marginally more attention than spoken drama, and English opera, referred to by Roger North as semiopera, is completely ignored.

The *Rinaldo* Debate

[1/59] The question arises as to whether Handel's *Rinaldo* represents English or Italian tragicomedy, or both. Addison was steeped in English culture, albeit with a Whig view, as the pages of the *Spectator* demonstrate. He loathed tragicomedy, calling it a 'monstrous invention'. His view of *Rinaldo* was unequivocal. For a damning account of the opera,

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[122] See Ch.5 [64-66]. Elizabethan dramatists include – Marlowe, Webster, Dekker, Middleton, Massinger, Beaumont, Ford, Jonson, Rowley, Hooker, Heywood, Kyd.
[123] The full title covers the complete title page, see (Appendix 1, Illustration 18).
[124] See Ch.5 [79] Fig.27.
[125] Ch.5 [80].
[126] Perhaps these were not regarded as difficult words – the title of *Glossographia* specifies 'interpreting Such Hard Words of whatever Language …' (Appendix 1, Illustration 18).

Addison in *Spectator 5* (6 March 1711) provides a hatchet job. His report mocks the *mise en scène*, especially Nicolini's role, and finds the lion backstage more interesting.[127] Hill's adaption of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, a text also condemned by Addison, reveals something of Hill's view of contemporary taste in 1711.[128] Hill added to the Tasso text, Almirena as the betrothed of Rinaldo,[129] and a relationship between King Argantes of Jerusalem and Armida, enchantress, and Queen of the Amazons, thus creating the basis of tragicomedy, delayed happiness for the two couples until the end of the opera.

[1/60] But Aaron Hill's English translation of the Italian text in the bilingual libretto has given rise to a dispute – to what extent was the libretto Hill's creation, or was it a just a translation of Giacomo Rossi's Italian version? In the Preface to the libretto, Hill explains that he drew up a plan, and Rossi filled out the libretto, but Reinhard Strohm, argues that Hill was being unduly modest in his claim, and that he provided Rossi with more than a plan, perhaps a complete scenario or libretto, which it is argued, Rossi translated into Italian, and Hill, back into English. Christine Gerrard and Curtis Price tend to agree. This is debated and queried in Chapter Six.[130] However, an unintended consequence of the debate is that *Rinaldo* is a fusion of an English take on *Gerusalemme liberata*, as well as the overwhelming Italian contribution by Rossi and Handel.

[1/61] Another key debate examines *Rinaldo* as a political opera. Curtis Price in 'English Traditions in Handel's *Rinaldo*' (1987), argues a case for 'a vigorous political work', and maintains, Hill's claim in the libretto Dedication, that *Rinaldo* is an 'English Opera', is genuine. There are, Price claims, 'parallels with current affairs', and continued war with France is one of them (p.130). Price includes Konrad Sasse and Reinhard Strohm as fellow campaigners. They are joined by Paul Monad in 'The Politics of Handel's Early London Operas, 1711-1718' (2006), who argues for Whig promotion of Italian opera, using Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*,[131] which advocated a

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[127] See Ch.6. For a balanced account Dean & Knapp in *Handel's Operas, 1704-1726* (1987/1995), is probably the best, although biographies of Handel considered later in the chapter, provide varied accounts of the Rinaldo plot.
[128] Ch.6 [3].
[129] Like Etearco, the libretto *argomento* is misleading. Fig.28 omits the kidnap of Almirena which is the basis of this lost-and-found, or rescue, opera (Ch.6 [2], fn.4).
[130] Strohm, *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (1985), p.41; Price, 'English Traditions in Handel's *Rinaldo*' (1987), pp.125-133; Gerrard, *Aaron Hill: The Muses' Projector* (2003), pp.32-33.
[131] Monod avails himself of Tom McGeary, 'Shaftesbury on Opera, Spectacle and Liberty' (*Music & Letters*, 1993), for a complex argument to prove his case, but it needs careful examination – thesis Ch.6 [24].

broader view of culture and refined taste, going beyond the limited view of Addison and Steele in the *Spectator*, and eschewing the xenophobia of the more fanatical Whigs. Italian opera would create an improved society. Whereas John Loftis in 1963, contented himself with Whig propaganda in *The Politics of Drama in Augustan England* (thesis Ch.6, fn.78/92), Abigail Williams in 2009, devotes a complete book on the subject, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Culture 1681-1714* (2009). This study examines and contests their various views in Chapter Six.

[1/62] This is not to argue that that the political context of *Rinaldo* was irrelevant. One puzzle is the transfer by the Lord Chamberlain of William Collier the proprietor and Aaron Hill the manager, from Drury Lane to the Queen's Theatre on 16 November 1710, coinciding with the arrival of Handel in London. The simple answer may be that their management at Drury Lane had collapsed in a riot, and that to prevent further chaos, Lord Chamberlain Shrewsbury made a simple decision to switch managements. There is no evidence that Handel had anything to do with the transfer, or that Hill could provide a scenario for *Rinaldo*. Commenting on the transfer, Milhous & Hume in the 2001 *Calendar* emphasise Collier's incompetence, to which could be added Hill's lack of experience (p.506), and that the transfer would simply shift the problem from one theatre to another. For Milhous and Hume, the transfer is a puzzle.[132] However, the answer lies in the Collier biography by Cruickshanks and Harrison in *The House of Commons 1690-1715*, vol.III (pp.651-2), in which a political appointment was managed through the Tory Secretary of State, Henry St John, later Bolingbroke.[133] The Tory victory in the 1710 general election made the difference. Despite the political manoeuvre, it was entirely fortuitous that Hill would be in place at Haymarket to assist Rossi in providing Handel with a libretto. Otherwise, the Tory government, aware of Whig attempts to control culture, would have banned any stage performance perceived to promote Whig influence or power. There was no indication at the time, that *Rinaldo* had the political significance as argued by Price.[134] That *Rinaldo* ran for 15 performances from February 1711 to the end of the season on 11 June, demonstrates that there was no indication of a political message, nor a Whig incentive to continue the war with France.

[132] See M&H (2001), fn.25, p.536.
[133] Ch.6 [15].
[134] See Ch.6 [17] – the Price argument – Catholic Crusaders represent the 'Protestant alliance', and equally bizarrely, the 'Saracens their Catholic opponents'.

[1/63] Ending the war was Tory policy. The invasion of France and the destruction of Louis XIV was Whig policy, and primarily Marlborough's ambition. *Rinaldo* promotes victory through war, but the War of the Spanish Succession was grinding to a halt with no prospect of defeating Louis XIV. The issues were set out clearly in Jonathan Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*, published in November 1711, going through five editions, and becoming the basis of discussion in parliament.[135] Swift emphasised the futility of a war that was unwinnable, and that even if a victory were possible, it would merely create a power vacuum in European politics, which would be filled by another Catholic power – the Austria Empire. The cost of the war had become prohibitive, both in terms of men and resources.[136] Swift shows how the war was exploited by profiteers. Carefully avoiding a name, Swift indicated one particular person who had grossed £500,000 in the course of the war. The reader would know that it referred to Marlborough. It was widespread knowledge that he was profiting from the war.[137] On 30 December 1711, Queen Anne dismissed Marlborough from all his offices. In January 1712 parliament voted that Marlborough's conduct was 'unwarranted and illegal', although legal prosecution was suspended. Treasury funding for Blenheim stopped a few months later.[138] Any comparison of *Rinaldo* with Marlborough in war is inappropriate.

The Hero, Tragicomedy, and Dedications

[1/64] Despite Marlborough's fall from grace, he was still regarded as a 'hero'. But what sort of hero was Rinaldo? Chapters Five and Six examine attitudes to the hero image in the early eighteenth century. For John Dennis, Marlborough was the embodiment of the hero in his 'Preface to the Battle of Ramillia [Ramillies]' (1706).[139] In his 'Preface to *Rinaldo and Armida'* (1699) he explained his divergence from Tasso, that his Rinaldo is guided by 'the Strength of his Reason, and not by the Weakness of his Passion'.[140] In his *Essay on the*

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[135] Swift may have been following a precedent set by Defoe in 1701 – *Reasons against a War with France*.
[136] Julian Hoppit (2000) calculates government annual expenditure during the War of the Spanish Succession at £7.8 million with three quarters of this spent on the war. Other texts discuss the cost of war in similar terms – H.T. Dickinson, 'Bolingbroke' (ODNB), Damrosch, *Jonathan Swift* (2014), Brendan Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat* (2007), Victoria Glendinning, *Jonathan Swift* (1999), David Nokes, *Jonathan Swift: a Hypocrite Reversed* (1987) – see Ch.6 [10-14].
[137] See Uffenbach's evidence at Farquhar's play (Ch.6, fn.35).
[138] See John Hattendorf ('Marlborough', ODNB).
[139] Richard Steele, on the other hand, tended to see King William as the hero of the Revolution that secured the nation's liberties. See also Nicholas Rowe's play *Tamerlane* (1701) seeing William III as the hero of liberty, John Loftis, *The Politics of Drama in Augustan England* (1963, pp.31-2); see also H.W. Pedicord in 'The Changing Audience', *The London Theatre World*, 1980; ed. Hume, p.243.
[140] Hooker (ed.) 1939, vol.1, p.194 (see below).

Opera's after the Italian Manner (1706), the effeminate castrato can never be a hero.[141] Addison in *Spectator 40* (1711) is more severe in that the genuine hero should be unencumbered by romance in his struggle for a noble cause.

[1/65] However, from Dryden to Pope this image of the hero was undermined, even mocked. Dryden identified flaws in classical heroes, Odysseus, Achilles, Aeneas, and the heroes of Spencer's *Faerie Queene*. He attributed the same in a hostile response to Thomas Shadwell by means the mock-heroic satirical poem, *Mac Flecknoe*. Pope mocked the concept of the heroic in *The Rape of the Lock*, but with more venom in *The Dunciad* and in *The Essay on Man*, illustrating the havoc and slaughter wrought by heroes.[142] The Earl of Shaftesbury,[143] tended to see the hero as vulnerable: 'Tragedy shews Us the Misfortunes and Miserys of the *Great* [heroes]'.[144] In terms of the portrayal of the Hill-Rossi-Handel *Rinaldo*, Curtis Price's interpretation of the vulnerable hero, comes closest. Price ignores the castrato voice and dwells on the quality of the character, which he argues is in the tradition of English semiopera.[145] In 'English Traditions' (1987), Price portrays the flawed hero: 'foolish, indecisive, vain, an incompetent lover and warrior, and never in fact heroic in the conventional sense'.[146] This description, together with the register of castrato voice, combines English and Italian aspects of the hero in tragicomedy, and fits the character of Handel's *Rinaldo*.

[1/66] In general, prominent Whigs were hostile to tragicomedy. Richard Steele mocked tragicomedy in *Tatler 45* as comic 'Transitions from Mournful to Merry', lacking decorum. Addison in *Spectator 40* added his condemnation dismissing tragicomedy as a 'monstrous Invention'. John Dennis, steeped in the Aristotelian tradition that tragedy and comedy should be kept separate, despised comic antics in serious dramas.[147] Edward Hooker, editor of The *Critical Works of John Dennis*, attempted in 1937 to illustrate the unpopularity of tragicomedy with two plays by Charles Johnson in 1710, *Force of Friendship*, a tragedy, and

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[141] References to John Dennis are found in *The Critical Works of Joh Dennis* (ed.) Edward Niles Hooker, vol.1 (1692-1711)

[142] See thesis Ch.6, [29-32].

[143] Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713).

[144] Ch.6 [29].

[145] Semi-operas in London in the years 1673 to 1710, were mostly tragicomedies (NGDO, vol.4, 'semiopera', p.307).

[146] 'English Traditions in Handel's Rinaldo', *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Sadie & Hicks, 1987, p.127.

[147] Reply to Addison in Spectator 40, *Critical Works of John Dennis* (1943), ed. Hooker, vol.2, pp.21-22.

Love in a Chest, a farce. Either combined as a single play, or performed separately, they had no success.[148] However, like Steele, Addison, and Dennis, Hooker was mistaken, in that farce, or comic antics, have no part in tragicomedy, which in the Guarini tradition, emphasises dramatic tension, forgiveness, and the happy end. Addison, in his critique of *Rinaldo* in the *Spectator*, did not regard the opera as tragicomedy, but did not regard it as a serious drama either, just a 'monstrous invention'.

[1/67] Some scholars in favour of the Whig commitment to Italian opera, argue that dedications to Whig patrons is proof of Whig enthusiasm for the arrival of Italian opera. Dedications in opera librettos and song collections (1705-11), were predominantly to Whig dedicatees. Of the 13 Italianate or Italian operas in the years 1705-1711, nine were dedicated to prominent Whigs, members of their families, or those who would later become Whigs.[149] From the beginning, the building of the Haymarket Theatre by the Whig, John Vanbrugh, was regarded as a Whig Kit-Cat Club project. A Tory newspaper dismissed it as a Kit-Cat 'Temple for their Dagon'.[150] The Whig practice, spearheaded by the Kit-Cat Club, of using drama to promote their ideology, was already well known.[151] But, reasons for dedications were not necessarily ideological. Pat Rogers in 1993, argued that they were not necessarily political either. Marketing ploys, financial reward, and fame, were more important. Julian Hoppit emphasises recognition, esteem, and the hope of credibility.[152] Robert Hume in 2006 argues that patronage brought jobs, sinecures, and subscriptions rather than financial benefit.[153] Whigs like John Dennis and John Oldmixon were effective dedicators, and

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[148] Hooker, 'Charles Johnson's *The Force of Friendship* and *Love in a Chest*: a Note on Tragicomedy and Licensing in 1710', (*Studies in Philology*), 1937; M&H (2001), pp.508, 562-3, 567.

[149] The most recent advocate of this view is Thomas McGeary who delivered a lecture on the subject at Edinburgh University, Alison House, on 2 November 2017. Dedications to Whigs rather than Tories, it was argued, is an indicator of Whig commitment to the importation of Italian opera. The argument was reinforced by the number of Whigs subscribing to the building of the Haymarket Theatre (1703-05), which would later become an opera house. McGeary's forthcoming book, 'The Politics of Opera in the Reign of Queen Anne', follows from his 2013 book, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain*.

[150] *Rehearsal of Observator* (Sat. 5 May 1705).

[151] Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Culture, 1681-1714*, Ch.6, 'Patronage and the public writer in Whig culture', describes the power of Whig patronage, e.g., Addison's meteoric rise from poet to Secretary of State (pp.217), but his concern was to block Italian opera, not promote it. Even here, he was unsuccessful. Williams has little to say about opera. There is one reference – Nicolini in 1708, but has to admit, 'Not all Kit-Cats approved of Italian opera' (p.232).

[152] Hoppit (2000), p.437.

[153] Robert Hume, 'The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1740' (*Huntington Library Quarterly*, 2006), pp.520-523.

naturally used their Whig contacts, recommended for a fee.[154] But, Whig journals did nothing to promote Italian opera, on the contrary, in the interests of English drama, their mission was to prevent its success.[155]

[1/68] Leading Tories like Swift and Pope saw dedications as hypocritical, obsequious, and demeaning. In Swift's *Tale of a Tub* in 2004, his Dedication satirises dedications. The *Tale of a Tub* is dedicated to Lord Somers, but also mockingly, in a second Dedication to a fictitious 'Prince Posterity'. Then, in the Preface he rejects dedications completely as 'nauseating of the *Christian* Reader'.[156] Whereas, Swift's approach is witty and subtle, Pope is much more forthright. In *Guardian 4* (16 March 1713), he refers to the practice of dedications as 'Prostitution of Praise' and a 'Deceit upon the Gross of Mankind'. However, it may be that not all Tories despised dedications, nor that many Whigs espoused them, but it does appear that with dedications, Whigs had cornered the market. Whether this advanced their ideology is an open question, but it does not seem to have encouraged Italian opera.

Precondition 1 – Immigration

[1/69] Handel was the immigrant who transformed and established Italian opera in Britain, but it was a minor composer, Jacob Greber, who first attempted an all-Italian opera in London. Without the experiments that followed Greber from 1705, with the influx of players and Italian singers, the establishment of Italian opera would have been unlikely. So, what made London so attractive to immigrant musicians? The arguments of Jürgen Habermas on the creation of a 'public sphere', which emerged in Britain at the turn of the eighteenth century, refer to the transformation of 1690s England: the founding of the Bank of England (1694) which financed a 'capitalistically revolutionised mode of production' that promoted commerce; the elimination of censorship (1695) which allowed the proliferation of newspapers and journals, read and discussed in public places like coffee houses;[157] and the

[154] 'Book Dedications in Britain 1700-1799: a Preliminary Study' (*British Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*, 1993).
[155] See fn.154 above; also thesis Ch.6 [35 ff].
[156] *A Tale of Tub. Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind* (1704), Preface, p.36.
[157] Both Steele and Addison relied on coffee house contacts for information in their journals, but Italian opera is treated with contempt, Steele's admiration for Nicolini's acting ability excepted (Ch.5 [30; 43-47]). Brian Cowan in *The Social Life of the Coffee House* (2005), and Markman Ellis in *The Coffee House, A Cultural History* (2004), make no reference to opera, and scant reference to drama, but for the *Spectator*, and explicitly in the *Tatler*, coffee house gossip was a key source – White's chocolate house (pleasure, entertainment), Will's coffee house (poetry, drama), St. James's coffee house (news), *Tatler*, vol.1, Introduction, p.x, ed. Bond 1987. In the *Tatler* the coffee house is specified by name.

promotion of liberty and opportunity for entrepreneurial drive.[158] This made London an attractive prospect for migrants. The lure of economic benefit is referred to by Geoffrey Holmes: 'For one thing standards of material prosperity and comfort rose in England in the fifty years after 1680 to a degree that was wholly without precedent'.[159] Frank O'Gorman suggests that the benefit was not just limited to the wealthy classes: 'The domestic market was steadily growing as rising demand for consumer products affected not only the gentry and aristocratic classes but also the middling orders and artisans ranks'.[160]

[1/70] According to Habermas, Britain was comparatively advanced around 1700. Moreover, the demand for skilled musicians in early eighteenth–century London, seems to have made them welcome. Frank O'Gorman suggests a pull factor due to a skills deficit: 'designers, artists, decorators, and especially sculptors employed in country houses, flocked in from Europe'.[161] This included musicians. In 1700 Duke of Bedford was active in persuading talented Italians to come to Britain.[162] Two such examples were the violinist Nicola Cosimi, and the multi-talented Nicola Francesco Haym. The Centre for Metropolitan History calculates that by 1690 London absorbed around 10,000 migrants a year, eager to take advantage of the city's rapid industrial growth, and opportunity for employment.[163] Although most of the migrants came from the English countryside in search of apprenticeships, a significant number came from abroad, bringing with them wealth and skills that boosted London's economic and social life.[164]

[1/71] Relevant to this thesis were the Huguenots fleeing persecution following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), and musicians coming from Germany and Italy, all in search of better opportunities. By 1688 a London relief committee claimed assistance

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[158] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Polity Press, 1989) pp.57-59; trans. T. Burger; *Strukturwandel der Őffentlichkeit* (Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1962). 'The thought of Jürgen Habermas represents today one of the most significant contributions to the development of Western thought in the twentieth century', Lewis Edwin Hahn (ed.), *Perspectives on Habermas* (Open Court, Illinois, 2000), p.xi – throughout the book a number of scholars show just how relevant and influential Habermas continues to be, although not helpful for Italian opera.
[159] Geoffrey Holmes, *Augustan England* (George Allen & Unwin 1982) p.12.
[160] Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century* (Arnold 1997), p.22; however O'Gorman does qualify this with evidence from Gregory King: 'it is difficult to take seriously the possibility that many members of the labouring classes had access to Delft pottery, pewter, glass, cutlery and worsteds.' (p.23).
[161] Frank O'Gorman, p.98.
[162] *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk pf Penicuik*, 1676- 1755 (Scottish History Society, 1892) p.28.
[163] Craig Spence, *London in the 1690s - a Social Atlas* (2000), Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute for Historical Research, University of London, p.2.
[164] Stephen Inwood, *A History of London*, Macmillan (1998), p.273.

for around 13,500 poorer Huguenots, but about the same number again arrived with sufficient wealth to sustain themselves. The existence of fourteen Huguenot churches in Soho is evidence enough of the settlement of this ethnic group. One of these immigrants, Peter Anthony Motteux, would play a part in the introduction of Italianate opera to London from 1705. By 1692 he was editing *The Gentleman's Journal*, a pioneering piece of journalism, but he was soon involved in the theatre as well. He produced librettos for the early Italianate operas in English from 1706 to 1708.[165]

[1/72] Immigrants from the various German states supplied expertise in instrumental music.[166] Johann Christoph Pepusch left Berlin in horror, having witnessed the execution of a Prussian officer without trial, he arrived in London in 1697 and served as a harpsichord player in Drury Lane (1704) and then in the Queen's Theatre (1708), ideal for early attempts at Italian opera. Gottfried Finger (1660–1730) appeared in the court of James II in 1687, but was soon featuring in concerts at York Buildings.[167] Jakob Greber (1673–1731) had spent time in Italy, came to London in 1703, and produced what is thought to be the first all-sung pastoral opera in Italian in 1705. Johann Ernst Galliard (1666/?1687–1747) appeared in London as a keyboard player and oboist in 1706 when the orchestra in Celle was disbanded. He was soon in the Queen's Theatre orchestra as Italian opera was emerging.[168] Both Finger and Greber left for Europe after unsuccessful productions, but with the establishment of Italian opera, both Pepusch and Galliard turned to opera in English. However, the two immigrants on whom the future of Italian opera depended were Handel and Haym.

[1/73] Although the immigration take-off point has been identified in the 1690s, Roger North (1651-1734) predates an Italian surge. The lure of Italian culture (paintings, architecture, interior design, music) had been present since the Renaissance, but there were instances of music going beyond the limits of the royal court. The violin playing of Nicola Matteis enraptured London audiences in the early 1670s, and the publication of his works set a

[165] Stephen Inwood, p.274. Two other Huguenots became notable historians of English history; they came from France via the Netherlands: Paul de Rapin de Thoyras (1661-1725), and Abel Boyer (1667-1729); as historians their objective was to promote the legitimacy of William III's accession to the throne of Britain; here music, or indeed Italian opera, does not get a mention. Political history at this time had little interest in cultural concerns unless there was a political dimension.
[166] Biographical information that follows is taken from NGDMM, NGDO, MGG, ODNB.
[167] However he left England in high dudgeon when he came last in the *Judgement of Paris* competition in 1701.
[168] Handel wrote *obbligato* parts for him in *Teseo* (1713).

standard and 'a generall favour for the Itallian manner'.[169] North sees Matteis as one of two major influences in establishing Italian taste in England. North's other major influence in the promotion of Italian music was the Grand Tour. He specifies a 'numerous traine of yong travellers of the best quality and estates that about this time went over into Italy and resided at Rome and Venice, where they heard the best musick and learnt of the best masters'. Matteis provided the inspiration and the Italian tour, and participants returned 'confirmed in the love of the Itallian manner and some contracted no litle skill and proved exquisite performers'. This created a market for Italian publications, particularly the trio sonatas and concertos of Corelli. North praises the quality of Dutch copper plate printing adopted by Estienne Roger (finely engraved music), and Stephen Roger 'who ought to have a statue in England' for services to music printing.[170] Clearly, printed editions became another important factor in the spread of Italian music.

Precondition 2 – the Lure of Italian Culture – a Preamble

[1/74] Given the lure of Italian culture in Britain since the medieval and Renaissance periods, in philosophy, literature, architecture, fine art, instrumental and vocal music, at different times and with different emphasis, the question arises as to why Italian opera met with such resistance in the early years of the eighteenth century.[171] Italian culture had a long pedigree. As Rome was the centre of early Christianity, pilgrims became more aware of Italian culture. George Parks in *The English Traveller to Italy; The Middle Ages* (1954), charts a flow of English travellers to Italy for diverse purposes including religion, diplomacy, business, and trade. In the twelfth century a number of travellers recorded their experiences in Italy - John of Salisbury, Gerald of Wales, and Gervase of Tilbury who in the service of William II (1189), used his journey to visit places associated with Virgil and Ovid. The appetite for the classics and ancient Rome was growing.[172] Two hundred years later Geoffrey Chaucer would follow in their footsteps on diplomatic and military missions with less emphasis on religion. On the evidence of contemporary scholars, he met Petrarch and Boccaccio, and was introduced to Italian poetry.[173]

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[169] *Roger North on Music*, ed. John Wilson (London: Novello, 1959), p.309.
[170] North pp.310-11.
[171] A separate chapter on this subject proved too long for this dissertation; what follows is a synopsis.
[172] Parks, pp.226-230.
[173] Scholars include Skeat, Boitani, Rowland (*Companion to Chaucer Studies*, OUP, 1979, passim). This may have been the occasion when Chaucer discovered the works of Dante. Both Dante and Boccaccio influence *The Canterbury Tales* and other works by Chaucer.

[1/75] Also recorded in Parks's book, are the names of Englishmen, lecturers and students, at Italian Universities. The University of Bologna from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries had thirteen English lecturers, two rectors, and sixty-five students. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century there were seven lecturers, twelve rectors, and 92 degrees conferred, many of them doctorates. Similar figures are supplied for the universities of Catania, Ferrara, Florence, Naples, Padua, Parma, Pavia, Perugia, Pisa, and Rome.[174] The attractions of Italy, whether the medieval focus on religion, or the Renaissance belief in secular humanism, had a firm foundation.

[1/76] Italian influence did not begin to take root in England until the establishment of the Tudor dynasty in 1485, when Henry VII with a flimsy claim to the throne,[175] adopted a policy of glorifying court culture to maintain prestige and loyalty of his supporters.[176] He believed that courtly magnificence would boost his claim as rightful ruler of England. To promote this claim he commissioned the Italian, Polydore Vergil, to write a history of England endorsing the Tudor dynasty as the rightful inheritors to the throne of England.[177] Another Italian humanist historian, Tito Livio dà Forli, was hired to adjust the Tudor narrative in a favourable light. The Italian poet, Pietro Carmigliano, was commissioned to produce laudatory verse to celebrate the king's exploits. At this point, Italian culture was being used in the interest of propaganda.[178]

[1/77] Italian literature continued to flourish in the reign of Henry VIII. Given the political insecurities during the king's reign, Castiglione's 1528 *Il Libro del Cortegiano*, a guidebook for survival in a Renaissance court, became necessary reading in a situation where the skills

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[174] Parks, pp.621-640 (any counting errors, the totals are my own). University opportunities in Britain paled into insignificance compared with the Italian prospects.

[175] Penn, Thomas, Winter King (pp.xx-xxi, 10-11, 21, 36).

[176] An extended period of war, The Hundred Years War (1337-1453), and the Wars of the Roses (1455-1485), was not ideal for foreign cultures to flourish in England. The early Tudor dynasty initiated a period of peace that allowed culture, arts and sciences to expand.

177 Polydore Vergil (1470-1555) was an Italian humanist scholar, priest, and historian, famous enough to be welcomed at the court of Henry VII. He spent most of his life in England, becoming naturalised in 1510. His book *Anglica Historia* was published in 1534.

[178] Alistair Fox in *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, ed. John Guy, p.229; Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England* (2005), p.32. Carmigliano had been in the English court since 1481, from which time he served five monarchs from Edward V to Henry VIII, mainly as a royal diplomatic correspondent. His command of Italian humanism made him a valuable asset in establishing a new style among intellectuals at the Tudor court (ODNB).

of diplomacy could mean life or death in difficult courtly circumstances. Both Thomas Cromwell and Sir Thomas Wyatt, readers of Castiglione's book, had incurred Henry's wrath for political shortcomings, but it was Wyatt who survived. He had sojourned in Italy twice, had imbibed the spirit of Petrarch, and had translated and imitated his sonnets, thus creating an English version of the genre.[179] The king, who saw himself as a patron of the arts, valued Wyatt's learning, wit, apparent honesty, and his diplomatic skills honed in Italy. Wyatt's adaptation of classical and Italian models set standards for later poets, especially with the sonnet. In 1588 George Puttenham reflected a popular view of Wyatt in *The art of English poesie*, 'having travailed into Italie, [Wyatt] greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar Poesie'.[180] By the end of the Tudor dynasty, the 'Golden Age' of Elizabeth I's reign, Italian literature was having an impact, one that would take off with the Stuarts and influence the themes of Italian opera.

[1/78] Unlike Queen Anne in the early eighteenth century, Henry VIII's interest in in music made him a proactive patron. *Hall's Chronicle* celebrated Henry's ability in music. The number of musicians employed at court escalated as ceremonial music for banquets, processions, and tournaments flourished. To meet the growing need for music, Henry needed talent from abroad. The talents of Italy in terms of playing and instrument making, were far in advance of anything the home-grown skills the Chapel Royal could produce.[181] The king's Venetian agent Edmond Harvel was active in recruiting candidates. Harvel wrote to Henry in October 1539 that the Bassanos were 'all excellent and esteemed' in Venice, so much so that the Doge would not let them go. But the Bassanos escaped to England with their instruments, and Henry eventually compensated them with stipends, rent-free accommodation, and a trade monopoly.[182] The Bassano family arrived, complete with recorders, and accompanied with a consort of viols with players from Venice, Cremona, and

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[179] In 1527 Wyatt accompanied Sir John Russell to Rome, initially to negotiate Henry's marriage annulment with Pope Clement VII, but the sack of Rome by mutinous imperial troops, ended the discussions.

[180] A synthesis of ODNB data on Sir Thomas Wyatt and Thomas Cromwell. Since Wyatt's friendship with Cromwell saved him in 1536, but could have destroyed him in 1540, it is tempting to suggest, Wyatt was saved by Italian culture.

[181] Grove ('Henry VIII') – lists a number of 'Italian' names (Fraunces de Venice, Marke Anthony Galyardo, Ambrose Lupo), but Henry's fascination with the organ playing of Dionisio Memo, visiting organist from S. Marco, Venice, is an indication of his enthusiasm for Italian music. Fra Memo held an 'honoured position' at Henry's court (Thurston Dart in Morley's Plain and Easy Introduction, p.ix). Henry's passion for Italian music is reflected in the number of permanent court instrumentalists: at the end of the reign Edward IV in 1483, five court players; at the end of Henry VIII's reign in 1547, 58 players, comprising sackbuts, rebecs, shawms, flutes, recorders, viols, lutes.

[182] Lasocki, David, 'Professional Recorder Playing in England, 1500-1740' (*Early Music*, 1982, pp.23-24).

Milan.[183] The Bassano family stayed on the London for three generations. They prospered in England, not only as performers, but also as makers of wind and string instruments.[184] The Italian consort of viols remained in England as well, forming the basis of the violin players that served English monarchs until 1690, and continued independently into the eighteenth century and beyond, the origin of *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*.[185] A competent orchestra, a prerequisite for Italian opera in 1711, was already in a formative stage of development.

[1/79] The influence of Italian vocal music took off at the end of the Tudor dynasty. Whigs in early eighteenth-century London revered the reign of Queen Elizabeth, both for its Protestant ethos and English national identity. Since the circumstances have parallels with the introduction of Italian opera in the final years of the Stuarts, it is worth dwelling on attitudes to Italian culture in the late Elizabethan period. Why is it that the influx of the Italian madrigal was so welcome in the reign of Elizabeth, but Italian opera despised by an English literary elite in the reign of Queen Anne? In the 1560s Alfonso Ferrabosco was one of the many Italian musicians employed in the court of Elizabeth I, along with members of the Bassano family. An indication of Alfonso's importance was the handsome pension he received from the queen, provided he remained in her service for life. In 1578 he found it necessary to return to Italy, but such was the Queen's attachment to Alfonso's musical talent, she retained the Ferrabosco family at court as a guarantee of Alfonso's return. On his arrival in Italy, on papal decree, Ferrabosco was arrested for disloyalty to the Catholic church. It is a tribute to his contribution to the Elizabethan court, that in spite of frequent absence, rumours, and allegations, that the Queen interceded with Catherine de' Medici for his release. Although freed, the composer did not return to England, but his family remained and served the monarchy for three generations.[186] This sort of patronage did not exist with Queen Anne.

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[183] Holman, Peter , 'The English royal violin consort in the Sixteenth Century ' (RMA, 1982/83) pp.39-40; *Music at the Court of Henry VIII', Henry VIII: A European court in England, ed. David Starkey* (London, 1991), p.104.

[184] ODNB ('Bassano, Alvise') lists the following instruments: recorders cornetts, crumhorns, curtals, flutes, shawms, lutes, and viols.

[185] Holman, Peter, 'The English Royal Violin Consort in the Sixteenth Century' (RMA, 1982/83, p.39); *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (revised, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2002).

[186] ODNB (Andrew Ashbee, 2004; also Grove) summarises the devious lifestyle of Alfonso Ferrabosco. In the service of Elizabeth he was frequently absent on the pretext of settling family affairs, acting on diplomatic missions, or just spying – on one of his frequent visits to Italy, he was in the service at the Farnese court in Rome, but managed to escape. He had mysterious business in Bologna, was robbed in Paris, etc. Ferrabosco's letters in 1577 reveal that on his return to London, he was in disgrace, without access to the Queen, and, being

Reception compared: Italian madrigal and Italian Opera

[1/80] Comparative history became established with Marc Bloch, and was endorsed by Arthur Marwick, showing that it can be 'a source of new synthesis, new questions', and even possible answers.[187] The early eighteenth-century Whig preoccupation with Protestantism and the integrity of English culture were key to their identity, so that the invasion of a foreign culture was something to be resisted. The late-Elizabethan period was revered – Elizabeth I was the model for Queen Anne, especially in time of war, and Spenser was the inspiration for literature and drama.[188] The arrival of Italian opera for the Whigs has a parallel with the Elizabethan appetite for the Italian madrigal, although with a different reception. Joseph Kerman made much of the influence of the Netherlands publisher, Phalèse, in the promotion of Italian vocal music,[189] but it was hardly necessary. Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* in 1588 was an anthology of fifty-seven Italian madrigals translated into English from Ferrabosco, Marenzio, Palestrina. A second volume of *Musica Transalpina* followed in 1597, coinciding with Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practical Musicke*, which also promoted Italian music, influencing Elizabethan composers in the use of Italian styles.[190] However, the attractions of Italian style would have its differences, particularly regarding translation of the verse. The collection by the poet Thomas Watson, *The First Sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished* (1590), showed an attempt to naturalise the Italian

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accused of attending mass in the house of the French ambassador, he claimed that his enemies were trying to discredit him by alleging that he robbed and murdered a servant of Sir Philip Sidney. The queen chose to ignore allegations. These events have further references in A.L. Rowse, *The Elizabethan Renaissance; The Cultural Achievement* (Macmillan, London, 1972), p.105. Rowse is unique among socio-political historians, treating literature and music with some degree of detail. There is also a brief reference in Hartman & Milner Man & his Music, vol.2 (London, 1969), p.44. Kerman in *The Elizabethan Madrigal* (1962) rates the influence of Ferrabosco highly (p.249).

[187] Marwick, *The New Nature of History* (2001), p.92. In this section of Ch.1, it is hoped that attitudes to patronage, Protestantism, foreign music, nationalism, and performance venues, will reveal fresh aspects of the reception to Italian opera in early eighteenth-century London.

[188] *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), *The Faerie Queene* (1590). The theme in A. Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Culture 1681-1714* (2009).

[189] Kerman, Joseph, 'Elizabethan Anthologies of Italian Madrigals' (Jams, 1951, p.122). Gustave Reese *Music in the Renaissance*, p.819.

[190] Of the madrigal Morley writes that as long as the 'ditties', abstain from 'obscenities' and 'blasphemies to such as this, "ch'altro di te iddio no voglio" which no man can sing without trembling', preferring the lover to the almighty, then the madrigal is 'to men of understanding, most delightful'; *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. Alec Harman (1966), p.294. So, the Italian madrigal is acceptable if in keeping with English mores. Tim Carter notes Morley's ambivalence towards the Italian influence, *Music in Britain: The Sixteenth Century*, 1995, ed. Roger Bray, p.193; Morley, Harman, p.193.

madrigal.[191] Although Watson relied mainly on Marenzio's madrigal collections from the 1580s, his notion of 'englished' went beyond a literal translation of the texts. Whereas Yonge's translation of Guarini's 'Crudel, perchè me fuggi' in his 1597 collection, is true to the original, Watson with the same verse, takes a freer and more poetic approach in keeping with current trends in English poetry.[192] This attitude to translation, the literal versus the poetic, playing havoc with the underlay, would be replayed in the years that saw the bedding in of Italian opera 1705-1711, when an attempt was made to provide Italian opera sung in English.[193]

[1/81] The ambivalent attitude to Italian opera in the years 1705-11, has a parallel with the Italian madrigal in late Elizabethan England. Despite the enormous vogue for the Italian madrigal, English traditions remained strong. Although Byrd showed that he could adopt and adapt the Italian madrigal model, his real purpose was the development of English music. The standards set by the Chapel Royal and the King's Musick laid a foundation for an English style. Philip Brett argued 'Byrd absorbed the work of Tallis, [194] Purcell the music of Gibbons',[195] and the music of Purcell was still a force to be reckoned with in the years when Italian opera struggled to establish itself (1705-11). The Chapel Royal at the turn of the seventeenth century, created a musical tradition that survived the influences of the French and Italians.[196] Brett argued that the indigenous idiom grew within the talent of the Chapel Royal, and that outsiders with 'lesser talent' like Wilbye and Weelkes,[197] tended to be more concerned with the Italian madrigal. They saw the rise and fall of the Italian influence within

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[191] The notion of an English Renaissance helps to explain cultural identity with the English language, its literature and music; see David Price, (1981), Alistair Fox (1997), Kate Aughterson (1998).

[192] Tim Carter, *Music in Britain: The Sixteenth Century* (1995, ed. Roger Bray), pp.179-198. Another example of the differing approach to the Petrarch sonnet 'Zefiro torna' set by Marenzio, but appearing with different translations of the text in 1588 and 1590, shows a similar poetic approach by Watson, analysed in detail by Laura Macy 'The due decorum kept: Elizabethan translation and the madrigals Englished of Nicholas Yonge and Thomas Watson' (JMR, 1997), including structure, rhythm, and metre.

[193] Addison in *Spectator 18* (21 March 1710/11) deplores the word underlay, and mocks the translations, especially where they do not fit the meaning in the vocal line.

[194] Philip Brett argues a convincing case for the Tallis *Spem in Alium* having been influenced by Alessandro Striggio's 40-part motet 'Ecce beatam lucem', but it is less Italian influence, than the challenge to improve on Striggio (Brett, Ch.3, pp.22-29) - 'influence' by competition.

[195] Brett, p.78.

[196] Donald Burrows points out that the anthem word-book of 1712, *Divine Harmony*, shows that works by Tallis, Byrd, and Gibbons, were still in use (*Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 2005, p.22).

[197] Weelkes, in fact, had two different styles - one for the madrigal, and another closer to Byrd for Anglican services (Brett, p.66).

twenty years.[198] Perhaps Byrd saw Morley's attempt to graft 'the Italian shoot on to the native stock' as having little future.[199] Byrd's instinct for heritage and a strong continuing English tradition, may, in the hands of Purcell and semiopera, partially explain the resistance to Italian opera in the early years of the eighteenth century.

[1/82] The variety of Elizabethan attitudes to the Italian madrigal is another clue to early eighteenth-century views about the importation of Italian opera. Like the later John Dennis, Joseph Addison, and the anti-Italian Whigs, William Byrd preferred traditional English language, verse, and music. True, he had contributed a version of 'La Verginella' in translation, 'The fair young virgin', to the Yonge 1588 *Musica Transalpina*,[200] and in 1590, two settings of 'This sweet and merry month of May', 'composed after the Italian vaine', according to the poet and editor, Thomas Watson in *The First Sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished*,[201] but he distrusted the Italian madrigal with its emphasis on the sort of imagery that fascinated Morley, Weelkes, and Wilbye.[202] The imagery in Morley's *Triumphes of Oriana* is overwhelmingly pastoral with emphasis on the 'shepherds and nymphs of Diana'. The imagery in 'As Vesta was from Latmos hill descending' (Weelkes) contains a mini-drama, but it is self-contained as with the Virgil *Eclogues*. As Guarini argued, the simple

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[198] Brett, pp.78-79. The short lifespan of English madrigal is explained by its late arrival 60 years after its Italian model, and after the trend towards Italianisation (Roche, *The Madrigal*, 1972, p.120), or as in Gustave Reese 'a belated extension of a current already past its prime' (p.819). For Edmund Fellowes (*English Madrigal*, 1972, p.52), the answer is the end of Elizabethan patronage, and the later destruction of music by fanatical Puritans. One could include the Stuart preference for drama and masques in the reigns of James I and Charles I, but these too, were restricted in the Commonwealth period.

[199] NGDMM, Brett/Murray, Morley, Thomas'.

[200] 'La Verginella' was originally a consort song with 4-part polyphonic accompaniment from the 1580s, but with an Italian text (unusual for Byrd) for the solo Superius part (Dow Partbooks, Christ Church, 1580s, Oxford MSS 984-988). Byrd added the Italian text to the lower parts for his 1588 publication *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs*, so converting it into a madrigal. He comments in his 'Epistle to the Reader' that "diuerse songs which being originally made for Instruments to expresse the harmonie, and one voyce to pronounce the dittie, are now framed in all parts for voyces to sing the same" – quoted in *The Byrd Edition* Vol.16, ed. Philip Brett, Preface p.v. He went one step further in the same year for *Musica Transalpina*, with the text, translated into English for all parts, 'The fair young virgin'.

[201] Brett, p.101. Byrd contributed four- and six-part versions of 'This sweet and merry month of May', not based on an Italian original, but which is a contrapuntal tour de force. It is suggested that the final line of the madrigal text, 'take well in worth a simple toy'' is snub to the Italians (Craig Monson in ODNB 'William Byrd'). However, the 'simple toy' could just be a gesture of modesty since there is no hint of scorn in the music. Whatever the case, the words were provided by the poet and author of the set, Thomas Watson.

[202] Philip Brett, *William Byrd and His Contemporaries*, pp.3-4. This may partly explain why Byrd did not contribute to The *Triumphes of Oriana* in 1601, a collection by Morley of 25 madrigals by 23 different English composers, and modelled on the 1592 Italian collection, *Il Trionfo di Dori*, a collection of 29 madrigals by the same number of composers.

pastoral needed a sharper edge to convert it to tragicomedy of the type aspired to by the early London pastorals (1705-08) – the central argument of this study.

[1/83] Edmund Spenser was a model for the early eighteenth-century Whigs. Byrd's fidelity to the English language should have put him on a par with Spenser, and therefore, attractive to the eighteenth-century Whigs, but religion got in the way. As a Catholic, Byrd, had more in common with Alexander Pope, loyally English, but a Catholic. Pope survived by befriending the Whigs, distancing himself from the Jacobites, but mainly by being respected, or even feared, as a poet.[203] Byrd was also respected for his craft, but needed more secure protection in a Protestant climate. Queen Elizabeth was Byrd's chief patron and benefactor. He had served her well with music, but as a Catholic, Byrd was subject to massive fines for recusancy. However, these were often waived, not only through powerful patrons, but by the Queen herself. In 1592 the Queen intervened to halt a prosecution for Byrd's Catholic activities.[204] In 1588, the year of the Armada, Byrd readily responded to the Queen's request to compose an anthem to her text 'Look and bow down' to celebrate England's victory over the Spanish. Byrd may have been a devout Catholic, but rejected the possibility of England being governed by Catholic Spain. Byrd was just as much an English patriot as a loyal Catholic. This prompted a comment ascribed to the queen – 'a strong papist, but a good subject'.[205] She could have added 'Brittanicae Musicae parens'.[206]

[1/84] The dilemma in the introduction of Italian opera, the product of a Catholic and foreign country, in early eighteenth-century London was one of religion and English nationalism. This was reflected earlier in the attitude of William Byrd. Whether Byrd's commitment to English music, or a reluctance to offend the Queen, was a factor in his unwillingness to provide a madrigal for *The Triumphes of Oriana*, which would have assisted his erstwhile student and friend, Thomas Morley, is a question that begs a response. The collection, *The*

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[203] See thesis Ch.4, fn.20 for Pope's survival in a Protestant culture, different from that of Byrd. The Ten Mile Act forced Pope to live in the romantic environs of Twickenham on the banks of the Thames, away from the grime of the city, but with easy boat access to London, not the treatment meted out to Byrd.

[204] NGDMM (Kerman/McCarthy), the royal mandate – 'cesset per mandatum Regine'.

[205] A.L. Rowse, *The Elizabethan Renaissance; The Cultural Achievement* (1974), p.110.

[206] Kerman/McCarthy; Byrd was not the only Catholic loyalist exempt from prosecution. Elizabeth referred to the Earl of Worcester as a 'stiff papist', but he was a loyal subject and a court favourite (Kerman, paper delivered in 1998, Proceedings of the American Philological Soc.). The Queen's view was that Catholics could worship in secret as long as they were loyal citizens, but would be subject to recusancy fines. David Price in *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (1981), considers the contribution of Catholic composers to madrigals, and music generally in the reign of Elizabeth (pp.156-167), e.g., the role of Francis Tregian in what became the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (p.158).

Triumphes of Oriana, was ostensibly dedicated to Elizabeth I,[207] who allegedly preferred the sobriquet 'Gloriana' from Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and disassociated herself from the heroine of an Iberian tale about a princess desperate to consummate her love with the wayward hero, Amadis. Byrd had distinguished himself in 1590 with a magnificent display of counterpoint in two versions of 'This sweet and merry month of May', so his addition to *The Triumphes of Oriana*, would have been a selling point for Morley. One rare attempt to deal with the issue has suggested that Byrd was asked to contribute, but declined.[208] A more reasoned explanation, both geographical and confessional, is possible. As the 1592 recusancy laws were intensified in spite of the Queen's protection, Byrd relinquished his post in the Chapel Royal, and sought refuge in Stondon Massey in Essex, considered a safe haven for Catholics.[209] Here, although a mere thirty-one miles from London, was the ideal venue for Byrd to concentrate on composing music for Catholic services, culminating in the *Gradualia*, 1605-1610.[210] Italian madrigals no longer interested him. English music was his main concern. This attitude to Italian music prevailed, and was still in evidence in the opposition to Italian opera conducted by Dennis, Addison, and Steele. The Italian madrigal 'englished' is reflected in the later Italianate opera (in English), but as interest in the Italian madrigal in the seventeenth century waned, Italian opera in the eighteenth century prevailed.[211]

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[207] See Jeremy L. Smith, 'Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: the Identities of Oriana and Diana' (Jams, 2005); Smith specifies that the Triumphs were intended for the spouse of James I of Scotland, Anne of Denmark, soon to become Queen of England; also, the Spanish ambassador had insulted the Elizabeth some years before the *Triumphes* by calling her Oriana (p.516);cf., Roy Strong, 'Elizabeth I as Oriana' (p.253-4). This raises the question why Morley, the other 22 composers, and Thomas East who printed Byrd's works, and who harboured Catholics, so had special reasons to be cautious, were unaware of Elizabeth's view of the appellation, Oriana. The enterprise was too much linked with the Earl of Essex, executed in February 1601, so the dedication was swiftly changed to Charles Howard , 'Earle of Notingham'.

[208] Harman & Milner, *Man & His Music*, (vol.2, *Late Renaissance and Baroque*, 1969), p.45. Perhaps Byrd knew the Queen's attitude to the sobriquet, but if so, why not communicate the same to Morley? See fn.211 on Morley.

[209] Kerman & McCarthy, for basic biographical information. Re recusancy, Brett claims that even in the deep Essex countryside, the quarter sessions continued harass Byrd for fines (Brett, p.2).Nevertheless, his friend and protector, Sir John Petre, exercised considerable influence over juries in the area, and Byrd was shielded from reprisals (Monson in ODNB). In the eighteenth century, Pope too was forced to live outside London, and the benefits of Twickenham enormously outweighed London in terms of climate and health.

[210] Another reason for leaving London may have been the plague with broke out in August 1592, eventually claiming 10,657 lives; John Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, p.266). This selfsame plague took the life of Thomas Watson, and so there was no second set of Italian madrigals 'englished'. Yet another reason for Byrd to distance himself from Morley is evidence that Morley, a lapsed Catholic, may have been a government informer on Catholics ('Morley', Grove online, Brett & Murray, accessed 6.6.19).

[211] Edmund Fellows puts the decline of the madrigal down to the death of Queen Elizabeth, and the later Commonwealth under Cromwell (p.52). Kerman (1962) argues insufficient patronage (p.248). Jerome Roche quotes Einstein on 'the death of the madrigal', and the view that the madrigal became less fashionable in the

[1/85] The Whig emphasis on the English language was an initial barrier to the establishment of Italian opera in the years 1705-1711. The notion that Italian influence can enrich English culture, but also damage its heritage and traditions, was a recurrent theme in the Tudor and Stuart years. By the mid-sixteenth century the English language was in a parlous state. Successive invasions had bombarded Anglo-Saxon roots with foreign vocabulary. But by the turn of the fifteenth century, English was gradually supplanting French as the language of the court, although French continued to exert its influence as status symbol for government, the legal system, fashion and *haute cuisine*. The much travelled Andrew Borde, famous for his guide to Italy in 1542, reported that "the speech of English is a base speech to other notable speeches, as Italian, Castilian, French", and as this was recognised, there were attempts to remedy the fault.[212]

[1/86] The development of the English language grew exponentially in the reign of Elizabeth I. There was a concerted effort by Cambridge scholars and educators,[213] men with power to influence the language, like John Hart (1501-1574), Sir John Cheke (1514-1557), Roger Ascham (1515-1568), Sir Thomas Smith (1515-1577), and Richard Mulcaster (1531-1611) who sought to promote a better quality of English.[214] Hart published several books on orthography and pronunciation, Mulcaster on lexicography and pedagogy, Smith on linguistics, and Ascham's *The Scholemaster* set a new standard of English.[215] By 1562 Richard Eden writing to William Cecil noted that English had been accounted “barbarous”, but was now “enriched by sundry books”.[216] The language was in a state of transition from Middle English to the beginnings of Modern English, a phase that would establish the

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seventeenth century, but argues a case for transformation, also quoting 450 madrigal publications post-1600 (p.145). With the survival of Italian opera in the eighteenth century after Handel, a powerful case is presented for its continuity in *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, Price, Milhous, Hume (1995).

[212] Rowse, *The Elizabethan Renaissance*; *The Cultural Achievement*, pp.52-54.

[213] Elizabeth's inner circle were Cambridge scholars – Lord Burghley (William Cecil) and his son Robert, the Bacon family, Walsingham, earls Oxford, Essex, Southampton, and literati like Marlowe, Spenser, Nashe and Greene, etc.; Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth*, p.556.

[214] Data from ODNB entries.

[215] The full title of Roger Ascham's book reads like an abstract - *The Scholemaster Or plaine and perfite way of teaching children, to understand, write, and speake, the Latin tong, but especially purposed for the private bringing up of youth in Ientlemen and Noble mens houses, and commodious also for all such, as have forgot the Latin tonge, and would, by themselves without a Scholemaster, in short tyme, and with small paines, recover a sufficient habilitie, to understand, write, and speake Latin*. (1570). In Ascham's view competence in Latin would be the foundation of good English. This would be achieved by double translation - Latin to English, and after a break, back to Latin.

[216] Rowse, *The Cultural Achievement*, p.53.

language, and help to create a national identity at a time when there were growing threats from different European countries at different times, but especially from Spain both in terms of religion and trade.[217] Inherited pride in the English language was a strong factor in Whig identity, and helps explain in the hostility to in importation of Italian opera.

[1/87] Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster* published posthumously by his wife in 1570, was republished in 1711 to plague Handel's *Rinaldo*. It was edited and published by the Cambridge scholar, James Upton, who signed the dedication on 10 February 1711,[218] fourteen days before the first performance of Handel's *Rinaldo*, the opera that marked the climax of the slow arrival of Italian opera in London (1705-1711). The 1711 edition of *The Schoolmaster* with updated spelling, repeats the warnings that emerge from a grand tour of Italy, 'Circe's Court' with its 'Siren's songes'. It quotes excellent young men of learning, who returned from Italy with 'less learning', totally corrupted. Ascham refers to Plato who found cities in Sicily teeming with corruption and licentiousness, which then spread throughout Italy. There is no indication that the book made any difference to the performances of *Rinaldo* by which time the lines of opposition to Italian opera had already been firmly drawn.

[1/88] There is an early eighteenth-century parallel to Ascham in Jeremy Collier's *Short View* attack on the English stage, and the moralistic propaganda by the Society for the Reformation of Manners. Ascham's attack on Italy had been published in the 1570s when new attitudes to education and morals were being debated.[219] In an atmosphere of moral

[217] J.B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth*, pp. 119-136, dealing with the increased Spanish occupation of the Netherlands from 1559, its trade and religious conflicts with England, the clash between John Hawkins and the Spaniards over trade monopolies in the Americas, the conspiracies of the Spanish ambassador Don Guerau de Spes to raise a rebellion to put Mary Stuart on the throne of England and restore Catholicism, etc., all of this paving the way to the Armada in 1588. War with Spain was only one aspect of Elizabethan foreign policy. During Elizabeth's long reign of 44 years, England was constantly in danger from potential enemies - France, the Spanish Netherlands, the Imperial Habsburgs, the Papacy, Scotland, Ireland. As long as Elizabeth could play off one against the other, she could survive. Luckily, France was anti-Habsburg, and keen to dismantle the over-powerful Spanish Empire, and this, combined with the French civil wars of religion (1562-98) meant that England's real threat was Spain. However, the patriotic English spirit that emerged from these threats helped to consolidate the notion of fortress Britannia to which even many English Catholics adhered (Black, pp.144-152). This incipient English nationalism was much more developed in the early 18th century when Italian opera arrived.

[218] *The Schoolmaster* (1711), a shorter title than the original Ascham.

[219] In the preface to *The Scholemaster* (1571) Ascham, Elizabeth's Latin secretary and occasional tutor, describes being present at a meeting of the Queen's privy council at Windsor Castle on 10 December 1563, when corporal punishment in education was being discussed. They ought to have been discussing the growing threat of war with Spain, but Ascham argued that, following the number of pupils fleeing the harsh punishments

improvement, it was fashionable to attack Italy for the spread of vice in England. While Thomas Nashe accused the Italians of pride and hypocrisy,[220] Robert Greene railed against Italy for "infectious abuses and vainglory, self-love, sodomy, and strange poisonings, wherewith thou hast infected this glorious isle".[221] The intrusion of Italian culture was not welcome, a view repeated by John Dennis in 1706 when the introduction of Italian opera was being fiercely resisted by the literary elite.[222] However, it seems that by 1711, the moralistic propaganda had exhausted itself, had become irrelevant, or that the Handel phenomenon was the culmination of the lure of Italian culture that had been gestating for centuries.

[1/89] The answer to the question – why the Italian madrigal had an easier reception in the reign of Queen Elizabeth than Italian opera in the reign of Queen Anne – lies mainly with royal patronage.[223] Queen Elizabeth was fascinated by Italian language and literature, and encouraged the madrigal, but there is no evidence that Queen Anne was a patron for Italian opera in the pre-Handel years [3/43; fn.148]. As a result of an intensive education in many languages, Elizabeth spent a lifetime exercising this skill in letter writing, one at the age of eleven in Italian to Katherine Parr.[224] On 13 May 1557 the ambassador Giovanni Michiel reported enthusiastically to the Venetian senate that Elizabeth was likely to become the next Queen of England, and that her proficiency in Italian was excellent.[225] When Elizabeth became Queen she would be able to address Italian diplomats and ambassadors in their own

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at Eton, fear was not a effective motivating factor in the learning process. Motivation was key to effective learning. This debate urged him to write his book.

[220] Thomas Nashe, 'Pierce Penniless' in *The Unfortunate Traveller* and Other Works, p.73.

[221] J.B. Black, The Reign of Elizabeth, p.279.

[222] The views of Nashe, Greene, and Ascham are reflected by John Dennis in his 1706 An ESSAY on the OPERA'S After the Italian Manner, Which are about to be Establish'd on the ENGLISH STAGE: with some Reflections on the Damage which they may bring to the Publick.

[223] This is a moot point. Fellowes insists the death of Elizabeth was the beginning of the end for the English madrigal (pp.52 ff). Kerman claims there was 'not enough support of patronage' (p.248). Neither explores the point. However, there is little question about Elizabeth's education and enthusiasm for Italian language and literature. Battista Castiglione (a distant relative of the author) had been appointed to tutor Elizabeth in Italian. He was given the title of Master of the Italian Tongue in 1544, and a more prestigious post in 1558, Groom of the Privy Chamber, a position he held till near his death in 1598. His time spent with the Queen reflects her engagement with the language.

[224] In Italian, no doubt to impress her stepmother, the queen regent - a sophisticated letter, dated 31 July 1544, requesting attendance at court pending Henry's military campaign in France; Marcus L.S., Mueller J., & Rose B.R., Elizabeth I : *Collected works* (University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp.5-6. The book contains speeches, letters, poems, and prayers, in Italian among other languages, throughout the life of Elizabeth.

[225] Petrina, letter quoted, pp.95-96.

language, an opportunity anticipated with enthusiasm.[226] Other Venetian visitors in 1575, unencumbered by the need for diplomatic niceties, reported home that the Queen addressed them in *lingua nostra*, and, noted that the court, *quasi tutti*, were fluent in Italian.[227] Towards the end of her reign, Elizabeth's competence in Italian was still being admired – by Francesco Gradenigo in 1596,[228] and the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Scaramelli in 1603.[229] When not engaged in affairs of state or diplomatic engagements, Elizabeth busied herself with translations from several languages. There was a general interest in the Elizabethan period for translating Petrarch's 1470 *Trionfi*, and the Queen joined in with *Trionfo dell' Eternità*.[230] Italian literary influence could flourish with a monarch who spoke, wrote in, and relished, the language. This Elizabethan passion for Italian was missing with Queen Anne during the introduction of Italian opera in early eighteenth-century London. The influx of Italian opera in the early eighteenth century would have to survive without royal patronage, and as a commercial proposition.

[1/90] Apart from patronage, there were other differences. Madrigals were produced for domestic consumption, a product for the English home, although by 'home', Edmund Fellowes refers to musical households like Hengrave Hall.[231] Jerome Roche quotes Nicholas Yonge, who invited gentlemen and merchants to his home as a 'madrigal centre'. Roche specifies gifted amateur singers, but from the 'wealthier reaches of society' (p.121). On the

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[226] Alessandra Petrina – "Perfit Readiness": Elizabeth Learning and Using Italian; Bajetta, Elizabeth I's Foreign Correspondence, p.93.

[227] Petrina, p.96; the visitors were Giovanni Falier, Giovanni Mocenigo, Alvise Foscari. Falier transcribed the complete meeting. Elizabeth nurtured an Italian ambience at court. Her godson, Sir John Harington, began translating Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* in the 1580s. An anecdote describes how the Queen caught Harington circulating lewd tales from Canto 28 among her ladies-in-waiting, so as a punishment, banned him from court until he had translated all 33,000 lines of the work. It was published in 1591 (ODNB).

[228] Gradenigo was on a fact finding mission from Venice. His report illustrates the Queen's wit and skill in Italian, a model for interaction with Italian culture: 'I was presented to her Majesty, and no sooner had I kissed hands than she said to me in Italian, which language she speaks extremely well, "My brother, the King of France, writes to me that I am to show you the most beautiful things in this kingdom, and the first thing you have seen is the ugliest, myself"; to which I replied that the splendour of her virtues was so great that the whole universe knew how excellent she must be, their source; and now that I had satisfied my eyes and fed my soul with the sight of her person, I cared to see naught else, for I was right well aware that the rest could not compare with her.' Translated from – 'Venice: November 1596', in Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 9, 1592-1603, ed. Horatio F Brown (London, 1897), pp. 236-245. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol9/pp236-245 [accessed 20 April 2016].

[229] Lisa Hilton, *Elizabeth, Renaissance Prince* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 2014) p.104.

[230] *Elizabeth I: Translations 1544-1589*, Janel Mueller & Joshua Scodel (eds.), pp.457-474. The complete *Trionfi* were translated by Lord Morley in 1554, and by William Fowler in 1587.

[231] Edmund Fellowes, *The English Madrigal*, 1972, Ch.1, which describes the houses, conditions, participants, and the ability to sing at sight from part books.

other hand, Italian opera was produced as an entrepreneurial enterprise in public theatres, and therefore exposed to criticism in a relatively free press. Although subscriptions existed for Italian opera, they were limited, and so the success of an opera depended on attendance. The patrons were the operagoers. As explored in Chapter Three [24] attendance was subjected to competition between theatres, and often with sabotage. With madrigals the ethos was cooperation rather than competition, and in the comfort of amiable surroundings.

[1/91] It is instructive to compare the appetite for Italian culture, and especially music, in the Elizabethan period with that of the reign of Queen Anne. Lewis Einstein showed that in Elizabeth's reign Italian culture spread from the court to the gentry, but in tandem with anti-Italian sentiment as well, fed by patriotism and Puritan acrimony.[232] But F.O. Matthiessen argued that translations from Italian were no slavish literal exercises, but works reborn in English culture,[233] Thomas Hoby's *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio* (1561) from Castiglione being a prime example.[234] John Hale maintained that in spite of sharply divided opinion about Italian culture, Italy was a place where the arts and the sciences flourished.[235] Adding to this, in 2009, Soko Tomita compiled a catalogue of 291 books, mostly translated from Italian (451 editions), published in England in the reign of Elizabeth I, an indication that there was an massive appetite for Italian literature. As a background to this flood of literature, William Thomas's *Historie of Italie* had appeared before Elizabeth's reign in 1549, and a translation of Guicciardini's history of Italy, *The Historie of Guicciardin*, was translated by Sir Geoffrey Fenton in 1579. As a useful resource John Florio published dictionaries, grammars, and conversation books, starting with *Florio his Firste Fruites* in 1578, which catered for the growing appetite for the Italian language, carefully nourished by Elizabeth in her court. The book comprised forty-four chapters of graduated dialogues and phrases with parallel Italian and English texts, appended with rules for grammar, designed for both English and Italian speakers.[236] The volume was such a success that *Florios Second*

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[232] Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England: Studies* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1903).

[233] The Rinaldo dedication to Queen Anne in 1711 encourages her to see the performance as an 'English Opera more splendid than her Mother, the Italian'. The opera had been 'englished' (!), even if sung in Italian by a cast of Italians.

[234] F.O. Matthiessen, 'Translation: An Elizabethan Art' (Cambridge MA diss., HUP, 1931).

[235] J.R. Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1963), Ch.1. Hale itemises and discusses the writers who berated or misunderstood Italian culture - Hoby, Philemon Holland, Thomas Palmer, Ascham, Nashe, Webster (plays about Italian poisoning methods), Bishop Hall, Raleigh, etc.

[236] Henry Granthan translated *An Italian Grammar* from Scipio Lentulo's original in 1587, but it did not reach the popularity of Florio's work.

Frutes appeared in 1591 – it included 6,000 proverbs, handy for a courtly lull in conversation, and a point for discussion as well.[237] Whereas in Elizabethan England, the two languages, English and Italian developed in tandem, in Queen Anne's reign, Italian opera was regarded by the Whig elite as a foreign intrusion and a threat to indigenous English theatre.

[1/92] Despite the mass of literary and scientific publication in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, music publication was a different matter. Publication of music was controlled by private monopolies issued by the Crown, and in this case, by Tallis, Byrd, and Morley. This meant that madrigals were in the hands of a narrow club of friends, and therefore more easily protected from hostile interests. By the early eighteenth century, moveable type had been abandoned. John Walsh Sr was engraving on pewter plates, which were quicker to use, and had the advantage of a daily press to advertise. With the exception of *Gli amori di Ergasto*, the score of which disappeared with the composer shortly after production, Walsh published songs for Italian operas leading to *Rinaldo* (1705-11), thus providing a source for the songs long after the productions had ceased.[238] The downside of this mass of publication was weak copyright insurance for music scores, and the opportunity for unauthorised publication and pirated editions.[239]

[1/93] Ascham's warnings about the dangers Italian culture in 1570, and that Italian travel would corrupt, importing 'Papistrie or worse',[240] has a parallel with John Dennis in an *Essay on the Opera's* (1706), in which he claimed Italian opera to be a degenerate and barbarous import, which seduced women, and made men effeminate. There is a similar parallel between the Puritans in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the Society for the Reformation of Manners

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[237] All texts listed in Soko Tomita's *Biographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1558-1603* (2009), see pp.35-80.

[238] Walsh's choice of songs for publication deserves and study in itself, although the groundwork has already been done by the bibliographies of William Smith (1968), and David Hunter (1997). An example of Walsh's approach, was a keen emphasis on English song (pp.3-29 for the year 1703; pp.30-41 for Eccles alone in 1704). *Arsinoe*, first performed on 16 January 1705, the first Italianate opera, had to wait almost three months for its first collection of songs (in English), by which time it had reached nine performances, but *Camilla* with a more famous composer (Bononcini), had its first collection of songs within three days, and ran to three editions within a month. For data see Hunter, pp.43 (*Arsinoe*), 45-67 (*Camilla*); *Arsinoe* performances, M&H Calendar, 2001, pp.204-218.

[239] John Small 'The Development of Musical Copyright' in Michael Kassler (ed.), *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 2011, pp.278-9. My review of the book suggests that Small's lengthy chapter is the most cohesive part of the book, *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* (no.20, 2014, pp.54-55).

[240] *The Scholemaster* (1870 reprint) p.78. His quote is a reminder that the Italian influence carried a moral health warning.

in the reign of Queen Anne. It seems the enemies of Italian musical culture made little headway in either case, although the victory of the Puritans in the Commonwealth (1649-1660), sealed not just the fate of the madrigal, but all vocal music and theatre as well, albeit in the short term. By contrast, Italian opera survived into the late eighteenth century. The sheer weight of Italian literature, allowed the influence of Italian madrigal to flourish. This background was missing to support Italian opera in the early eighteenth century, but the arrival of Handel ensured its survival. What emerges from this comparison between Elizabethan attitudes to Italian madrigals and the later arrival of Italian opera, is, that Whig reverence for the Elizabethan period was selective with a focus of Protestantism and English national identity. At no point in the *Tatler* or the *Spectator* is there a reference to William Byrd, whose reputation in late Elizabethan England, and certainly with the Queen, may have been greater than that of Edmund Spenser.[241] In Queen Anne's reign royal patronage diminished. Italian music which had shifted to the theatre depended on public patronage. The survival of Catholics like Dryden and Pope showed that religious tolerance had increased, albeit with limitations, but both authors triumphed against the odds. An operatic genre imported from a Catholic country, but brought to prominence by a German Protestant, clinched the future of Italian opera.

Pre-Handel Reception in Handel Biographies

[1/94] Handel biographies, whether scholarly or for the popular market, are a useful guide to pre-Handel reception for the years 1705–1710 before Handel arrived.[242] These years are significant in that they saw the development of an orchestra, an accumulation of singers, and a venue, all for Italian opera, without which it is unlikely Handel would have remained in London to compose *Rinaldo* in 1711.[243] In the first biography (1760) by John Mainwaring,

[241] Spenser made an enemy of Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's chief secretary, by satirising him and the court in *Mother Hubberds Tale* (Hatfield biography, pp.265 ff.). The Queen found Spenser's brand of Protestantism too extreme, and especially that of the Puritans, keen to abolish any vestiges of Catholic liturgical music. As Hatfield put it, 'From a reformed perspective, Elizabeth was obviously flirting with the evils of the deposed Catholic Church'. It is hard to imagine Queen Anne 'flirting' with Italian opera. For Elizabeth, Byrd's music was more attractive than Spenser's extreme Protestantism, the more so when *Mother Hubberds Tale* caused a scandal (Doran & Freeman, eds., *The Myth of Elizabeth*, pp.58-59).

[242] O. E. Deutsch, in his Preface to *Handel*, *a Documentary Study* (1955), refers to biographies using documentary material 'in an arbitrary manner' and makes a plea for great accuracy (p.xii). Hopefully, this section of the thesis will reveal the extent of the inaccuracies.

[243] For orchestra rosters, see Coke's Theatrical Papers, docs. 89, 95, for the season 1710–11; for Italian singers, the cast in the librettos for *Almahide* and *Hydaspes* (1710), and *Etearco* and *Rinaldo* (1711), and the Queen's Theatre which by the arrival of Handel was a recognised opera house – see 'Handel's London – the theatres', Milhous & Hume, *Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Burrows, pp.55–57; Richard Leacroft, *The*

for the pre-Handel years he confesses he knows nothing of the composers of this period, but has read Addison *Spectator 18*, and refers to 'the confusion of languages and passions', which distort the music, so that 'the best Composer could hardly be distinguished from the worst'. He concludes, 'The arrival of Handel put an end to this reign of nonsense'.[244] This attitude formed a model to a greater or lesser extent for future biographies, but none as extreme as Mainwaring whose book borders on hagiography. People who knew Handel criticised Mainwaring's book, particularly Charles Jennens, Handel's oratorio librettist and patron, but the bulk of the criticism was aimed at the catalogue of works, the second part of the book.[245] For the first part, the memoir, Handel seems to have provided the material himself for Mainwaring.[246] If this was the case, much depends on a faithful rendering by Mainwaring of Handel's account of his life, and to what extend versions were embroidered to make Handel's arrival seem that of a saviour or conquering hero.

[1/95] Sixteen years after Mainwaring's publication, a five-volume work appeared, not a biography as such, but a history of music, full of biographies.[247] For the years 1705–11, Hawkins's *General History* discusses all the operas leading to *Rinaldo,* with the usual condemnation of Clayton taken from the 1709 *Discourse*, although he has praise for the quality of the songs used for the pasticcio operas. In error, he has Greber's *Loves of Ergasto* opening the Queen's Theatre in 1706,[248] and *Hydaspes* located after *Rinaldo* in 1712, but the overall impression is of serious research, making nonsense of Mainwaring's 'reign of nonsense'.[249]

Development of the English Playhouse (1973), pp.99-105. From the outset in 1705, the acoustics of the building were too reverberant for plays.

[244] *Memoirs of the Life of the late George Frederic Handel*, 1760 (anon), pp.77-78. Mainwaring was identified as the author in 1776 and 1787 – see Graydon Beeks in *Festa Musicologica, Essays for George J. Buelow*, 1995, ed. Mathiesen & Rivera, p.90.

[245] The title page of the book indicates three parts, Memoirs, Catalogue of Works, Observations. Winton Dean focuses on the catalogue – 'Charles Jennens's Marginalia to Mainwaring's Life of Handel' (Music & Letters, 1972).

[246] Donald Burrows argues this case, 'the only person in London who could have known as much about Handel's early life was Handel himself'. Burrows's view is that Handel provided this material in the 1750s when Mainwaring was compiling his book – 'Handel and Hanover', p.37, *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: tercentenary essays*, ed. Peter Williams, 1985. There seems to have been no adverse criticism to Mainwaring's 'reign of nonsense' in subsequent publications, presumably perceived to be an acceptable point of view.

[247] Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vols.1-5 (London, 1776). Whenever Hawkins mentions a composer, he provides a short biography.

[248] The correct opera, but the wrong date, taken from the Cibber *Apology* (p.172, ed. B.R.S. Fone)

[249] This favourable account of Hawkins in the years 1705-1711, is not generally typical of the five volumes. Percy Scholes on his biography, *Sir John Hawkins* (1776), provides a critique in Chapter 11, and describes its poor reception in Chapter 12. Much of Hawkins's research came from Dr Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-

[1/96] Charles Burney published *A General History of Music* from Volume One in 1776 to Volume Four in 1789, and similarly provides mini-biographies of characters discussed in the history. Burney is more rigorous with the sources and cautious when they conflict. He identifies the correct date for the opening of the Queen's Theatre (9 April 1705), but strangely, claims the inaugural to be Dryden's *Indian Emperor* (14 April). He correctly quotes the *Daily Courant* for the performance of *Loves of Ergasto* on 24 April. This information is consigned to a bulky footnote with the reservation that, 'I am more minute about the performances in this theatre, as Cibber's account, which has been generally followed by others, is very inaccurate'.[250] Otherwise all the Italian operas leading to *Rinaldo*, including detailed accounts of the singers, are discussed. The composer, Clayton, gets the rough treatment with *Arsinoe* condemned as 'trash',[251] a verdict also meted out by Hawkins, but originally by 'A Critical Discourse' (1709).[252] As a practising musician, Burney can provide greater detail in the music, so with *Pyrrhus* (1708), he discusses the intricacies of divisions with illustrations (ed. Mercer, p.668). While finding Addison, entertaining, Burney demolishes Addison's remarks on Italian opera in *Spectator 18*, which Mainwaring was so happy to quote (p.675). Both Hawkins, and to a greater extent, Burney, provided rich material for future biographies, totally missing from Mainwaring for the period 1705–11.[253]

1752) whose massive library contained volumes stretching from ancient Greece and Rome to the eighteenth century. Pepusch shared his collection, and memories of music of half a century with Hawkins, but ungraciously, Hawkins played down this assistance (pp.119-120).

[250] *General History*, 1776, vol. 4, p.200, fn.(n); also ed. Mercer, vol.2, p.655, fn.(n).

[251] Burney acknowledges the performances of *Arsinoe* in Bologna and Venice, but it does not occur to him that Clayton may have used music from the original versions instead 'a collection of favourite opera airs', obviously composed by Clayton, argues Burney, because no Italian opera composer could have written anything 'so mean in melody and incorrect in counterpoint', but why so many productions in London – the audiences must have 'hungered and thirsted extremely' for this sort of 'trash', a sentiment repeated in later biographies, and even in Dean & Knapp (1995, revised), p.142; Burney *General History* (1789), pp.199-201.

[252] The amount of space given to undermining Clayton in *Rosamond* (1707) far outweighs the virtues of *Camilla* (1706), which later (1972 ff.), Lowell Lindgren would argue to be the most important Italian opera leading to *Rinaldo*. The continuing influence of 'A Critical Discourse' was significant. Burney devotes one short paragraph to *Camilla*, and two pages to *Rosamond*. Hawkins goes further and illustrates with the overture (too many thirds) and an aria (too simplistic) to show the depths to which the opera *Rosamond* could sink. Hawkins takes no account of performance; the aria is a jolly jig in pastoral style (Dover Edition, Vol.2, pp.811-12; see [4/30 ff.].

[253] For the interested scholar, Percy Scholes provides opportunity for a detailed comparison of Hawkins and Burney in *The Great Dr Burney*, vol.2, p.401, but there is no comparison of the pre-Handel period.

[1/97] Two such biographies were published in the mid-nineteenth century, Schœlcher (French) in 1857, and Chrysander (German) the following year.[254] Both acknowledge the influence of Hawkins and Burney. Schœlcher is selective. He ignores the pastorals, and starts with *Camilla*, music 'chiefly borrowed from Marco Antonio Bononcini' (p.26), with the date 30 April 1706. Both composer and date are taken erroneously from Burney (actual date, 30 March), but both Hawkins and Burney were cautious about which Bononcini. Hawkins provides only the surname with a hint of 'resident in the court of the emperor', ambiguous, since both Bononcini brothers were in the service of the court in Vienna.[255] Burney, on the other hand, attempted to decide which Bononcini composed the original *Camilla*. He started with the belief it was Giovanni, but then studied performances over Europe, concluding the one in Vienna in 1697 was that of 'Marc'Antonio'.[256] But, 'Marc'Antonio' did not compose a *Camilla* opera, and it was Giovanni who was in Vienna in 1697. Based on Burney's speculation, Schœlcher took a more resolute point of view, and so perpetuated an error. There are several errors in Schœlcher, but space prevents a list. He claimed to 'have a copy of *Clotilda*' before him, but reads the year 1809, when it should be 1709. Then noting the libretto being, 'half in Italian and half in English', he relishes Burney's disapproval, but ignoring his footnote qualification, and gleefully quotes Thomas Busby's *Complete Dictionary of Music* (1786), that these macaronic pieces have been dubbed 'gallimanfries' (p.27). The condemnation of the pasticcio opera, started with 'A Critical Discourse' in 1709, and was here reinforced, despite Hawkins having suggested that the songs were popular, and went quickly into print.[257]

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[254] *The Life of Handel*, Victor Schœlcher, trans. James Lowe (1857), pp.26-32; *G.F. Händel*, Friedrich Chrysander, vol.1 (1858), pp.250-309.

[255] Giovanni Bononcini was employed in Vienna from 1698, with intermissions, and with the unusually high salary of 5000 florins per annum. His brother, Antonio Maria Bononcini (correct name), joined him in 1700, and was formally employed during the reign of Emperor Joseph 1 (1705-11). The new Emperor Charles VI, keen on economies, dispensed with the services of the Bononcinis by 1712 (NGDO, vol.1, pp.540-1).

[256] The original 1789 edition of *General History*, vol.4, p.210, fn.(z). In *Annals of Opera* (1943, revised posthumously, 1955) Alfred Loewenberg explains the misunderstanding between the brothers Bononcini. Under the entry *Il Trionfo di Camilla Regina de' Volsci* (1696), attributed to 'M.A. (or G.) Bononcini', he notes the attribution to Giovanni in 'A Critical Discourse' (1709) following the London version of the opera in 1706, but sees the Venice libretto (1698) and the Vienna MS score with M.A. Bononcini's name attached as carry more weight (*Annals*, 1955, pp.97-98, actually, page columns). The Marc' Antonio (aka., Antonio Maria) attribution continues to 1966 with the Paul Henry Lang biography (p.125), but resolved with the Lindgren PhD thesis in 1972. Strangely, in 1983, E.W. White *A Register of first Performances of English Operas and Semi-Operas* (p.19), is still quoting Marcantonio Bononcini as the composer of *Camilla* . However, he recognises the evidence of 1709, but quotes the wrong source, *The Comparison* rather than 'A Critical Discourse' [95-96] above.

[257] David Hunter, *Opera & Song Books published in England 1703-1726* (1997); Baldwin & Wilson (eds.), *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music, 1702-1711* (2007); my [5/15].

[1/98] Friedrich Chrysander takes a different approach to the arrival of Italian opera in London. Like Schœlcher, his main sources are Hawkins and Burney, but he much prefers Burney, whom he declares to be much better than Hawkins ('da seine Angaben wenigstens siebenmal zuverlässiger sind'), but he delights in criticising both. The Chrysander approach differs from others, especially in terms of emphasis. Over 59 pages, there are three areas of discussion. First, he devotes sixteen pages to arguing a case that that there is a direct line from Shakespeare through Purcell to Handel, and chides Burney for ignoring the close Purcell-Handel connection.[258] He goes further, berating Burney for not having seen the score of *Dido and Aeneas*, which, of course, was not available until mid-nineteenth century when Chrysander was writing.[259] Had Burney known about the all-sung *Dido*, speculates Chrysander, he would have linked Purcell to Handel in a line of development.[260] But Burney, unlike Hawkins, kept Purcell and English opera separate from the introduction of Italian opera.[261]

[1/99] In Chrysander, Italian operas 1705–11 are covered in a mere nine pages, but the *Rinaldo* discussion stretches to thirty-three. There is, therefore, comparatively little on the years 1705–1711, and what there is, comes mainly from Burney, replete with errors, and adding another.[262] Clayton is derided as expected, both in *Arsinoe* and *Rosamond*, and the bilingual productions inherit the condemnation of 'a confusion of tongues'.[263] *Almahide* is

[258] 'Fast alles, was Purcell andeutet und wünscht, ist in Händels Leben erfüllt, zum Theil so genau, daß man es mit denselben Worten beschreiben könnte … Hätte Purcell bis in Händel's Zeiten gelebt, er würde ihn am tiefsten verstanden und am aufrichtigsten bewundert haben. … Burney sieht dies nicht.' (*G. F. Händel*, 1858, p.256). Later, Romain Rolland would take a similar view, that to succeed in England, Handel absorbed Purcell's style and developed it (*Handel*, 1916, p.60).

[259] My first thought was Chrysander's access to the MS Tenbury, but in an email exchange with Bruce Wood, he suggested the possibility of 'Macfarren's edition of *Dido*, undated but generally accepted to be c.1843, a date convenient for Chrysander' (Bruce Wood, Wed 06/03/2019 15:50, b.wood@bangor.ac.uk.

[260] 'Purcell bearbeitete in seinem kurzen Leben 39 Werke dieser Art [semioperas]. Den Anfang machte er schon 1675 in seinem 17. Lebensjahre mit Dido und Aeneas. Hier kommen mehrere accompagnirte Recitative vor, was Burney nicht wußte, weil ihm das Werk unbekannt blieb. [Chrysander, *G.F. Händel,* vol.1, p.259]

[261] 'Let those who shall think Purcell has sacrificed the national honour by confessing his reverence for the productions of Italy, compare the secular productions of English musicians [with those of Italians in 17th century], and if they so not equally hate Music and truth, they will admire Purcell's probity, as well as his genius' (Burney, *General History*, ed. Mercer, p.404).

[262] *Camilla* is assigned to Marc'Antonio Bononcini as mooted by Burney, but Chrysander decides he is the elder brother (p.267); Marc'Antonio Bononcini (Antonio Maria, 1677-1726); Giovanni Bononcini (1670-1747).

[263] The 'confusion of tongues' was admitted by Heidegger in his 1710 *Almahide* libretto 'Note to the Reader', referring to the overwhelming amount of Italian in *Clotilde*, thus provoking an all-Italian opera, which he wanted anyway. This was picked up by Addison in his 1711 *Spectator 18* and perpetuated by John Mainwaring

'das Werk eines ungenannten Componisten', despite the original coming from Vienna to celebrate the Emperor Joseph I's birthday – Ariosti's *Amor tra nemici* (1708), even if a slightly different plot. The benefit of Chrysander is that German comparisons abound, especially if Germans produced an Italian opera before London. Chrysander claims to have bought a score of '*Hydaspes*' (more likely entitled, *L'Idaspe fedele*) with Handel's name on the title page (p.274). The final, and most original, part is the *Rinaldo* discussion, which is the most plausible part of his deliberation.

[1/100] Two Handel biographies were published in 1883, no doubt stimulated by the forthcoming centenary of the Westminster Abbey anniversary 'Commemoration' of 1784.[264] Mrs Julian Marshall has Handel arrive in England in Chapter V, a third of the way through the book of 136 pages. She tells us that 'dramatic music was at a low ebb, even for this country, considerably behind its neighbours', but then informs the reader that Handel will come to the rescue – an elaboration of Mainwaring.[265] She recounts failed attempts at recitative in the seventeenth century, dismissing eyewitness accounts by John Evelyn in 1663, and in 1674, having seen an 'Italian opera in music', because English singers could not perform Italian opera, and when Italian singers did arrive, there was the 'confusion of tongues' – she refers to this as 'the same Babel which prevailed at Hamburg', a situation which Handel would resolve.[266] But the Hamburg fashion with recitative in German and arias in Italian did not necessarily confuse the plot. Like Mainwaring, Chrysander, and Schoelcher, Mrs Marshall, has missed the point of *Spectator 18*, that a bilingual text would allow the audience to understand half of the plot, but an all-Italian production, would mean understanding nothing, so, not an argument for the promotion of Italian opera. Mrs Marshall follows Burney's review of operas leading to *Rinaldo*, but uniquely for its time in this list of

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(p.77) in 1760. However, Hawkins makes no reference to this, and Burney takes a different view – the listening process in the theatre had changed with Italian opera. The 'confusion of tongues' no longer mattered: 'Indeed, *the confusion of tongues*, concerning which Mr. Addison is so pleasant in the Spectator, seems to have been tolerated with great good nature by the public; who, in Music, as well as words, seemed to care much less about *what* was sung, than *how* it was sung' (*General History*, 1789, vol.4, p.210) – alternatively, *prima la musica, dopo le parole*.

[264] *George Frederick Handel*, Mrs Julian Marshall (London, 1883); Rockstro, W.S., *The Life of George Frederick Handel* (London, 1883).

[265] Marshall, Ch. V, 'First Establishment in England', p.47.

[266] In 1663 Evelyn claimed to have witnessed recitative music at the *Siege of Rhodes*, and in 1674, we now know the opera he saw was Cavalli's *Erismena*. But Mrs Marshall is keen to demonstrate a condition of deprivation before the arrival of Handel, so rejects these claims for early attempts at opera.

biographies, notes that Handel's speed in composing *Rinaldo*, was due to the use of recycled music (pp.52–53).

[1/101] The other 1883 biography is by William Smyth Rockstro, who set out to produce a compendious study (452 pages), compared to Marshall's slimmer publication (136 pages). With copious footnotes and references, Rockstro's book gives the impression of being a scholarly work. Chapter IX deals with Handel's arrival in London. However, the familiar tale is repeated, 'the prospects of Dramatic Music … were not promising', and no surprise, with bilingual opera the 'confusion of tongues' is repeated. He plunders Addison's account of *Camilla*, and for good measure, the wrong composer, Marc Antonio Bononcini. To emphasise the arrival of Handel as a hero to the rescue, Rockstro concludes, 'Everyone knew Handel would bring good music with him', an odd observation for someone who used Addison as evidence. This is a blemish in an otherwise well-informed book. In Chapter IX he clarifies the intricacies of *opera seria*, lavishes praise on Italian opera singers, explains their function in the drama, and identifies the aria types – a useful guide for the operagoer. He proclaims *Rinaldo* to be Handel's finest opera, although from the publication of the book in 1883, there were no recorded stage performances of the opera before 1923. [267]

[1/102] The Master Musicians series began in 1899. From that year there have been at least three biographies of Handel in the series, each with a different view of the period 1705–1711 – C. F. Abdy Williams (1901/1935), Percy Young (1947), and Donald Burrows (1994/2012), but this should include Edward Dent (Great Lives, 1934), whose biography helped in the posthumous revision of the 1935 Williams edition.[268] There are minor changes to the 1901 Williams edition for 1935: Clayton 'adapted' the music for *Arsinoe* rather than 'composed' it, and the spelling of 'Hydastes' [sic; p.50] in 1901, is corrected to *Hydaspes* in 1935 (p.44). The material is essentially from Burney, including at least one of his errors – *The Temple of Love* (1706) is alleged to be by Greber despite the libretto title page specifying Saggione.[269]

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[267] Handel's Operas 1704-1725, Dean & Knapp (1995), Appendix F, p.674.

[268] C.F.A. Williams, *Hande*l, first published in 1901, was used posthumously after the author's death (1923) for the Master Musician's series in 1935 (World Cat entities claim 26 editions 1901-2012). Eric Blom in his 'Note to the revised Edition', bewails excessive reliance on Mainwaring by Chrysander, but for the period 1705-11, Chrysander sources are mainly Hawkins and Burney. He claims both Chrysander and Schœlcher are 'misleading', and thanks biographical studies by Newman Flower (1923) and Edward Dent (1934) for their assistance in revising the Williams text. Percy Young's *Handel* appeared in 1947, and Donald Burrows's *Handel* in 1994, revised in 2012 (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2015).

[269] Hawkins noted this correctly, but Burney specifies Greber (1789; p.202) – it is a puzzle why Burney should make this error because he claimed to have the librettos on his desk, and Saggione's name appears on the title

There is less mockery of the bilingual opera, referred to with more reverence as the Hamburg fashion and Busby's 'gallimaufries' (1935; p.43). As with most biographies, *Rinaldo* gets most attention, and tends to be more accurate.

[1/103] Percy Young in 1947 takes a view espoused by Eric Walter White in 1951 (also, 1983) and later by Roger Fiske in 1973 with modifications, that had Purcell lived, the success of Italian opera could have been avoided (p.21).[270] Young does little more than list some of the operas in less than two pages, his objective to get to *Rinaldo* as soon as possible. Edward Dent in 1934, quoted as helping to revise Williams in 1935, is equally brief, and may have influenced Young with his emphasis on the role of Heidegger. Dent initiates a non-judgemental approach, avoiding the influence of Burney, seeing the Clayton experiments as part of the process in change, and correctly questioning Burney's guesswork with the composer of *Almahide*. Dent seeks to explain why Italian opera succeeded. This, of course, includes the passing of Purcell and his influence, but also the arrival of Italian singers who had already achieved popularity in concert performances. Fashion saw an inevitable shift to Italian opera with quality singers and the ideal opera house.

[1/104] With Donald Burrows 1994, there is a more professional and better-informed approach to the pre-Handel period in London. However, as in all the biographies, Handel is the main interest, and so pre-Handel events become a mere prelude to *Rinaldo*, and are reduced to relatively minor importance. With Burrows, as in Dent, singers, orchestra, and the opera house get attention. But in Burrows there is but cursory treatment of the main operas, *Camilla*, *Thomyris*, and *L'Idaspe fedele*. *Ergasto* is described as 'partly in Italian',[271] Downes's account in *Roscius Anglicanus*, is taken at face value without question,[272] and Vanbrugh's ability to manoeuvre theatrical arrangement with the Lord Chamberlain is overestimated, since in the main, he was a victim of circumstances, and his own mismanagement. The claim that librettos were read during performances is mere

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page. Burney may have distrusted Cibber, but Cibber makes no reference to Greber in this opera. The Williams claim in 1935 for Greber composing *The Temple of Love* remained unchanged from the first edition in 1901. Dent saw no need to correct the fault. In his own biography Dent omits the pastorals, and so avoids the error.

[270] White, *The Rise of English Opera* (1951) with an Introduction by Benjamin Britten, and *A History of English Opera* (1983); Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (1973). One might include Timms & Wood (2017) in the chapter epigraph.

[271] 'Fully in Italian', had been known since the debate in the 1970s (e.g., Milhous, 1976, pp.151-2; Price, 1978, p.46), but the error is still in the 2012 Burrows edition, despite his quoting Downes's claim for Italian singers.

[272] The logistics and vagueness of Downes invitation to Italian singers, is itself suspect – see thesis Ch.2 [4-8].

guesswork.[273] There is no evidence of Manchester's role in inviting Handel to London, nor his bringing Nicolini back to London after his recall in September 1708 in the wake of another failed diplomatic mission.[274] The assumption that the dedication of *Rinaldo* was a bid for patronage from Queen Anne, rather than a pretence to woo the English audience, needs modification. If patronage meant financial remuneration, the dedication was cruising for a disappointment.[275] The greater the interest in Handel, the less attention is paid to conditions before his arrival. Mainwaring did this in the extreme, and its legacy lives on.

[1/105] One author, Christopher Hogwood, is particularly influenced by Mainwaring, and quotes his view on war, a view in need of revision.[276] When Handel 'set foot on English soil' (p.49) in 1710, it is doubtful it his thoughts turned to a range of items listed by Hogwood – the War of the Spanish Succession (which by that time was almost over), the national debt, or the Duchess of Marlborough's views on architecture. Hogwood uses Freiherr von Pöllnitz *Memoirs* (1737, not 1739) to emphasise London's dirty streets, but there is no evidence that Handel ever bestrode these streets in 1710 or later – the usual means of transport was more likely to be by carriage.[277] Hogwood alleges that the Earl of Manchester was still in Venice on diplomatic business in 1710, so could not cater for Handel in London, but Manchester had been recalled in 1708.

[1/106] The flaws in Hogwood could easily have been corrected with minimal research. He sees *Dido and Aeneas* as 'the most immediate candidate for the title of English opera', since it was revived in 1700 and 1704 (p.50). But how was it revived? In 1700 *Dido and Aeneas* was used in Gildon's adaption of *Measure for Measure*, *or Beauty the Best Advocate*, the complete opera, act by act, being inserted into Acts 1–3 of Gildon's play as 'Entertainments

[273] Librettos were printed and sold in advance of the opera for interested opera-goers.

[274] However, Joseph Roach speculates that Nicolini joined the Earl of Manchester's entourage in autumn 1708, on his recall to London ('Cavaliere Nicolini: London's First Opera Star', *Educational Theatre Journal*, 1976, p.193). Vanbrugh's letters to Manchester in Venice emphasise singers – he is not interested in composers (thesis: Ch.4/parags.412-43). London had plenty of minor composers, who could arrange arias from other operas, but Vanbrugh was convinced that that quality of the singer drew the crowds. He could not anticipate someone like Handel.

[275] The Queen did not dispense financial patronage, and did not attend the theatre after the death of her husband, Prince George of Denmark in 1708. Vanbrugh learned the lesson in foolishly assuming the Queen would fund his plan for Italian opera (Ch.3 [43]).

[276] Hogwood, *Handel*, 1984, p.49. There are more accurate and more immediate sources for The War of the Spanish Succession than Mainwaring (1760) – Hoppit (2000), O'Gorman, (1997), Hattendorf (1997).

[277] For a better account of a London street, see *Tatler 137* (23 Feb.1710), 'trudging along *Fleetstreet* [sic] on Foot' in which Steele and his friend complain only about the crowds, take a coach, and find the journey even slower (Bond II, p.290).

1–3'. The sung Prologue to *Dido* (now lost) was used for the Act 5 finale of Gildon's play.[278] In 1704, *Aeneas and Dido* (renamed) appeared on 29 January and 8 April 1704, both as afterpieces, so hardly candidates to lead 'English Opera'.[279]

[1/107] Gildon's choice of this Shakespeare play for adaptation may have been a riposte to Jeremy Collier's *Short View* (1698) aiming to stamp out immorality on the English stage. When *Measure for Measure* was next performed, 26 April 1706 in the Queen's Theatre, Purcell's music was dropped in favour of songs from Durfey's *Wonders in the Sun*,[280] and *Acis and Galatea* (Motteux/Eccles) added as an afterpiece. Scholars argued for a while whether the play was a tragedy or a comedy, but now we know the original Shakespeare play to be a tragicomedy, the threat of death with a happy ending.[281]

[1/108] Hogwood (p.51) notes that Richard Steele admired Nicolini's acting ability, 'Every Limb, and every Finger, contributes to the Part he acts …' and gives a reference, '*The Spectator*, (December 1708)', but wrong on both counts – it was *The Tatler*, and the date, 3 January 1709/10.[282] This Thames & Hudson publication is lavishly illustrated. One colour illustration (opposite p.34), 'The Rehearsal of an Opera' by Marco Ricci, claims that Handel is in the middle of the painting 'directing the proceedings', but E.W. White in 1960, and Joseph Roach in 1976, identified all the characters, and Handel is not one of them – the rehearsal is for *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* in 1708 before Handel came to London.[283] With one

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[278] The 'Entertainments 1-3' are used to accompany the growing passion of the austerely moralistic ruler of Vienna, Angelo, for Isabella, come to plead for her brother, falsely condemned to death for fornication. Purcell's death of Dido (Act 3), coincides with Isabella's apparent surrender to Angelo's lustful desire in return for the life of her brother. But a Shakespearian bed-switch in a darkened room, Angelo's secret wife in exchange for Isabella, reveals Angelo's hypocrisy, and allows Isabella's brother, Claudio, to go free. Lennep (ed.), *The London Stage*, Part 1, 1660-1700, pp.523-4, mentions only 'A Belinda', but a study of the Gildon play, shows the use of Purcell to be more complex, and integrated into the text.

[279] Avery (ed.), *The London Stage 1660–1800*, Part 2, vol.1, 1700–1717, pp.55/63. Both reference works, *The London Stage* (Lennep and Avery) would have been available to Hogwood at the time of writing, but he does not seem to have consulted them, a sign the pre-Handel period not meriting close attention.

[280] *Wonders in the Sun* ran from 5–10 April 1706, but sabotaged by Drury Lane rivalry (thesis Ch.3 [24] Fig.5). However, the songs remained popular, enough to replace Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*.

[281] See Stanley Wells *Shakespeare & Co*., Ch.7 'The Move to Tragicomedy: John Fletcher and Others'.

[282] Bond ed., vol.2, p.186: 'Every Limb, and every Finger, contributes to the Part he acts, insomuch that a deaf Man may go along with him in the Sense of it'. *The Tatler* ran from Apr.1709–Jan.1711; *The Spectator* from Mar.1711–Dec.1712., and returned in 1714 (Jun–Nov).

[283] See thesis Appendix, Illustration 9, for the print and names of the characters depicted.

exception, errors were not corrected in the revised 2007 edition.[284] Of all biographies considered so far, this one appears to be the most expensively produced, but with the most careless research in the pre-Handel section. It demonstrates the need for greater accuracy in the pre-Handel period.

[1/109] R.A. Streatfeild and Newman Flower,[285] around 70 years before Hogwood, provided a much more detailed portrait of London in 1710 when Handel arrived. Streatfeild tries to imagine how Handel's view of London differed from Halle, Hamburg, Rome or Florence. The dirt and disorder in the streets, dead infants discarded on dung hills, thieves, robbers, and the dreaded antics of the Mohocks, all suggest an unpleasant city (pp.52–54), although apart from the evidence of the visiting Freiherr von Pöllnitz in 1733,[286] the social condition of parts of London did not seem unusual in the early eighteenth century.[287]

[1/110] Newman Flower in 1923 takes the Streatfeild view of London conditions a stage further. For Flower, 'A wave of crime had swept over the metropolis. Robberies were enacted in Piccadilly; houses in Bond Street were openly pilfered in broad daylight' (p.103). Operagoers were, therefore, reluctant to go out at night to run the risk of robbery for the doubtful benefit of 'indifferent' operas. For the bilingual operas, Flower simply plagiarises Addison about the audience understanding only half of the opera, and adds that operagoers 'were bored to death' (p.102). Pre-Handel opera, according to Flower, failed in both Drury Lane and at the Queens' Theatre, because it was too dangerous to attend. The same disincentive did not, apparently, apply to *Rinaldo* in 1711, nor to plays in the period 1705–11. Flower provides no sources for his speculation.[288] Richard Steele, always ready to mock

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[284] In the revised 2007 edition the reference to Handel (p.34) on Plate V has been deleted and correctly replaced by Nicolini and Catherine Tofts, but the opera has not been identified, and the Richard Steele error (p.51) remains.

[285] R.A. Streatfeild, *Handel* (1909); Newman Flower, *George Frideric Handel* (1923, 1929, 1947, 1959).

[286] *Memoirs of Charles-Lewis Baron de Pollnitz*, Vol.2, (London, 1737), Letter 53, 12 April 1733, p.431 (Illustration 12).

[287] The condition of London streets was not a concern of earlier biographers. There is no mention of social conditions in Mainwaring with whom, according to Burrows, Handel reminisced for biographical purposes. Neither Hawkins nor Burney feel that street conditions or safety were important. Perhaps the early twentieth-century emphasis on social history by authors like G. M. Trevelyan was making an impact.

[288] In terms of pre-Handel Italian operas, Streatfeild has little of significance to say. He thinks Motteux translated *Gli amori d'Ergasto* into English (probably confusing it with *The Temple of Love*), gets the wrong Bononcini for *Camilla*, berates the Hamburg fashion, and sees the shift to all-Italian opera as ideal preparation for Handel, although *Almahide* and *Hydaspes* were hardly composed with Handel in mind. Flower avoids these problems by skipping over the operas completely, with the exception of *Rosamond*, described as a 'perpetration of noise which irritated audiences' (1947; p.102). Both authors are keen to get to Handel. All else is mere

opera attendance, makes no mention of these adverse social conditions either in the *Tatler* or the *Spectator*.

[1/111] Two American biographers, Herbert Weinstock and Paul Henry Lang, illustrate mid-twentieth-century attitudes to the pre-Handel period.[289] Weinstock, like Flower, worked in the publishing business, and both published revised Handel biographies to commemorate the Handel bicentenary in 1959, but not without some friction.[290] Whereas Flower provides a racy narrative, Weinstock argues a case that Handel did not 'murder' English opera, in fact, he assimilated many aspects of English style.[291] Weinstock deals with the pre-Handel operas in one paragraph (pp.52–3). He is non-judgemental about the bilingual operas, assuming these to be part of the developmental process, but ignores *Arsinoe* and the pastoral operas, perhaps to avoid a history of negative comment. In the 1959 edition he omits the Marc'Antonio attribution to *Camilla*, which appeared in 1946, but continues to get the wrong Bononcini for *Etearco* (1711).[292] In a footnote, however, in 1959, he notes correctly that *The Loves of Ergasto* was sung in Italian, although his date, 20 April, should read 24 April.

[1/112] Paul Henry Lang dismisses Mainwaring completely: 'When Handel burst upon the London scene there was already a respectable repertory of Italian opera'. Despite the 'murderous satire' of Steele and Addison, Italian opera was becoming 'an instrument of state entertainment and diplomacy' (p.144). He identifies the key figures who paved the way for

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preparation. However, Flower admits that his main interest is Handel the man, and uses his vast collection of 300 bound volumes, the bulk of the Aylesford Collection, to this end (1959 edition, front matter notes).

[289] Herbert Henry Weinstock (1905-1971) was music editor for Knopf publications, and a prolific writer on music. A compulsive biographer – Donizetti, Rossini, Bellini, Tchaikovsky – Handel was out of this 19th century comfort zone. In his 1959 revision of the first edition of Handel in 1946, he explains how a study of Otto Erich Deutsch and Alfred Loewenberg forced him to do a radical rewrite, however, this makes little difference to the pre-Handel period. Paul Henry Lang (1901-1991) became an academic when he arrived in the USA in 1928 after varied periods of study in Budapest (with Kodály, Dohnanyi, Bartok), Heidelberg and Paris. In the USA, he had to learn English, completed a PhD in Cornell (1934), became professor of musicology at Columbia, and published *Music in Western Civilization* (1941), and *George Frideric Handel* in 1966. He was editor of *The Musical Quarterly* (1945-73). (Biographical data assembled from Grove and obituaries).

[290] Flower accused Weinstock of plagiarism, but Weinstock claimed that he had acknowledged his references. The legal upshot was that Weinstock's Handel biography could not be published in Britain.

[291] In both 1946 and 1959 editions, pp.48-52; Weinstock is picking up on a point made by Romain Rolland's *Handel* (1916), when Handel arrived in 1710, 'national art [opera] was dead' (pp.62-3), a view not far removed from Mainwaring in 1760. Weinstock's use of 'murder' is an odd term for 'eclipse' of English opera, but even this is hardly true. See E.W. White *A Register of first Performances of English Operas and Semi-Operas* (1983), which includes English operas by Galliard, Pepusch, Turner, Leveridge (1712-18). See also Roger Fiske *English Theatre* (1973), pp.52-62, and especially Ch.2 (Pantomime) and Ch.3 (Ballad Opera).

[292] See my Ch. [5/51].

Handel, and like Hawkins, provides mini-biographical cameos of Nicola Haym, Charles Dieupart, Thomas Clayton, Aaron Hill, and Johann Jacob Heidegger. Lang's approach to the Italian-inspired operas (1905–11), is to question the shibboleths that have passed down through biographies. He queries the derision meted out to Clayton's *Arsinoe* on the alleged basis of 'airs collected in Italy' (p.115). To explain the thirty-six performances (1705–07), Lang's solution is 'novelty', and this appears to be correct. There is no evidence that Clayton had access to the Franceschini 1676 scores while in Italy, but the London *Arsinoe* shows he had a libretto, and that the music appears to be of his own composition.[293] However, Lang soon slips into inherited judgements – Rosamond failed due Clayton's incompetence as a composer and his association with Addison, *Camilla* has the wrong Bononcini and date,[294] and the pasticcios are treated with some contempt (pp.115–116). Pleased to have Italian operas leading to Handel out of the way, he revels in *Rinaldo*. Perhaps mindful of his own arrival in the USA, Lang dwells on Handel's difficulty with the English language, and how he managed to survive in a strange land. But there is no mention of Streatfeild-Flower dirty streets, disease, and robbers – instead, there is 'political and commercial hegemony', developing industry, a flourishing economy, and a 'market place for foreign talent', ideal for 'visiting celebrities' (p.113).

[1/113] One author who pays more attention than others to the pre-Handel period, but not without error, is Jonathan Keates.[295] Like Lang, he dismisses Mainwaring's pre-1711 bleak description of London opera with, 'The years before Handel's arrival in England had seen startling changes in the nature of London's flourishing theatrical life' (2009, p.54). He explores the views of what brought Handel to London. He questions the role of the Earl of Manchester,[296] and the lesser-known Cyril Wyche, but notes that relations between Hanover and the court of St James were close, albeit on an unofficial level since relations between Queen Anne and the Hanoverians were strained. Keates suggests, 'Politics may have swept Handel along' (1992; p.52). In 2009, Keates explored the politics of Handel's arrival in

[293] Thomas McGeary has intimated that Bologna/Venice scores are available in Venice, awaiting the attention of a committed scholar, but a serious study of them is beyond the parameters of the current thesis. Lang's potential point ends with the dismissive remark, 'the music does not amount to much', but pending a performing version, it is difficult to judge. See [1/40/fn.87], [4/58-59].
[294] Antonio Maria instead of Giovanni, and 10 April instead of 30 March.
[295] *Handel, the Man and his Music* (1985, 1992, 2009).
[296] That is in 1992 (p.52), but in 2009 he seems to accept with word of Mainwaring that the invitation to London came from the 'Duke' (actually, Earl) of Manchester. See Ch.2/fn.32. At no point in the Manchester correspondence does the name Handel appear.

London in more detail. He raises two important issues. Given the cost-cutting closure of the Hanover opera house due to the expense of the Spanish Succession War, why was Handel employed as Kapellmeister at a salary of 1.000 thaler on his arrival in spring 1710?[297] And why was he given an immediate year's leave of absence to visit London?[298] Keates ponders the Elector's motives, and postulates that, like Agostino Steffani, Handel might pose as musician and diplomat, but insists, 'neither an ambassador nor a spy'. The premature ending of the Spanish Succession War, and the volatile English succession question (Jacobite vs Hanoverian) in the years following 1710, needed an apparently neutral informer to pass information to Hanover (2009; pp.52–54). Donald Burrows' close study of the Hanover Papers (fn.51) makes no reference to Handel as a plant in London to convey covert messages back to Hanover. Indeed, this was hardly necessary, since the 'Hanoverian *Residen*t, Kreienberg' was there already, backed by a trio of diplomats (Grote, Schütz, Bothmer; p.41), keeping the Hanoverian court apprised of developments in London leading to the Hanoverian assumption of the British crown.[299]

[1/114] Keates reviews in some detail theatre conditions in London from 1705, and presents a case that London audiences were becoming more accustomed to Italian singers and instrumentalists, so that Italian opera was the next step. However, in discussing the opening of Vanbrugh's opera house, the Queen's Theatre, he gets the date wrong in both editions (19 April), but the correct opera in 2009.[300] His account of Clayton's *Arsinoe* adapts the pattern of vilification. Keates berates *Arsinoe* in terms of text and music, and echoes Lang in explaining the run of 35 performances as 'novelty value'. He is convinced the opera is adapted from 'a Venetian libretto', but is unaware of the Bologna source, although he does identify the value of the Thornhill sets.[301] *Rosamond* is condemned, *inter alia*, for having

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[297] Donald Burrows, who in 1979 examined the archive in the Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Hanover, published in an unnumbered chapter 'Handel and Hanover' in Peter Williams (ed.) *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays* (1985), confirms the arrival of Handel in Hanover on 16 June 1710 (p.35), so hardly Spring, and the figure of 1000 Thaler in the Hanover Chamber Accounts (p.40).
[298] Mainwaring interprets 1000 thaler as 1500 Crowns, which at first Handel was reluctant to accept, but when this included the opportunity for leave, and 'to go withersoever he pleased', he accepted (pp.71-2). Mainwaring was hardly going to specify, 'monitor conditions in England'.
[299] Nevertheless, the rapidity of Handel's leave of absence, is an issue still be fully explained. Burrows' main concern is how Handel came to be appointed Kapellmeister in Hanover in 1710, why he was dismissed in June 1713 following his *Te Deum* celebrating the Peace of Utrecht (a peace treaty regarded as a betrayal by the Allies determined to crush France), and why his salary was reinstated in 1715.
[300] In 1992 (p.53) and 2009 (p.55), the date 19 April should read 9 April. In 2009 he identifies a 'pastoral entertainment' *Gli amori d'Ergasto*, sung in Italian, but missing in 1992.
[301] Thesis [3/10], [4/58 ff].

outmoded Venetian ‘low comedy characters’, but Sir Trusty and Lady Grideline, are hardly low comedy characters, in fact, very essential to the plot.[302] Despite this, Keates finds low comedy characters quite acceptable in *Camilla*, perhaps because it was a more successful opera. But this leads to another error. The comedy characters in *Camilla* are Linco and Tullia. Linco is correctly identified as Leveridge, but Keates claims Tullia was sung by Mr Salway *en travesti*.[303] Mr Salway played the part of Tullia later in 1726 at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, otherwise the role was sung by Mrs Lyndsay, 1706–1709, in Drury Lane and the Queen’s Theatre.[304]

[1/115] For 1708, Keates correctly accounts for opera being assigned exclusively to the Queen’s Theatre, but in the 2009 edition he gets the wrong Lord Chamberlain. It should read the Earl of Kent (1704–1710), not the Duke of Shrewsbury (1710–1715).[305] To the four operas, already mentioned, Keates adds *Pirro e Demetrio*, mainly because a Handel aria from *Agrippina* was ‘slipped in’ to a performance in December 1710, and sung by Francesca Vanini Boschi.[306] But with some disdain he dismisses *Pirro* as a bilingual opera, not a truly Italian one. With *Almahide* and *L’Idaspe Fedele*, Keates exclaims, ‘Italian finally conquered’, as if this was the desired goal of the pre-Handel experience. With *Rinaldo*, his discussion becomes more serious.

[1/116] The ‘serious’ discussion of *Rinaldo* returns to politics in the 2009 edition of the Handel biography. Keates equates the War of the Spanish Succession with that of the Crusaders (Britain) against the Saracens (French). The argument, Protestant crusade against Catholic France collapses, because a leading ally against the French was the Catholic Austrian Empire.[307] Ignoring this anomaly, Keates applies the Purcellian interpretation of allegory to *Rinaldo*,[308] and, as evidence in *Rinaldo*, uses the muscular Crusader March with

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[302] Keates seems to have missed the comic characters in *Arsinoe*, Delbo and Nerina, and indeed in the comic characters in the pastorals which he ignores.
[303] Salway reference – 1992 edition (p.55); 2009 edition (p.58).
[304] The travesty role seems to have begun in Lincoln’s Inn Fields in 1717 with Mr Pack as Tullia. One can only assume that Keates had access only to the 1726 libretto. Librettos for all dates are available in online Historical Texts.
[305] The 2009 edition (p.58)
[306] This is confirmed in the M&H *Calendar* (2001), Wed. 6 Dec. 1710 (1710–11 season, p.607). Also Deutsch, p.30.
[307] Thesis Ch.6 [17 ff]. Price article, ‘English Traditions in Handel’s *Rinaldo*’, *Handel: Tercentenary Collection* (1987), ed. Sadie & Hicks.
[308] For intricacies and pitfalls of allegory, see Robert Hume, ‘The Politics of Opera in late seventeenth–century London’, *Cambridge Opera Journal* (1998), particularly section 3, ‘Authorial meaning and audience

its 'clangour of trumpets and rattle of drums' against the effete Saracen 'mincing little ditty' with its 'general air of [French] effeminacy' (1909; p.60). The flaw in this argument is that English allegory could be applied to Italian opera (1705–11) only with difficulty. Italian military music merely highlighted the winners.

[1/117] Even if the *Rinaldo* plot was composed in London, Handel's music is Italian-inspired, and if the original Tasso story had an overt Christian message, the political implication of *Rinaldo* as pro-Whig propaganda for continuing the war to ultimate victory over the French, lacks evidence. Had there been a Whig subtext, Addison would have been loath to mock the opera. Had the Keates interpretation been the case, the Tory Lord Chamberlain, Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, who was negotiating the peace, would have banned the opera. The Tory, Vice-Chamberlain Coke, who had a personal interest in opera, seems to have missed any Whig allusion. The Tory, William Collier, proprietor of the Queen's Theatre since 16 November 1710, when he appointed Aaron Hill as manager, saw no Whig allusion to the war with France.[309] However, after his elaborate argument, Keates has to admit that the political parallel in *Rinaldo* was not noticed at the time. The Keates argument for allegory is remarkable close to that of Curtis Price, but without acknowledgement.[310] But overall, Keates lays himself open to more errors, because, unlike other biographies, he explores the pre-Handel years in much more detail. However, since Handel is the main focus of the book, the context gets less serious scrutiny.

[1/118] A late arrival to the biographical corpus is Jane Glover's *Handel in London*.[311] Chapter Two, 'London, 1710', provides a spirited account of the city Handel would have expected to find, much in the tradition established by Streatfeild, Flower, and Hogwood. This is accomplished with few references and some guesswork, so that her conclusion to the War of the Spanish Succession, is – 'Handel must have been intrigued to register the ebb and flow of British support', which for someone who had experience of Europe, was hardly

application', and section 4, 'Opera forms and opera meanings' – '[overt] allegory in one-quarter of mainpiece operas', and 'hidden allegory well under one in ten' (p.35).

[309] Part of Keates pro-Whig argument is that Hill, sympathetic to the Whig cause, sold tickets at White's coffee house, a favourite Whig rendezvous (p.60), but as manager, he had the responsibility to distribute tickets at a popular venue of his choice.

[310] The argument is almost identical in 'English Traditions in Handel's *Rinaldo*' (fn.61 above). However, there is no reference to Price in the Keates bibliography, and endnotes are particularly sparse. Could identical interpretations be coincidental?

[311] Jane Glover, *Handel in London* (Macmillan, London, 2018)

a priority.[312] Much of her account in the pre-Handel years, does not stand up to basic evidence. For 1708, Glover has the Whigs seizing power due to a weakened Queen Anne in bereavement over the death of her husband, Prince George, but the Whigs had won the general election in May 1708, and the Prince died on 28 October of the same year. Julian Hoppit (2000) shows that Queen Anne was able to stand up to the threats of the duumvirs, Godolphin and Marlborough, and even the tantrums of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, before the death of her husband (p.297). More surprisingly for a music biographer, Glover has Thomas Clayton leaving for Italy in 1704 'to study composition', whereas he left for Italy in 1702 to acquire the Italian style, and returned in 1704 to compose *Arsinoe*, the first London Italianate opera in London, which was produced in Drury Lane on 16 January 1705. McGeary's 1998 article on Clayton, and the Baldwin-Wilson entry in NGDO would have clarified the facts, but these authors do not appear on Glover's reading list.[313]

[1/119] In the biographies above, discussion is limited to the pre-Handel arrival of Italian opera, and is not a judgement on the biographies as a whole. There is an overwhelming influence of Mainwaring's fourteen-year gap between Purcell and Handel. Mainwaring's insistence on a decline in music theatre in a post-Purcell 'reign of nonsense', promotes the view of Handel the saviour come to the rescue. There are modifications of the Mainwaring model – a disregard for valuable experiments in Italian opera, opprobrium heaped on tentative presentations by Clayton, the bilingual Hamburg fashion, a cursory glance at all-Italian operas like *Almahide* and *Hydaspes*, valuable only as a preparation for Handel, and even speculation on a wishful Purcell longevity to promote a hopeful success of English opera. With the exception of Hawkins and Burney, albeit writing influential histories, biographies simply plunder what they need, adopting a selective process, either gliding over, or omitting most of the twelve operas leading to 1711, in a race to arrive at *Rinaldo*. Admittedly, a biography will foreground the subject matter, but context and background are relevant, and are flawed if not as accurate as the sources will allow. The more successful

[312] Page 19: there was no 'ebb and flow' – 1708 was the turning point with the Tories responding to the French overtures for peace, but with the Protestant-fuelled Whigs determined to destroy the Catholic Louis XIV. Having won the 1708 general election, the Whigs were in a position to implement their policy, but with two major setbacks, the pyrrhic victory at Malplaquet in 1709 with 20,000 casualties, and the Tory victory in the 1710 general election.

[313] McGeary, 'Thomas Clayton and the Introduction of Italian Opera to England' (1998). Baldwin & Wilson NGDO, vol.1, pp.878–9. More surprisingly, for her book, Glover does not avail herself of McGeary's prestigious *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (2013), the most recent account of Handel's operas in the context of other operas at the time.

pre-Handel accounts are those with an impartial outlook, viewing the arrival of Italian opera as a gradual process in a spirit of inquiry. Jonathan Keates's *Handel*, *The Man and his Music* aspires to be a quality biography, but for the pre-Handel operas, errors could easily have been corrected given sources available at the time of writing. Burney, on the other hand, given the limitations of evidence available, should not be overlooked. Handel biographies have tended to undermine the period leading to Handel, and may have influenced the content of the epigraph to this chapter. The lesson from biographical reception is the need for forensic scrutiny of the pre-Handel period – which is what this study attempts to do.

Chapter Two: The *Ergasto* Puzzles

> And upon the 9th, of April 1705. Captain Vantbrugg open'd his new Theatre in the Hay-market, with a Foreign Opera, Perform'd by a new set of Singers, Arriv'd from Italy; (the worst that e're came from hence) for it lasted but 5 days, and they being lik'd but indifferently by the Gentry; they in a little time marcht back to their own Country.
>
> (John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 1708, p.99)

> Downes' irritating book is an edged tool that none but the most skilful of historical workmen can safely handle. What should have been one of the most important stage chronicles ever penned has been rendered nugatory by utter slovenliness of method.
>
> (W.J. Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies*, 1912, p.214)

[2/1] The arrival of Italian opera in London begins with Greber's pastoral *Gli amori di Ergasto* in 1705 and culminates with Handel's *Rinaldo* in 1711, both works performed in the Queen's Theatre. The plot process resembles the Guarini principle that a simple pastoral, lovers in an idyllic location, needed a 'knot', a tension-generating incident, preferably a death threat, to sustain the attention of an audience. From 1705–1708, the Queen's Theatre experimented with varieties of musical pastoral, but audience taste, partly due to the weakness of plots, and perhaps influenced by a more warlike attitude to France in the War of the Spanish Succession, changed to a more heroic plot genre, which by the arrival of Handel had established tragicomedy.[1]

[2/2] The first step in advancing the establishment of Italian opera, Jacob Greber's *Gli amori di Ergasto* needs special attention since its provenance in terms of dates, sources language, singers, and reception, contain puzzles and contradictions. Since Winton Dean in 1987 had referred to 'the tangled story of the introduction of Italian opera', it is appropriate for this chapter to unravel some of his references to the 'errors and misunderstandings', particularly the ones that surrounded Greber's pastoral that was chosen for the inauguration of the Queen's Theatre in April 1705.[2]

[1] Giambattista Guarini published two articles promoting tragicomedy in 1601 and 1602, the second more vigorously defending himself against critics who saw his *Pastor fido* (1590) in breach of the Aristotelian strict separation of tragedy and comedy. Guarini argued a case for combining both, thus claiming to have invented a new plot genre – tragicomedy (A.H. Gilbert, 1962, pp.504–533).

[2] See the citation in the epigraph of the Introduction.

Muddled Dating – 9 April 1705?

[2/3] Although the survival of a wordbook or libretto is reliable evidence for the existence of *Gli amori di Ergasto*,[3] the performance dates are less secure. For the first week of the Queen's Theatre, 9–13 April 1705, *The London Stage* (1960) takes its cue from John Downes in *Roscius Anglicanus*,[4] and records that *Ergasto* was performed on five successive nights.[5] In this period 1705-11, Milhous & Hume have listed first performances that can be dated with some certainty, but they are cautious about the first performance of Greber's pastoral, providing an essay instead of the chronological record.[6] For 9–13 April there was no press notification and no record of singers or orchestra, odd in the opening of a theatre that was much discussed, and even mocked, in the years of its construction (1704–05).[7]

[2/4] The *Daily Courant* advertised a performance on 24 April 1705, but this has received less attention than the inaugural event on 9 April. There may have been a playbill, but if so, none has been found. The NGDO (vol.3, p.1034) notes under 'Playbill', it was the responsibility of the prompter to produce publicity and to notify the press. Downes does not seem to have done this for 9 April, although either he or Greber, was careful to have the *Ergasto* libretto published in advance of performance. The libretto has Greber's name printed on the title page, so it is fair to infer that he was closely involved. This is the only appearance of a composer's name on the title page of a libretto in the years from 1705-11, so with this degree of self-promotion, it is a puzzle why the press was not alerted about an inaugural performance. To complicate matters, M&H in their edition of *Roscius Anglicanus*, note, 'Vanbrugh had not yet started to advertise regularly in the *Daily Courant*', so, if true, advertising responsibly could have been shared among interested parties, which may explain failure to notify the press.[8]

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[3] Illustration 2. I have located seven copies of the libretto, but have eliminated those university libraries which appear to store copies with identical annotations to that of the BL. Those in Princeton, Chicago, and Illinois are complete and intact with Italian and English title pages (Italian title – *Li* [sic] *amori di Ergasto*), but the BL, Nottingham, and Bodleian copies have the title page in English only, and some pages have been cropped, deleting lines of text. The plot is a flimsy one about two shepherds and two nymphs in a triangular love relationship, but resolved by the sibling solution. See Appendix 1, Illustration 2, and Appendix 5.

[4] See epigraph above with original punctuation preserved.

[5] *The London Stage 1600-1800*, in five Parts, Carbondale (1960s), Part 2, vol.1, p.91.

[6] Milhous & Hume (M&H) *The London Stage,* online draft calendar for the years 1700-1710 (2001), p.220. It has updated all known performances for this period.

[7] M&H (2001), p.221, and McGeary, 'A Satire on the Opening of the Haymarket Theater' (2000), provide examples of satirical comment on the new Queen's theatre.

[8] *Roscius Anglicanus*, p.100, fn.358.

[2/5] The only dated source in the press, and using the title in English, *The Loves of Ergasto*, is in the *Daily Courant* of 24 April 1705, alerting readers to a performance that Tuesday evening. The previous day the *Daily Courant* simply gave notice of 'the Italian pastoral: the Part of Licoris to be perform'd by the new Italian Boy', Licoris being the fellow hunter of Ergasto. On 24 April, *The Loves of Ergasto* was billed as an afterpiece for the 'new farce, never acted before – *The Consultation*'.[9] References to *Ergasto* performances in 1705 need to be treated with caution. Without a mainpiece, performances of *Ergasto* were unlikely to have taken place.

[2/6] The Newdigate newsletter is sometimes used to confirm a performance of *Gli amori di Ergasto* on 9 April 1705. When this newsletter, dated 19 April (smudged on the MS), announcing 'a new Italian pastorall called the Loves of Ergasto set to musick by the famous Italian Jacomo Greber', and indicating 'Monday next', Milhous & Hume corrected this to 'Monday last'.[10] But 19 April was a Thursday, and so the previous Monday would be 16 April, a week after the alleged inauguration on 9 April. It is more likely that the letter is referring to the following Monday when the notice appeared in the *Daily Courant* for the following day, Tuesday 24 April.[11] It would be futile for a newsletter to have predicted the past, or to have advertised an event that had already occurred.

[2/7] Thomas McGeary has done some serious detective work on the relevant Newdigate letter, using clearer photographs of the original letter, rather than scans provided by the Folger Library. He has spotted a postmark dated 7 April, relevant for the performance of *Ergasto* on 9 April. The 'smudged' MS date could possibly read 7 April. If genuine, the letter accounts for one day, not the rest of the week. The Newdigate letters are one of many hand-written distribution channels, and are based on hearsay, but requiring a degree of

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[9] *Daily Courant* 24 April: Robert Eitner adopts this date: 'Jacob Greber: ... führte am 24. April 1705 die Oper Indian pastoral, genannt The Loves of Ergasto im Haymarket Theater auf'; *Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten* (1898, vol.4), but does not refer to its status as an afterpiece. Gerhard Steffen in NDB (1966) refers to 1701 as the year of composition, clearly copied from Walter Senn (1934), but without evidence.

[10] Milhous & Hume (ed) *A Register of English theatrical Documents 1660-1737* (1991) doc.1803, p.391; *Daily Courant* (newspapers online); the MS Newdigate letter for 19 April, was provided by Georgianna Ziegler at the Folger Library.

[11] The Newdigate Letters were hand-written circulars with local news privately managed by anonymous coffee house contacts, in this case probably John Dyer (1653-1713) who was constantly on the run from the law - see ODNB entry. The manuscript letters had the advantage of spreading news without the legal licence and official censorship, which restricted printed newspapers. But information based on coffee house gossip could not be absolutely precise about forthcoming attractions.

accuracy if offered to paying customers. McGeary's research has still to be published. If convincing, the current analysis will have to be revised. More detailed inspection of the sources is needed to solve the puzzles.

Confusing Sources

[2/8] The epigraph to this chapter has already illustrated how sources need more scrutiny if Winton Dean's 'errors and misunderstandings' are to be resolved. The puzzles attending the arrival of Italian opera in London in 1705 are emphasised in the online draft revision of *The London Stage* (Milhous & Hume, 2001) in which the authors themselves admit to the 'contradictions and misunderstandings' that are still some way from being solved (p.180). This can be explained in part by the partiality of contemporary sources. In the quarrel between the Ancients and Moderns, a dispute that prevailed over the years of emerging Italian opera, the Whigs preferring to see themselves as progressive and modern, whereas Tories were more inclined to traditional inheritance. The question arises – how was Italian opera perceived by these conflicting ideologies?

[2/9] Whigs used drama to promote their cause, but when it came to Italian opera, opinions were divided. In general terms, Whigs in 1705, had heavily subscribed to the building of the Queen's Theatre, which, it was thought might be utilised, *inter alia*, for the introduction of Italian opera, but a cohort from the literary establishment including Richard Steele and Joseph Addison argued for English opera, seeing Italian opera as an invasion and corruption of English values.[12] Patriotic and xenophobic attitudes tended to take precedence in party politics. The Tory Jonathan Swift joined with Whigs, Thomas Tickell and Ambrose Philips, who were either apathetic or opposed to Italian opera.[13]

[2/10] John Dennis was more extreme. He carried on a vitriolic campaign from 1705 during the critical period when Italian opera struggled to survive. In his 'Essay on the Opera's after the Italian Manner' (1706), more fully developed in 'An Essay upon Publick Spirit' (1711), he argued that:

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[12] Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Culture, 1681-1714*, pp. 152, 232, 236. However, despite the alleged commitment of the Whigs and Kit-Cat Club to the promotion of Italian opera, Williams devotes less than a page of her book to the subject (p.232).

[13] Jonathan Keates, *Handel* (2009; p.57). Burney quotes Swift in a letter to Stella, 6 August 1711, referring to 'another drab, and parcel of fiddlers; I was weary ..' – Swift was not interested in Italian singing (Burney, General History, ed. Mercer, vol.2, p.671).

> .. of all the Fashions that have been introduc'd among us from abroad, none shews so deplorable a want of publick Spirit as the Italian Opera.

He continued, 'the Softness of Italian Musick' left men 'enervated and emasculated'. Therefore, ladies would abandon them and consort with their own sex. For ladies losing interest in men was for Dennis a disaster. He challenged the ladies in terms of self-interest, to ban their men from attending Italian opera. Not only would their men be incapable of defending their country in time of war – Italian opera would promote sodomy.[14]

[2/11] In 1705, writers like Daniel Defoe mocked the Haymarket enterprise. His satire emphases the origin of the Queen's Theatre, a building arising from a hay barn, and that its genesis and use have changed little:[15]

> *Alay'st all this*, *Apollo* spoke the Word,
> And straight arose a Playhouse from a T[urd].
> Here *Whores* in *Hogstyes*, vilely blended lay,
> Just as *in Boxes*, at our *Lewder Play*;
> The Stables have been Cleans'd, the Jakes made Clear,
> *Herculean Labours*, ne'r will Purge us here.

This suggests that the theatre was an object of contempt, so perhaps *Ergasto* was not even worth the attention of that contempt. Defoe was not alone in his attitude. Sir Samuel Garth wrote the Prologue for *Ergasto*. He belonged to the Kit-Cat Club, which was supposed to promote productions at the Queen's Theatre, which would include Greber's pastoral, but

[14] 'An Essay upon Publick Spirit' (1711; p.25). Dennis hints at lesbianism, but is more concerned with sodomy, 'one Beau take another for Better or Worse, as once an imperial harmonious Blockhead did *Sporus*'. Ever since Samuel Pepys had recorded that homosexuality was commonplace in the Restoration period ('buggery as common … as in Italy', 1663), the Society for the Reformation of Manners, formed in 1690, to root out bawdy houses, profanity, and sodomy, made the issue one of public morality, including targets as diverse as the court of William III, Popery, and more relevant to this study, 'men of Italian humour'. However, the Society's excessive use of informers, turning their mission into a witch hunt, and made their cause unpopular, so that by 1710 attitudes became more relaxed, court cases fewer, or culprits (victims?) disappeared underground – *Mother Clap's Molly House: Gay Subculture in England, 1700-1830*, (1992), Rictor Norton *passim*.; also, Norton (ed.), *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England: A Sourcebook*, updated 29 May 2017, http://rictornorton.co.uk/eighteen/molly2.htm (accessed, 22.7.17). However, Jonathan Swift's critique of the Society in 1709, or the distraction of the Sacheverell riots in 1710, may have had an impact as well. If this was the case, attitudes to Italians and their opera genre would benefit, so the timing was ideal for Handel's *Rinaldo* in February 1711, although Dennis would dissent – he objected to the unnatural voice of a castrato – 'a Cock-Nightingale sings better than Nicolini', the castrato who played the part of Rinaldo – 'An Essay upon Publick Spirit' (1711), pp.18-25; see also, *Critical Works of John Dennis, 1711-1729*, vol.2, ed. EN Hooker (1943), pp.393/396. But whereas Handel went from strength to strength, Denis went into decline – was insolvent by May 1711, and declared bankrupt in August of the same year.

[15] *A Review of the Affairs in France with Observations on Transactions at Home*, Thurs 3 May 1705.

Garth was much more interested in satirising the building. He makes no mention of *Ergasto*:[16]

> Majestic columns stand, where Dunghills lay,
> And Carrs Triumphal rise from Carts of Hay.

However, there was a perception that the Kit-Cat Club had delivered the subscriptions for the building of the Queen's Theatre, and since the Club was perceived to be a Whig organisation, there was a reaction from the Tory-inspired newspaper, *The Rehearsal of Observator* (5-12 May 1705 issue), dismissing the Club as having created 'a Temple for their Dagon', a satirical reference to the Whig pseudo-philistine espousal of non-conformists, preferring low church to the higher Anglican persuasion.[17]

[2/12] Since Downes's reference to Greber's pastoral in the chapter epigraph is the source most often used for the inaugural performance in the Queen's Theatre, it needs closer inspection. John Downes was a 'Book-keeper and Prompter' from the Restoration in 1660 until 1706, at which point he retired, and wrote his account of theatrical events in his lifetime. His *Ergasto* text has been used by most scholars at least since Lawrence in 1912,[18] and is scrutinised by Milhous & Hume in their edition of *Roscius Anglicanus*.[19]

[2/13] The attraction of Downes's extract is that it is quite specific, and appears to be more accurate than most of Downes's entries for a theatrical event. Its detail has reinforced its credibility. Perhaps this explains why it has been taken at face value by scholars writing about this event. Oddly, however, Downes provides neither title nor composer for this pastoral. There is a further caveat. In their preface to the *Roscius Anglicanus* edition, Milhous & Hume emphasise 'the danger of uncritical reliance on it', and continue that, 'in some respects he [Downes] is a dangerously unreliable authority'.[20]

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[16] Pierre Danchin (ed), *Prologues and Epilogues of the 18th Century, 1701-1720* (1990), pp.266.
[17] Philip Carter in ODNB (2005) claimed that 'the club's then 30 members contributed £100 each' (accessed 27 April 2012), but Judith Milhous in 1976, had already identified 29 subscribers, only 11 of whom were Kit-Cat members ('New Light on Vanbrugh's Haymarket Theatre Project', pp.152-3/156-9). The 30th subscriber is a mystery. A full list of Kit-Cats can be found in Ophelia Field, *The Kit-Cat Club*, (2008), pp.425-6. She identifies 12 Kit-Cat subscribers.
[18] W.J. Lawrence, see epigraph above, and also 'The Early Years of the First English Opera House, *Musical Quarterly*, 1921, p.105.
[19] John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (1708), Milhous & Hume (eds.), 1987, p.99.
[20] The earlier edition by Montague Summers, 1928, (Introduction) has similar cautionary remarks.

[2/14] Milhous & Hume maintain that the chief strength of Downes's book is in his account of characters and roles, but 'in matters of chronology', Downes cannot be trusted. In the epigraph extract, there is a date and 'a new set of singers arrived from Italy', but not the usual detail we expect from Downes.[21] Milhous & Hume emphasise Downes's strengths – titles, characters, roles, sets, clothes, but these are missing from Downes's *Ergasto* quote. It is unlikely that Downes was a prompter for an Italian pastoral, or indeed an eye-witness to this event. Downes's preference was for English semiopera. He had no interest in Italian opera that would do him out of a job as a prompter. The rhetorical, quasi-biblical style of the *Ergasto* quote is not typical of Downes either. Given an inconsistency in content and style of the paragraph, it is not impossible that the *Ergasto* reference was an editorial insertion by the editor and printer, Henry Playford, three years after the event. As early as 1912, W.J. Lawrence described *Roscius Anglicanus* as 'a rambling stage record' by a 'quondam prompter who penned it in the decline of his years and intellect'.[22] The book did not go to a second edition. Milhous & Hume say, 'it sank without trace' (p.xi), that is until the twentieth century when scholarship began to take the pre-Handel period (1705-11) more seriously.[23]

[2/15] The other piece of evidence much quoted, is an extract from Colley Cibber's autobiography:[24]

> To strike in, therefore, with this prevailing Novelty, Sir *John Vanbrugh*, and Mr. *Congreve*, open'd their new *Hay-market Theatre* with a translated Opera, to *Italian* Musick, call'd the *Triumph of Love*, but this not having in it the Charms of *Camilla*, either from the Inequality of the Musick, or Voices, had but a cold Reception, being perform'd but three Days, and those not crowded.
>
> *Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber* (1740)

[21] Milhous & Hume (1987), Preface and Introduction p.v.

[22] W.J. Lawrence, *The Elizabethan and Other Studies* (Stratford, 1912), p.193. This description of Downes appeared in an article about Thomas Shadwell and *The Tempest*, but Lawrence intended his view of Downes to be typical of *Roscius* as a whole. In his discussion of the *Macbeth* music, in exasperation, Lawrence writes, 'Downes's irritating book is an edged tool that none but the most skilful of historical workmen can safely handle (p.214) – see chapter epigraph.   .

[23] Burney possessed a copy since he quotes from it, but it was not until the twentieth century, when there was a renewed interest in Downes with the Montague Summers edition in 1928. Both Loewenberg's *Annals of Opera* (1943) and *The London Stage* (calendar of plays), part 2 (1960, Carbondale), quoted Downes uncritically, and this set a benchmark for subsequent scholars to follow. Although evidence against Downes is overwhelming, it's not impossible that in the future details of singers from Italy might be discovered.

[24] BRS Fone (ed.) - *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber, written by Himself* (1740), p.175.

Cibber has been dismissed for inaccuracy, because he confuses *Triumph of Love* with *Love's Triumph*, first performed in 1708, so he may have conflated this opera with *The Temple of Love* (1706).[25] When Cibber was writing in the late 1730s the evidence from Downes may not have been available, nor indeed much other evidence, so he would have had to rely on memory, a memory which saw Italian opera as an invasion.[26] However, in general terms, Cibber's memoir is more factually accurate than Downes's *Roscius*, especially with chronology.[27] What we learn from Cibber is that *The Loves Ergasto* was so insignificant, it was not worth remembering. This is strange because, if in Italian, the first such pastoral in Britain, it would surely have been difficult to forget. But Cibber had worked with the rival Drury Lane theatre, and was no fan of Italian opera. Significant developments, therefore, could be airbrushed out of history, or simply forgotten. Without press notification for the inauguration of the Queen's Theatre, the event just passed without fanfare or serious comment until the twentieth century.[28]

[2/16] Sources like the Cousser's 'Commonplace Book' (MS) are open to different interpretations and so generate confusion. In the NGDO entry for *Gli amori di Ergasto*, Curtis Price records that Greber was paid 1000 guineas for his pastoral. But both the date and the name of the pastoral for this source are unclear. Price refers to Johann Sigismund

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[25] Fiske (1973), p.34; M&H (2001), p.220, introduced more confusion by correcting Cibber in parenthesis – '*The Triumph of Love* in 1706' which should read *Love's Triumph* in 1708. The alternative title *The Triumph of Love*, first appeared at the Queen's Theatre in November 1712 (*London Stage, Part2, vol.1* (ed. Avery), p.288, which may be what Cibber remembered. For a table of operas leading to Handel, see Appendix 3.

[26] Cibber was no friend of Italian opera – it 'began to steal into England' (Autobiography, p.261). There were no reprints of *Roscius Anglicanus*; had Cibber possessed an original copy, he would have had no difficulty in quoting the existence of *Ergasto*. However, in 1789, when Burney published *A General History*, he must have had access to a copy of Downes's book since in he includes quotations, but ignores Downes's reference to *The Loves of Ergasto* on the inauguration of the Haymarket theatre on 9 April 1705, preferring the date 24 April in a lengthy footnote (*General History*, vol.4, 1789, p.200 (n); also, Mercer (ed.), vol.2 p.655n. The '24 April' was advertised in the *Daily Courant*.

[27] Milhous & Hume (1987); they emphasise that Downes's dating ability is prone to inaccuracy; see fn.13 above; expansive footnote corrections in Downes were unnecessary in Cibber.

[28] Except, that is, for the publication of 'A Critical Discourse' in 1709, but *Ergasto* is not identified by name. 'A Critical Discourse on Opera's and Musick in England, and a Means proposed for their Improvement' was appended to the translation of Raguenet's 'Comparison between French and Italian Musick and Opera's' (BL: CW3316673078). Both discourses are anonymous but internal evidence suggests Nicola Haym, who was heavily involved with the introduction of Italian opera, translated from Italian, and particularly praised the works for which he had been responsible. Better evidence is found in *The Life of Thomas Betterton* (1710), in which Charles Gildon refers to Haym as the author (see my Ch.5, fn.14). Haym seemed to resent Greber, and gave his 'pastoral' a scathing review four years after the event, but there is no date, no title, just a sequence of experiments in Italian opera (p.66).

Cousser's 'Commonplace Book' as a diary.[29] In fact, a commonplace book is a notebook mostly with undated memos. The Price article may therefore need closer inspection:

> In a diary kept while he was in London, Kusser [the pre-France spelling] recorded that Greber was paid 1000 guineas for the opera, which was supposedly scheduled for only six performances.

The entry in the Commonplace Book is important for establishing the truth of Greber's claim to have been paid 1000 guineas in advance for *The Loves of Ergasto*. It appears that Price had acquired this information from Harold Samuel's 1981 article 'A German Musician comes to London in 1704', which is taken from Cousser's 'Commonplace Book'. It provides a translation of 'Was ein Virtuoso, so in London kommt, zu observiren sol', thirty-three pieces of advice for a German's survival and success in London.[30] Point 29 makes the following claim to show just how successful a German composer could be:

> For a Pastoral with four characters Herr Greber received a subscription of 1000 guineas (MS p.432)

There are many boastful claims in Greber's survival package, the veracity of which must be doubted since the Greber himself disappeared from London after the 'failure' of *Ergasto*, fleeing apparently to Innsbruck. This raises questions about the alleged financial successes in London.[31] Furthermore, the identity of this pastoral is obscure, and cannot refer to *The Loves of Ergasto* in 1704 since the preferred option for the inauguration of the Haymarket theatre was Thomas Clayton's *Arsinoe*. The *Diverting Post* announced on 16 December 1704 that *Arsinoe* would be performed in Drury Lane, so the viable alternatives for the Queen's Theatre were works by Daniel Purcell or John Eccles. Greber was not considered until close to the opening of the Queen's Theatre in April 1705 when Purcell and Eccles failed to deliver, by which time Cousser had settled down as a private tutor, writing music for well-

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[29] Johann Sigismund Cousser (1660-1727), Kusser originally, when born in Pressburg, but changed the spelling after serving with Lully in Paris (1674-82). Thereafter he was much in demand in many European courts – Ansbach, Wolfenbüttel, Hamburg, Stuttgart, but also elsewhere as a guest conductor. His Commonplace Book contains a list of 33 points for musicians arriving in London. The MS is available online from the Beinecke Library at Yale [Osborn Music MS 16].

[30] Harold E. Samuel, *The Musical Times* (Sept 1981), pp.591-2. Point 29 mentions the 1000 guineas, but footnote 7 rejects the link with *Ergasto*.

[31] Samantha Owens advised me with the following: the correct spelling of 'Cousser', and that 'Greber was in Düsseldorf on 23 June 1705 as godfather to one of Johann Wilderer's sons'; also helpful – Gerhard Steffen, *Johann Hugo von Wilderer(1670 bis 1724) Kapellmeister am kurpfälzischen Hofe zu Düsseldorf und Mannheim; Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte 40, Cologne* (1960), p.27.

known singers like Giuliana Celotti and Arabella Hunt.[32] When in London, Cousser did not use advice from Greber. In summary, Cousser's 'Commonplace Book' tells us little about the first performance of *Ergasto*.

***Ergasto* – 'a Foreign Opera'**

[2/17] Downes's 'singers from Italy' created confusion in the 1970s over the language in which *Ergasto* was sung. In 1705 a libretto with a parallel Italian-English text would seem to indicate an opera sung in Italian, so it is a puzzle why there should have been such a difference of opinion in the matter. With the publication of the libretto, there was no reference to the dual language at the time. In January 1707, the first issue of *The Muses Mercury*, a journal dedicated to 'Poems, Prologues, Song, Sonnets, Translation, another Curious Pieces, Never before Printed', summarised the progress of Italian opera to that point. The section on operas, praises Clayton's *Arsinoe* and *Rosamond*, and curiously, is optimistic about the prospects of Eccles' *Semele* and Daniel Purcell's *Orlando furioso*, which failed to appear. There was no reference to *The Loves of Ergasto*, neither its existence nor its language. 'A Critical Discourse' in 1709, appended to the translation of Raguenet's 'Comparison between French and Italian Musick and Opera's',[33] dealt with the period 1705–1708 when Italian opera was making its first appearance. It refers to a Pastoral that opened the Queen's Theatre with an oblique reference to the composer, 'Gia—o Gr—r', but no mention of the title or the language in which the Pastoral was sung ('Discourse', p.66).

[2/18] In the *Tatler* (Apr.1709 to Jan.1711), Richard Steele had little interest in Italian opera beyond mockery, although he did admire the later acting ability of Nicolini. In the *Spectator* (Mar.1711–Dec.1712), which followed on the heels of the *Tatler*, Addison made an attempt in *Spectator 18* to account for the progress of Italian opera. In *Camilla* (1706), his concentration was totally on the translation from Italian. His tripartite model of the progress

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[32] Giuliana Celotti was one of the few singers on the roster of the Queen's Theatre, and was singing in public in April 1705, but she has not been considered as a performer in *Ergasto* (M&H, 2001, pp.184/219).

[33] Full title: 'A Critical Discourse on Opera's and Musick in England, and a Means proposed for their Improvement'. It deplored Italian opera in English, except where the anonymous author had a major role in the score and the performance. See my [5/5/fn.14] for a possible identification of the author. The 'Discourse' is appended to a translation of Raguenet's *Parallèle des italiens et des françois en ce que regarde la musique et les opéra* (1702) – *A Comparison between French and Italian Musick and Opera's…to which is added A Critical Discourse,* London (1709). Raguenet (1660-1722) was a doctor of medicine and a priest; he was tutor to the nephews of the Cardinal de Bouillon; he was a respected author of theological treatises, a biographer of Oliver Cromwell, and author of a compendium on Roman monuments. His *Parallèle* caused a stir in France because it promoted the superiority of Italian opera over the French.

of Italian opera, first in English, then bilingual, and finally all-Italian, concentrating totally on language, excludes *Ergasto*. Whether the exclusion was deliberate, or an omission based on inattention is not clear. Given the *Ergasto* title in English, Addison may have thought that *Ergasto* was in the vernacular, but there is no indication in *Spectator 18* that he was aware of the opera. Titles were not Addison's strong point. During his Italian tour (1701–03), he claimed to have attended eight operas, but provided the titles for none.[34] For the years 1705–11, the only title is *Camilla*, but it is employed only to mock the translation into English. No other opera is mentioned by name, so it comes as no surprise that *Ergasto* is missing. A bigger surprise is that *Rinaldo* is ignored in his model. When *Spectator 18* appeared on 21 March, *Rinaldo* had already eight performances, was deemed a success, and difficult to ignore. Addison knew about *Rinaldo* since he had already resorted to mockery of the opera in *Spectator 5* (Tues 6 Mar.1711), so his tripartite account of the arrival of Italian opera, 1705-11, is too selective to be of analytical value. Regarding the performed language of *Ergasto* in 1705, Addison, the revered master of language,[35] has little to contribute.

[2/19] Thereafter, not only the language of *Ergasto*, but the pastoral itself is ignored or gets short shrift. John Mainwaring in his life of Handel (1760), regards the pre-Handel period as a 'reign of nonsense', and quotes Addison as his source.[36] Hawkins in 1776 mentions 'the Loves of Ergasto', implying English, and reinforces this with Cibber's 'translated opera', but gets the year wrong (1706).[37] Burney consigns 'the Loves of Ergasto' to a footnote, which has the opening of the Queen's Theatre on 9 April 1705 (correct) with a play by Dryden (error), and has 'Ergasto' as an afterpiece to 'The Consultation' on 24 April (correct).38 There is no indication of the language in which the pastoral was sung.

[2/20] By the twentieth century, the answer seemed clear enough – this pastoral opera was sung in Italian. Opera lists from Alfred Loewenberg (1955), The London Stage (1960), to Eric Walter White (1983), all specify this opera was sung in Italian, although the title in each case is given in English.[39] These comfortable assumptions were challenged by Roger Fiske

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[34] 'Remarks on Several Part of Italy' (1701–1703), *Addison's Works*, Bohn, Vol.1, pp.391 ff.

[35] *The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison with Notes by Richard Hurd D.D.* (Bohn edition).

[36] *Memoirs of the Life of the late George Frederic Handel* (1760), pp.77-78.

[37] *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 1776 (Dover edition, 1963, vol.2, p.810).

[38] *A General History of Music*, 1789 (Dover, ed. Mercer, vol.2, p.655).

[39] Alfred Loewenberg *Annals of Opera 1597-1940* (Societas Bibliographia 2nd edition 1955) p.113; Eric Walter White *Register of First Performances of English Operas* (Society for Theatre Research, 1983) pp.18-19; Emmett L. Avery, *The London Stage 1700-1729*, part 2, (1960), vol 1, p.91. White had first suggested *Ergasto*

in 1973 in *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, a book that had scrutinised the operas from 1705–1711 in more detail than hitherto, but with a distinct bias in favour of English opera as the title of the book suggests. He questioned *The Loves of Ergasto*, sung in Italian, with the observation that it 'would surely have aroused comment at the time'. He makes allowance for Cibber's faulty memory, and his double error – the Queen's Theatre opening with *The Triumph of Love* instead of *Ergasto* (1705), and mistaking *The Triumph of Love* (1712) for *Love's Triumph* (1706). But Fiske insisted that although Cibber might get the titles wrong, he could not miss the language.[40] In his review of the book in *The Musical Times* (Nov.1973), Winton Dean did not quibble about Fiske's argument on Ergasto language.[41] Fiske's book must have made an impact, because thereafter, the language of Ergasto was treated with some caution.

'A new set of Singers, Arriv'd from Italy'

[2/21] Downes specified singers from Italy (epigraph), but this has generated another dispute. Judith Milhous was convinced that singers had come from Italy in her writings in 1976 and 1979 publications. Her 1976 'New Light of Vanbrugh's Haymarket Theatre Project' (*Theatre Survey*) was the sort of detailed study that stimulated researchers interested in the subject. She identified, *inter alia*, the subscribers to the building of the Queen's Theatre, noting that it was not necessarily a Whig project. She argued that the Queen's Theatre was more than a transfer of personnel from Lincoln's Inn Fields, and that Vanbrugh's plan to open with an Italian opera could set a new trend to counter rivalry with Drury Lane. She assumed logically that that for Italian opera to succeed, experienced Italian singers would be ideal, and so the Downes solution was attractive. However, later she later changed her mind, possibly due to the obscure logistics of the invitation.[42]

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in Italian in *The Rise of English Opera* (1951), p.49, but in *A History of English Opera* (1983), he quotes Loewenberg verbatim without citation, p.141, title still in English. The reason for this may be that out of the six copies of the libretto I have gathered, three have their titles in English only, and the other three, bilingual titles as expected for a bilingual parallel text. The title in English may be explained by the removal of the first page (recto and verso), so that a title in English would be more welcoming to an audience accustomed to titles in English (see Thesis Illustrations 2). Loewenberg has clearly used the English-only title.

[40] Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (1973), pp.34-35.

[41] Winton Dean, 'Purcell to Storace', *The Musical Times* (Nov. 1973), pp.1120-1121. Dean's major criticism was the neglect of Handel's operas, in favour of what Fiske himself called "so many rubbishy works". Dean recognised the wealth of detail in the book, but had many other criticisms to make.

[42] Milhous changed her mind from the 2001 in collaboration with Robert Hume.

[2/22] Thomas McGeary, in an otherwise excellent article on Thomas Clayton, repeated the case for singers from Italy, a safe bet following the Milhous lead.[43] He is one of the few knowledgeable and serious researchers in this period. In 1998, he focused on the early years of the Queen's Theatre and this revived interest in *Ergasto*. Exploring the beginnings of Italian opera in London he seemed to ignore the reservations of Curtis Price published twenty years earlier, and accepting Downes, stated:

> Vanbrugh did finally open his theatre on April 9, 1705, with an opera – not one of the English operas, but a hastily mounted production of an Italian opera *Gli amori d'Ergasto*, performed in Italian by a company imported from Italy.[44]

No scholar so far knows anything about 'a company from Italy', or what specific singers Downes had in mind, but McGeary suggested a link:

> We know, for example, from the correspondence of the Dukes of Manchester and Richmond, that Englishmen resident in Italy supplied those at home with information about music, opera, and singers, sent back scores …. No doubt someone acting as Vanbrugh's agent, contracted with, or assembled, a company of singers.[45]

[2/23] The trouble with this interpretation is that Earl of Manchester (not duke at this point) was not in Italy in 1705. The correspondences of Manchester and Richmond do not help us with the year 1705. The *Historical Manuscripts Commission* (1881) contain the complete existing correspondence of the Earl, but between 1703 and 1707 there is a blank.[46] McGeary's source for the Duke of Richmond is Elizabeth Gibson, who suggested that Owen Swiney had contacts in Italy which might have been a source for the 'company of singers' in 1705.[47] Although Swiney had been in London since 1703, his play *The Quacks* undermining the Queen's Theatre inauguration, the purpose of Gibson's article was to investigate Swiney's activities after he left for Italy in 1713. The Swiney-Richmond correspondence from the Goodwood Estate Archives dates from the 1720s, and so, is not

[43] 'Thomas Clayton and the Introduction of Italian Opera to England', *Philological Quarterly*, vol.77 (1998).
[44] Ibid., p.172.
[45] Ibid., p.182, endnote 7.
[46] The Earl of Manchester was not awarded a dukedom till 1719. He spent two periods in Venice on diplomatic business, winter 1697 to spring 1698, and June 1707 to Sept 1708 when Vanbrugh corresponded with him. The precise source for his correspondence has the title *Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Manchester* (HMC, Eighth Report, Appendix, Part 2, 1881).
[47] McGeary (fn.7, p.182) quotes from Elizabeth Gibson, 'Owen Swiney and the Italian Opera in London', *Musical Times*, Feb 1984, p.82.

much help for 1705. In both cases, Manchester and Richmond, the sources shed little light on a company of singers from Italy in 1705. This illustrates that close attention to dates and interconnections contributes to an improved understanding of events.[48]

[2/24] In 1978 Curtis Price posited an alternative argument to singers from Italy – they came from Drury Lane.[49] Price names only one singer for Greber's Pastoral, the Baroness Joanna Maria Lindelheim,[50] but she was not on the Drury Lane roster (M&H, 2001, p.183). His claim for the Baroness is a contract of March 1705/06 referred in the *Coke Papers*, but an opera is not named. However, the participation of the Baroness in *Gli amori di Ergasto* is endorsed by Winton Dean (1994, p.143) and M&H (2001, p.220). Since Haym produced *Camilla* in March 1706 for Drury Lane, it was assumed that Haym was an employee of Rich ('The Critical Decade', p.53), but he is not on the roster for the 1705– 06 season. More surprisingly, is the claim that Haym and the Baroness were employed by Rich in the 1704–1705 season, but such was Haym's influence with the Lord Chamberlain, he could arrange for the Baroness and himself to be involved at the rival theatre (QT) in the production of *The Loves of Ergasto* in April 1705. If Haym and the Baroness were 'freelance', this is entirely possible, but it raises questions about the extent of Rich's legendary power to control personnel.

[2/25] The Price entry in NGDO excludes Greber's partner, Margherita de L'Epine from *Ergasto* performances, since he claims she sang in *Arsinoe* at the rival theatre in Drury Lane. She may have been on the Drury Lane roster, but she is not listed for a part either in the libretto or in the two available scores,[51] although she did sing before and after performances. Nevertheless, Margherita was a seasoned opera singer who had made her name in Venice and at the court in Mantua, and she was therefore well qualified to sing in Italian opera. Her

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[48] McGeary's prestigious publication record, and especially his study, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (2013) with effusive reviews, makes me reluctant to introduce this critique, but it illustrates that if the best can err, lesser mortals may be worse. It is the nature of historiography that what was once perceived as vanguard research, can later be in need of revision. In correspondence with Thomas McGeary, he has admitted the need for a rethink of his 1998 article.

[49] 'The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700–1710' (1978), p.47.

[50] Lindelheim is usual spelling of her surname, but Lindgren refers to the burial register for St. Anne's Soho where her name appears as Linchenham, 'The Accomplishments of the Learned and Ingenious Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729)', *Studi musicali* (1987), p.257.

[51] See Bibliography, Manuscript Sources, BL and Harvard.

personal relationship with Greber made her an obvious choice.[52] Maria Gallia, Margherita's sister, also an experienced opera singer, was another available candidate.[53] The part of Licori was sung by the Italian Boy, recorded in *The Daily Courant*, 24 April 1705. Given a gap in the evidence, this completes the current view of the quartet of singers in the 1705 *Gli amori di Ergasto*.

'Captain Vantbrugg open'd his new Theatre in the Hay-market'

[2/26] That Vanbrugh's choice of *Ergasto* as the inaugural presentation for the Queen's Theatre, was a failure, is hardly a puzzle.[54] However, what is difficult to explain us why he did not exert himself to make it a success. From its beginning in 1703 to its completion in 1705, the building of the Queen's Theatre was plagued with setbacks – prolonged lawsuits, building delays, subscribers' dilatory payments, Tory ridicule, accusations of immorality by the Society for the Reformation of Manners on the one hand, and on the other, mockery from Drury Lane, keen to destroy a rival theatre. Planned operas by John Eccles, Daniel Purcell, and Thomas Clayton, did not materialise, and William Congreve proved to be an unreliable co- manager and partner. With obstacles like these and the building incomplete, it is strange that the Queen's Theatre opened in April 1705, and even more strange with an unprepossessing pastoral.[55]

[2/27] What the Queen's Theatre needed was more efficient management, but Vanbrugh's interests were shifting to to a more lucrative preoccupation – architectural design. Since 1700, Vanbrugh had been engaged in the building of Castle Howard. He had little experience, but his submitted drawings and plans for a new building, caught the attention of fellow Kit-Cat member, Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, and soon Vanbrugh was acting as

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[52] It is alleged that Margherita de L'Epine was the mistress of her accompanist Jacob Greber since their arrival from Italy in 1702/3. The poet laureate Nicholas Rowe dubbed her 'base Greber's Peg'. What was not generally known is that, when Margarita sang her 'farewell' concert on 5 July 1704 at Drury Lane, it was not just another of her promotional farewell concerts of the type audiences had experienced since 1703. This one was different. With her partner Jacob Greber, she was on the way to Holland where in the relative anonymity of Amsterdam, they posed as a married couple to have Margherita's baby baptised as stated in the record in the Stadsarchief in Amsterdam: 'Marie Anne Greber née le 30.e octobre 1704 de legitime marriage de Jacques Greber et de Francoise Margueritte de L'Epine a eté batisée le 31 du même mois, et a eu pour parain, [blank] et pour maraine Veronique Minas.' Source : Appendix, Illustration 3.

[53] Winton Dean, 1994, p.143; M&H, 2001, p.220; *Roscius Anglicanus*, M&H (ed.), p.96, fn.343; Highfill, Burnim, Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary* (1973– 93), vol.5, pp.439-40.

[54] Winton Dean, 1994, p.143; M&H, 2001, p.220.

[55] For an assortment of problems: McGeary, 'A Satire on the Opening of the Haymarket Theater' (2000), Milhous (1796), M&H (2001).

contractor with the assistance of established architect, Nicholas Hawksmoor. Following Marlborough's victory at Blenheim in August 1704, Vanbrugh found himself with another commission, the building of Blenheim Palace, and was soon appointed surveyor, again with Hawksmoor as his assistant. Vanbrugh's skill was in winning contracts, organising a workforce, and collaborating closely with Hawksmoor. Finance for these commissions did not seem to be in short supply – conditions very different from the building of the Queen's Theatre.

[2/28] Vanbrugh's organisational ability was not in question, at least when conditions were favourable. With Blenheim he had the able support, not only of Hawksmoor, but also of Henry Joynes, the proficient Clerk of Works, who organised funding, correspondence, drawings, building materials, and labour.[56] Congreve, the co-manager in the Queen's Theatre did not offer similar support, especially when Vanbrugh was absent. Congreve had little confidence in the the Queen's Theatre project, and even less when *The Judgement of Paris* (Congreve-Eccles) was not considered for the inauguration of the Queen's Theatre in April 1705. With the Queen's Theatre due to open on 9 April, Congreve wrote to his life-long friend in Ireland (Kilkenny), Joseph Keally, on 3 February, two months before the Theatre was due to open:

> I know not when the house will open, nor what we shall begin withal; but
> I believe with no opera. there is nothing settled yet.[57]

This attitude to management did not augur well for a successful inauguration of the Queen's Theatre.

[2/29] Timing for the opening of the Queen's theatre was not favourable. Parliament had already been prorogued on 14 March and dissolved on 5 April, less than a week before the Queens's Theatre would open its doors. Many members of both houses, regular theatre goers, had departed for their constituencies in preparation for the forthcoming general

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[56] Material of Vanbrugh adapted from, Kerry Downes, *Sir John Vanbrugh, a Biography*, Chs.23, 24 (1987); for Henry Joynes, p.297.

[57] *William Congreve Letters & Documents*, collected and edited by John C. Hodges (1964). Had singers from Italy been requested, Congreve would surely have known about it. He corresponded regularly with Joseph Keally who was continually informed about ongoing developments in the introduction of Italian opera.

election.[58] Viewing the prospects of a diminished audience and Congreve's incompetence, it is not hard to find Vanbrugh in frustration, shunning the inauguration of the Queen's Theatre, joining the Queen and court for the races at Newmarket, and then to Cambridge University where Vanbrugh and half of the Queens' Theatre subscribers were receiving honorary degrees as Doctors of Law.[59] Since Marlborough and army officers had left London for Europe on 29 March, more seats would be vacant, so it was left to the gentry to pass a verdict on Greber's *Ergasto*, so John Downes was correct in that respect.[60] Why Vanbrugh did not cancel or postpone the opening of the Queen's Theatre is a puzzle.

[2/30] Whatever Vanbrugh's competence in his architectural commissions, these did not translate into his theatre strategy. A significant event that affected the Queen's Theatre inauguration, not mentioned by Downes, is an attempt by Vanbrugh to steal a march on Drury Lane, which badly misfired. Why Vanbrugh should have committed such a blunder is another puzzle. Drury Lane was to present *The Quacks*,[61] a play by Owen Swiney based on Molière's *L'Amour médecin*, which not only mocked Vanbrugh, but was calculated to collide with the Queen's Theatre's projected anonymous farce, *The Consultation*, also based on the same Molière play, and planned presumably to sustain *Ergasto*, the length of which qualified it as an afterpiece, insufficient for an evening's entertainment.[62] Vanbrugh, using his influence with the Lord Chamberlain, had tried to have performances of *The Quacks* banned, but his manoeuvre, achieved but a short delay. It meant the run of *The Quacks*, originally scheduled to begin on 22 March, started a week later, and clashed with the planned inauguration of the Haymarket Theatre – *Ergasto* and perhaps *The Consultation*, but there is no record of the latter until 24 April.[63] There is no notification of this play as an mainpiece 9–13 April 1705, strange, in that Vanbrugh had done so much to protect it from opposition, so, apart from gross mismanagement on the part of the Queen's Theatre, Vanbrugh's tactic

[58] [Cruikshanks, Handley] D.W. Hayton, *The History of Parliament 1690–1715* (2002), vol.1, pp.225–227; James Winn, *Queen Anne* (2014), p.402.
[59] Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture*, p.212 (1993), p.212/221.
[60] Ch.2 epigraph; Winn, *Queen Anne* (2014), p.402.
[61] The performances of *The Quacks* are not recorded by Downes despite the publicity surrounding the attempted ban. Perhaps his loyalty to Vanbrugh encouraged him to remain silent, but there should have been some gratitude to Swiney, who by 1706 was manager at the Haymarket, and according to Milhous and Hume, engineered a pension for Downes in 1706, two years before the publication of his book *Roscius Anglicanus*, Milhous & Hume (eds.),1987, p. xi; *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers 1706–1715*, p.xxii, and p.6.
[62] *The Consultation* was never published, so little about it is known about the play.
[63] Milhous and Hume dismiss the play 'as a flop', *London Stage,* p.184.

gave *The Quacks* added publicity in the press,[64] and allowed it on 9–10 April to steal the limelight.[65] Given the rivalry the between Christopher Rich and Vanbrugh, it is no surprise to find Rich seizing an opportunity to produce a programme of events designed to undermine the inauguration of the Haymarket theatre.[66]

Confused Reception

[2/31] A final puzzle that has caused confusion is the appearance in the catalogue of the Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB) of a pastoral opera with the title *Gli amori d'Ergasto*. Curtis Price noticed this in the *NGDO* (1992) entry for *Gli Amori di Ergasto*, and identified the puzzle:

> In 1711 Greber composed another opera called *Gli amori di Ergasto* for Vienna, but this appears to bear no relation to the London libretto, except in its title.

This seemed to be quite clear, a different opera with the London title, but in 2009, Kathryn Lowerre added to the confusion:

> No music for the London production [of Ergasto] is known. Six years later, a revised version of Ergasto was performed in Vienna, for which a score survives. I have not had the opportunity to compare the Vienna score with the London libretto.[67]

This is the puzzle that needs clarification. Curtis Price is correct, but he stops short of an explanation – the Vienna MS score has the wrong title and should read – given the name of the protagonist – *Gli Amori di Niso*. The reason for this error for what is clearly a different opera is resolved by reference to the archives. The confusion over the title has its origin in

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[64] For example, the *Diverting Post* of 31 March–7 April 1705.

[65] This may provide and additional reason why the performances of *Ergasto* were thrown into the shade. Not only *The Quacks*, but a performance of *Arsinoe* on Thursday 12 April at Drury Lane, were guaranteed to eclipse planned Haymarket performances 9–13 April (cf. the sequence of events in Milhous & Hume *The London Stage,* online draft calendar, pp.219-221). Political reasons that undermined *Ergasto* in April 1705 (e.g., the general election), [2/30], [3/22], [3/42].

[66] Such was the mismanagement of *Ergasto* in 1705, and the arrival of Italian opera in London that Merrill Knapp suggested it 'came about largely by accident'; 'Eighteenth-Century Opera in London before Handel, 1705-1710', *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660– 1800* (1984), Shirley Strum Kenny (ed.), p.93. Curtis Price took a different view, claiming that the arrival of Italian opera was part of a concerted plan; 'The Critical Decade for English Drama, 1700–1710', *Harvard Library Bulletin* (1978), p.74. These views will be considered in the course of the dissertation, which suggests a case for evolutionary progress.

[67] K. Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage 1695–1705* (2009), p.366, fn.94.

the 1890s when the accumulation of manuscripts in the Vienna Hofbibliothek, the precursor of the present ÖNB, had reached critical mass, at which point cataloguing became urgent. Dr Josef Mantuani was assigned the task.[68] Faced with the manuscript of a pastoral score without a title page, and to which the signature Giacomo Greber was appended, he must have assumed this to be the missing score of *Gli amori di Ergasto* from London, and so provided the catalogue inscription which has remained to the present day.[69] Clearly, Mantuani had not studied the Greber manuscript, otherwise he might have queried the title.

[2/32] To illustrate the error with the title in the Vienna catalogue, a parallel text is included in Appendix 5. It illustrates what Guarini did not do, detailing the difference between a simple pastoral and a tragicomedy.[70] It also includes a translation of the Vienna *Gli amori di Niso* (my title) to emphasise that this has no connection with the London opera. The translation is included because at my time of writing no translation in any language could be found. However, during the revision of this chapter, it was brought to my notice that Professor Kai Wessel at the Hochschule für Musik und Tanz (Cologne) and his colleagues had produced a dual-language libretto of the ÖNB manuscript (trans.–Jutta Eckes), a performing score, and a performance on radio, WDR3, on 7 February 2021, 8.04–11.00pm. There is also reference to the recording made on 10 January 2021 in the Trinity Church, Cologne. Since the Vienna MS has no title page,[71] Wessel has introduced a new title, *Gli amori malintesi*, 'Misunderstood Lovers' (?) to avoid confusion with *Gli amori d'Ergasto*. However, *Gli amori di Niso* more accurately describes the plot. Details of the libretto

[68] Dr Mantuani completed a doctorate in Philosophy and Fine Art at the University of Vienna in 1894. In addition, he had studied Music with Josef Böhm and Anton Bruckner, and later published a history of music in Vienna. He earned a reputation as a prestigious scholar. He joined the Music Department of the Imperial Library in 1893 and became Head (Leiter der Musikabteilung der Hofbibliothek) in 1898. This coincided with the publication of the Eitner Lexicon (fn.51) which provided a Vienna date of 1701. Mantuani may have queried the date due to anomalies and anachronisms, and so left the date blank in the catalogue reference, and as recently as February 2021, it is still 'undated'. However, I have adopted the provisional date of 1711 (Price, NGDO, Hilscher, MGG) to distinguish it from the 1707 that could not have had a Prologue announcing a coronation in 1711. In 1707, Charles was in Barcelona, holding the title of Charles III of Spain in opposition to his rival Philip V, the French candidate, but on the death of his brother Joseph I in 1711, Charles relinquished his claim to the Spanish throne, and was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Frankfurt in 1711.

[69] The curator Dr Andrea Harrandt provided this information (9.4.2013): 'the text in our online catalogue is written by Joseph Mantuani. He made the entries in his "Tabulae codicum manu scriptorium praetor greacos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi …. Volumen IX edited in Vienna in 1897. I do not know from where Mantuani got his information'. Given a lack of hard evidence, inference is the best guide.

[70] Guarini's aim was mainly to counter his critics who insisted on the Aristotelian separation of tragedy and comedy, not to illustrate the detailed difference between the two. Suffice to say, a pastoral needed a 'knot'.

[71] Musiksammlung, Signatur: Mus.Hs.17252

translation into German can be found on the WDR3 website.[72] A further complication has arisen with an altered entry in the ÖNB catalogue which now identifies *Gli amori di Ergasto* as *La ninfa contenta*, based on a recently discovered 1713 printed libretto. It is claimed the opera was premiered in Innsbruck in 1713 in honour of the Empress Elisabeth Christina.[73]

Conclusion

[2/33] The pastoral, *Gli amori di Ergasto*, was not an auspicious introduction to Italian opera in London. But given the theatre building setbacks, poor scheduling management, political opposition, satirical vilification, and unfavourable timing for the inauguration, it is remarkable that it happened at all. Using the Guarini model of pastoral to tragicomedy it is reasonable to understand in retrospect how the bedding-in of Italian opera evolved, but in the years 1705–1711, progress was uneven and emerged through conflict between two theatres, the Queen's Theatre and Drury Lane, between English semiopera and all-sung Italian performance. Much depended on initiatives of individuals, often in disagreement about objectives for operas and strategies for audience appeal,[74] but in the end Italian opera emerged despite its modest beginning with Greber's pastoral. However, it would take time and familiarity for audiences to become accustomed to all-sung performances in Italian. This was achieved by 1710 with *Almahide*, and *L'Idaspe fedele*, and in 1711 with *Etearco*, and Handel's *Rinaldo*.

[72] https://www1.wdr.de/radio/wdr3/programm/sendungen/wdr3-oper/oper-giacomo-greber-gli-amori-dergasto-100.html – see ÖNB catalogue for 11.01.2021 - Jakob Greber, „Gli amori di Ergasto" in Köln – WDRhttps://www1.wdr.de — Kai Wessel, Dirigent von "Gli amori d'Ergasto" in der Kölner Trinitatiskirche (special thanks to David Vickers for the Kai Wessel alert).

[73] Mus.Hs.17252 MUS MAG; http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14270324

[74] Opera promotion: Vanbrugh (Italian), Rich (Italianate), Motteux (all-sung English), Swiney (efficient management), Haym (Italian), Heidegger (pasticcio), Collier (management), Hill (libretto), Handel (music).

Chapter Three: Pull of the Pastoral

> 'Virgil *and* Spencer *made use of it* [the Pastoral] *as a Prelude to* Heroick Poetry. *But I fear the Innocency of the Subject makes so little inviting at Present …… There is no sort of Poetry, if well wrought, but gives Delight: And the* Pastoral *perhaps may boast of this in a peculiar manner. For in Painting, so I believe, as in Poetry, the country affords the most entertaining Scenes, and most delightful Prospects*'.
>
> (Ambrose Philips, *Pastorals*, Preface, 1708/09)

[3/1] The view of Ambrose Philips above was published in 1708, the year of the last of the three operatic pastoral experiments. Philips refers to poetry and painting, but since the amoebean nature of the Virgil *Eclogues* in song contests allowed them to be dramatised on the early Roman stage, a musical rendition eventually developed.[1] The dramatic pastoral tradition grew rapidly in the Italian Renaissance culminating with Tasso's *Aminta* (1573) and Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (1589), theatrical texts published regularly in English throughout the seventeenth century providing sources for musical adaptations. Philips makes no reference to the Italian pastorals of his own time, probably because his commitment was primarily to an English Spenserian tradition stemming from an Elizabethan golden age rather than from the original Greek arcadia, peopled by nymphs and shepherds describing the beginning of time, when peace, happiness, and prosperity prevailed in a state of nature. Nevertheless, the model suggested by Philips of a transition from pastoral to heroic, taken from Hesiod, Virgil, and Ovid, is worth pursuing since the period 1705–11 in London sees an apparent shift from the pastoral *Ergasto* to the more heroic *Rinaldo*.[2] If there was a conviction that the pastoral was considered a precondition for the heroic, based on a mythologised Greek notion of the Ages of the World,[3] it will be useful to enquire to what extent the pastoral-to-heroic model was a conscious plan, or just a fortuitous run of events based on mounting simple and inexpensive productions in order to introduce Italian opera in London.

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[1] The term 'amoebean' specifically refers to a quasi-improvised song contest used by Theocritus and Virgil, in which the competitors are judged on the merits of developing the original theme and responding to the additions of the rival singer. See, Alden Smith, *Virgil*, 2011, p.42; E.V. Rieu, *Virgil, The Pastoral Poems*, p.132.

[2] See Hesiod *Works and Days* (M.L. West 2008, pp.39 ff.), Theocritus' Sicily, Virgil *Eclogues* 4&6; Ovid *Metamorphosis* (Penguin, 1970, Bk. XV, pp.337-8). For considerations on Arcadia and the Golden Age, see Thomas Bauman, 'Moralizing the tomb: Poussin's Arcadian shepherds in eighteenth century England and Germany', *Opera and the Enlightenment*, Bauman & McClymonds, 1995, p.23.

[3] The Greek Ages of the World: Golden (pastoral), Silver, Bronze, Heroic, Iron (there are many other versions, three, four and seven ages). The early 18th century view was that Virgil produced his *Eclogues* and *Georgics* before moving the bigger challenge – the heroic *Aeneid*.

The Three Pastorals

[3/2] Two early eighteenth–century sources, *Roscius Anglicanus* and *A Critical Discourse* tell us that the doors of the newly built Queen's Theatre opened to the public with the first of the London pastorals. The first source specifies the date, 9 April, Easter Monday 1705, with a run of five days, but provides no title.[4] The *Discourse* refers erroneously to 'the first Pastoral that had ever been Presented on the English Stage',[5] also without a title; the object of both sources seems to belittle the event. The lack of press reference for the week starting 9 April may have been due to poor theatre management, but the pastoral is now assumed to be *The Loves of Ergasto*. The same sources identify the second pastoral, *The Temple of Love*, this time by title, but only *The Daily Courant* provides dates (7/16 March 1706). The third pastoral, *Love's Triumph*, is recorded by the *Discourse*, but not by Downes since his book had gone to print; the *Daily Courant* provides dates (26 Feb 1708, ff. with 8 performances).[6]

[3/3] To assess contemporary reactions to these pastorals an examination of their plots is a useful start mainly because it will reveal the contemporary attitude to pastorals.[7] The three Italianate pastorals all follow the basic love triangle model. *The Loves of Ergasto* has a simple plot: two nymphs, Licori and Phyllis fall in love with the same shepherd Ergasto, but when a second shepherd Filander appears, the rejected Phyllis sees her chance, but there's a twist – it is her long-lost brother (Fig.1).

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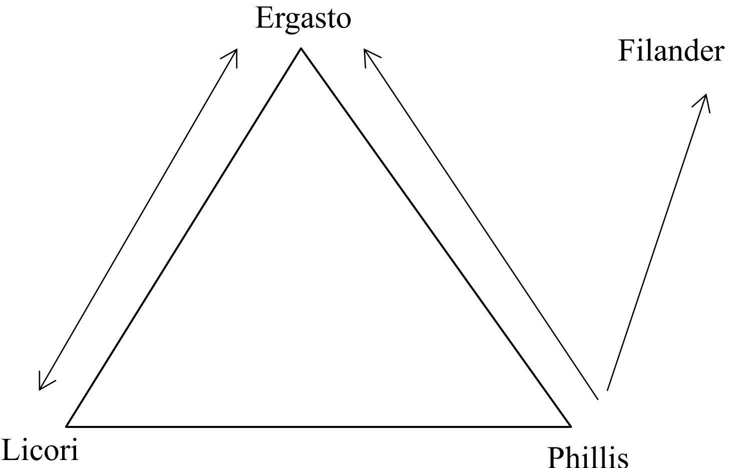
[4] Downes, John, *Roscius Anglicanus* (London, 1708) – not only is the title of the opera missing, just 'a foreign Opera' sung by Italians, but the run of five days was unprecedented at the time, and is not recorded elsewhere (p.48); the other source is the anonymous *A Critical Discourse on Opera's and Musick in England* (London, 1709), which refers only to a 'Pastoral' and the composer 'Gia----o Gr-----r [Jacob Greber]' (p.66); the only dated source with a title is *The Daily Courant*, not for 9 April, but for Tuesday 24 April 1705 which advertises 'The Loves of Argasto' [sic] for that evening as an afterpiece to the anonymous play, 'The Consultation' (never printed, now lost). For the week starting 9 April, there is no press reference to *Ergasto*, and importantly no mainpiece, without which an evening's entertainment would have been unlikely, not worth attending.

[5] *A Comparison between French and Italian Musick and Opera's…to which is added A Critical Discourse*, (London, 1709), p.66.

[6] *The Loves of Ergasto* has attracted more scholarship than the two following pastoral operas, odd because score and songs are missing. The Vienna opera of 1711 is a tragicomedy in which the central character is Niso, which means the ÖNB catalogue has the wrong title. Both *The Temple of Love* and *Love's Triumph* have more intricate plots than the 1705 *Ergasto*. *Songs from the Opera's* for both were published by John Walsh in the same year as the performances. However, these pastorals have had little attention, ignored completely by *NGDO* and marginalised by James Winn (2014, p.425).

[7] Timothy Neufeldt has explored some of the music for these pastorals (Toronto PhD diss., 2006), his focus being the years 1695-1728, covering a wide range of pastoral material. In *The Temple of Love* his concern is to show that the '*primo* couple' have more noble arias than those of the '*secondo*'. This thesis is more concerned with early eighteenth-century literary reactions to the pastorals. A detailed examination of *The Temple of Love* and *Love's Triumph*, suggests the potential of these pastoral operas was greater than historical reception suggests, but that contemporary events undermined them.

Fig.1 ***The Loves of Ergasto* (1705)**



a nymph betrayed by a faithless shepherd but falls for Ergasto

fails with Ergasto but falls for Filander, Ergasto's friend

[3/4] *The Temple of Love* has a more complicated plot, more sophisticated than that of *Ergasto*, and with a clear purpose to mock the 'unconstant' male. It involves two love triangles (Fig.2 below) featuring the virtuous and faithful Sylvander and his counterpart the fickle and unfaithful Thyrsis. The contrast makes for a more subtle drama. Sylvander is in search of his childhood sweetheart Orinda, last seen at a tender age in the Arcadian woods. A marriage contract had been drawn up in gratitude for Sylvander's father saving the child Orinda from an angry boar.[8] While Thyrsis strays from his nymph, the faithful Sylvander continues the quest for his betrothed Orinda, aided only with a riddle supplied by the oracle in the temple of love, and the evidence the boar's mark on Orinda's right shoulder (libretto, p.12). The satyr alone has an ability to solve riddles, but does so piecemeal, and at a price – to satisfy his traditional appetite for women, but since the opera has only two females with love interests elsewhere,[9] his prospects are bleak. Concupiscence aside, the satyr has a comic role which acts as a foil in the more serious contest between virtue and vice. In the end the satyr, suffering constant rejection, gives up on women in favour of wine, which he claims is

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[8] The boar is a standard pastoral motif, cf., *Aminta*, *Pastor Fido*, *Venus and Adonis*, etc.; also in *The Loves of Ergasto*, but here, only peripheral to the action without a contribution to the plot, used as only as a parallel – pursuit of the boar and pursuit of love.

[9] The comic couple Neralbo and Serpetta play no part in the love triangles. The cautious Serpetta distrusts the lusty Neralbo, and keeps him at arm's length until the end of the opera, when he threatens to hang himself as a proof of love, to which she responds partly in sympathy, partly as a caution, 'false or true, A wife can quit your Score' (p.38).

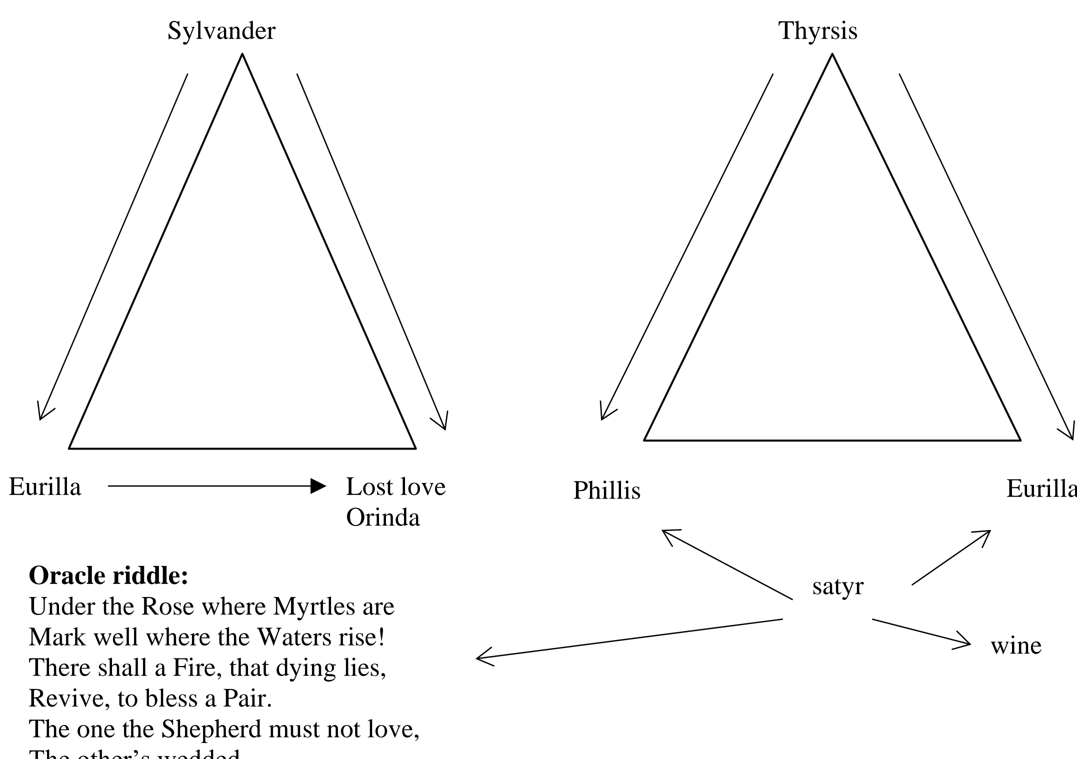
a more reliable reward. The Sylvander triangle resolves when an attack by another wild boar at the end of the opera brings Eurilla near to death, but she revives. Crucially, it reveals the original boar-mark showing that Eurilla is in fact the lost Orinda. Sylvander, who had been warming to Eurilla in the course of the opera is beside himself with joy (p.34):

> Kind Heavens! What do I see? 'Tis she, 'tis my Orinda!
> My lost, my wedded love, the change of name no longer can deceive me.

The riddle is solved and the fickle Thyrsis is forced to return to his forgiving Phillis. The satyr mends his ways and virtue is triumphant, albeit by force of circumstances rather than by any moral incentive.

Fig.2

***The Temple of Love* (1706)**



[3/5] Dramatic irony enhances *The Temple of Love*. The audience has the advantage of knowing that Orinda has been brought up under another name, Eurilla,[10] but up to the end of

[10] The libretto was available in advance of the performance; the information is under 'Persons represented'.

the opera the identity of Orinda for the dramatis personae is a mystery.[11] Devices like this, including comedy and the use of the riddle, help sustain a balance of tensions to the final chorus. Theatrical 'Eccho' wooing effects by a spying Thyrsis from behind a bush (p.2) earn him a 'box in the ear' (p.4) and the soliciting satyr gets his comeuppance, being beaten with a brier by Phillis which has him remonstrate:

> Oh thou very, very Woman!
> First she allures me,
> Secures me,
> Ties me,
> Then down she throws me, and flies me!
> I cannot stir………who'll help me? (p.8)

The use of a boar and hidden identity to resolve the plot are reminiscent of *Pastor Fido*. The moral of the tale was in keeping with the new cult of virtue prevailing over vice (see fn.13).

[3/6] The use of the satyr is the source of comedy. Despite rejection and punishment, the satyr does not give up. He woos on to the bitter end. Later in Act II he emerges from the temple 'dressed like a gypsy' pretending to be a 'poor begging Shepherd':

> I come from Ægypt, I'm a Fortune-teller;
> And till our Trade was falling
> 'Twas a good Calling.
> Now ev'ry Fool's pretending
> To be a Conjurer,
> And all the wise are starving.

Both Phillis and Eurilla request their fortune to discover the identity of their 'true lover', but when the reply is 'a pretty satyr', the disguised fortune teller's cover is blown (p.21). Even the tragicomic ploy of kidnapping Phillis and tying her to a tree in imitation of the victim, Silvia, by a similar satyr in Tasso's *Aminta* gets him nowhere since rescue by the hero follows the same Tasso sequence (p.22).[12] The striving of the satyr as a likeable rogue, and the various theatrical devices in this opera, help draw the audience into the plot allowing

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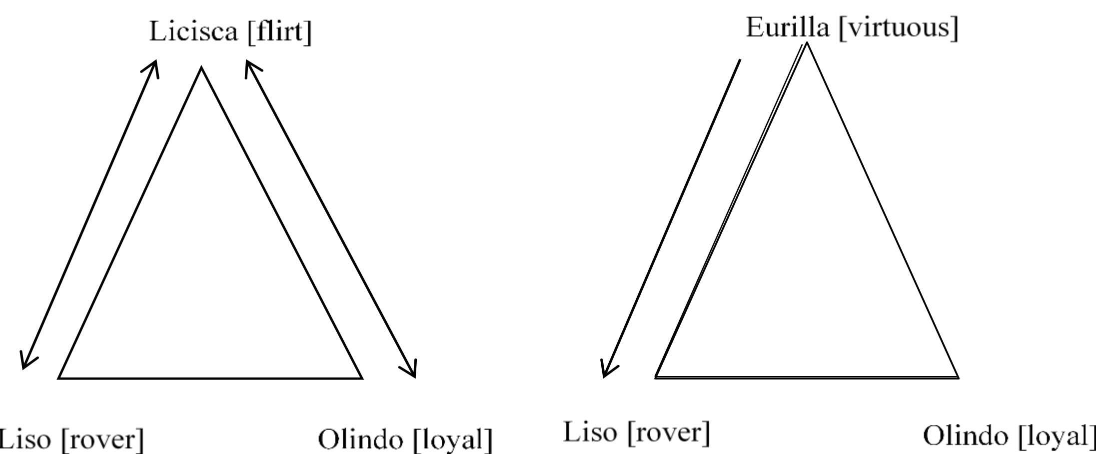
[11] Final revelation of identity is a tragicomic motif, e.g. Mirtillo in *Pastor fido*, although in the latter Eurilla is the villain. In *Pastor fido* and in *The Temple of Love*, an oracle' s riddle is key to the plot. The goddess Diana rules off-stage in *Pastor fido*, but has a comic 'walk-on' part in *The Temple of Love* to behold the satyr sleeping by the well.

[12] The link with Guarini's *Pastor fido* is in the use of oracle, hidden identity, a boar, the threat of death, and a happy ending. The use of the satyr recalls Tasso's *Aminta*. This opens a debate about the use of tragicomedy, to be explored later in the dissertation.

character empathy to develop in a way that is non-existent in *Ergasto*, and so *The Temple of Love* as a pastoral opera aligned itself with the latest fashion for sentimental comedy.[13]

[3/7] Fig.3



The third pastoral, *Love's Triumph*, is a contest between the virtuous and the volatile, a continuing theme from *The Temple of Love*. It has two contrasting love triangles (Fig.3 above) with two shepherdesses as the lynchpins, the virtuous Eurilla, and the flirtatious Licisca. Eurilla is disappointed in love, the fickle Liso, her once intended being attracted to the even more fickle Licisca. Although Liso and Licisca might be suited in temperament, the virtue of fidelity is under attack. The triumph of virtue over vice is the essence of sentimental comedy, and was rapidly becoming a theatrical cult from early to later eighteenth

[13] There is a division of opinion about sentimental comedy and its emergence in early eighteenth century. J.W. Krutch, *Comedy and Conscience after the Restoration* (1949), has a complete book on the subject tracing the transition from Restoration to sentimental comedy. Robert Hume in *The Development of English Drama in the Late 17th Century* (1976), is more concerned with 'misleading clichés' and use of the term 'sentimental', much preferring a transition from Carolean to Augustan (pp.vii-viii), or from 'old to new', comedy. He insists the term 'sentimental' is 'hopelessly hazy' (p.435), and refines the concepts to 'hard' and 'soft' comedy with other categories like 'humane', 'reform', 'exemplary', comedy (p.484). Labels apart, there is a transition in attitudes to comedy from the 1690s to 1710. Gone the comedy of manners with an emphasis on sexual intrigue, adultery as a prerequisite to marriage, cuckoldry, swearing, drinking, all explored by ruffians, rakes, fops, or as Collier put it in 1698 - the ideal gentleman was portrayed as a 'smutty and atheistical' person. This was not the stuff of early Italianate pastorals, although Collier had reservations about opera as well – 'Musick warms the Passions, and unlocks the Fancy', but apparently only in 'a Lewd Play' (pp.278-9). In the 'Restoration' comedies of Congreve, Vanbrugh, Durfey, Shadwell, Wycherley, wit and repartee dominate over sentiment. But in the works of Cibber, Steele, Mrs Manley, Mary Pix, and Addison, virtue triumphs over vice. However, Hume insists the divisions are not absolute - playwrights could shift from old to new style, or provide a mix (e.g. Farquhar exemplifies transition). Krutch, in a step by step analysis, sees a transition from an emphasis on vice to virtue in the years 1700-1701 (p.207), and a 'noteworthy development of sentimental comedy' in the years 1704-05 (p.215), just as Italianate opera was making an appearance, both *The Temple of Love* and *Love's Triumph* fitting the sentimental category very closely.

century.[14] So the plot contrives to have the virtuous subdue the fickle, the latter shown to be deprived of the social and moral attractions of marriage, and accordingly, the final character alignments reflect this.

The bilingual Pastoral

[3/8] *Love's Triumph*, the third pastoral, was one of the first so-called macaronic operas in London,[15] the part of Liso being sung in Italian by Valentini (Valentino Urbani), while the other characters sang in English (Fig.4). The bilingual aspect of this opera might seem bizarre to a modern audience, but the disparaging *Discourse* of 1709 makes no criticism of this.[16] The *Discourse* simply comments that the opera brought 'Desolation' to the Queen's Theatre, and that it 'was so great that the then Undertaker [Vanbrugh] was constrain'd to abandon Opera's, foreseeing that a *Triumph of Love*, or two more, wou'd of necessity undo him', but on Valentini's singing in Italian, the *Discourse* is silent. However, in the previous year, the March 1707 edition of *The Muses Mercury*, held over until April to comment on the new opera *Thomyris*,[17] does refer to Valentini's singing in a language different from the rest of the cast and comments:

> But for the sake of the Eunuch, Signior Valentino's voice, his Part was sung in Italian always, because he did not understand English, and there was not much lost by it: for the Italian manner of Singing is such, that few of the Audience wou'd have known the Words, had they been sung in English.

For the *Mercury* it did not seem to matter in what language Valentini sang. Moreover, the *Mercury* emphasises that many audiences admired the 'Novelty'. Since the *Thomyris* libretto stipulates that Valentini was requested 'at the Desire of most of the Nobility, who subscrib'd for the first Performances of this Opera' (p.4), the quality of the voice may have transcended

[14] See the entry 'Restoration comedy' in *The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English* (ed. Ian Ousby, CUP, 1996, p.786).
[15] Valentini first sang in London in an experimental bilingual revival of *Camilla* (8 March 1707) singing the part of Turnus in Italian. *Thomyris* was produced three weeks later (1.4.07), with the part of the hero, Orontes, shared between 'Mr. *Hughs*, or Signor *Valentino*, A *Contra-tenor*' (libretto). At some unspecified time, Valentino left London, and returned in December (Burney suggests 6.12.07, ed. Mercer, vol.2, p.659). Whether Valentini sang the part of Orontes in these early performances, is not clear, but Mr Hughs is the more likely candidate.
[16] *A Critical Discourse* (p.72); John Mainwaring (1760) ignores this period completely; Burney is neutral, seeing *Love's Triumph* as a Valentini benefit, Bk. IV, Ch.6, p.661 (Mercer edition 1935). Scholarly reception has dismissed this opera as hardly worth a comment.
[17] First performance of *Thomyris*, 1 April 1707. The December edition of *Muses Mercury* explains the reasons for delayed publication. Whether this information came from the libretto or the performance is not clear (see fn.19).

the meaning of the words.[18] Valentini had sung the part of Turnus in a revival the Haym version of *Camilla* in Italian on 8 March 1707, just over three weeks before the first performance of *Thomyris* on 1 April, so the regular audience would have known what to expect. In the event of the audience growing weary of Valentini, or the singer returning to Europe where he was in great demand, the counter-tenor Francis Hughes shared the part of Orontes singing in English.[19]

Fig.4

The Perſons Repreſented.

MEN.

iſo, an *Italian* Shepherd, inclin'd to Roving, courts *Liciſca*, having been ſlighted by *Eurilla*,	Signior *Valentino*, who ſings in *Italian*.
lindo, a Shepherd, ill-us'd by *Liciſca*, and ſtill in Love with her, tho' he courts *Eurilla*,	Signiora *Margarita de L'Eſpine*.
Neralbo, a merry, amorous Shepherd, in Love with *Serpetta*,	Mr. *Leveridge*.

WOMEN.

Liciſca, a fickle Shepherdeſs, loves *Olindo*, and countenances *Liſo*,	Mrs. *Tofts*.
Eurilla, in Love with *Liſo*, and conſtant, tho' neglected,	The *Baroneſs*.
Serpetta, an innocent Shepherdeſs, who would, but fears to love,	Mrs. *Lindſey*.

The SCENE *Arcadia*.

The Time of Action three Hours.

By spring 1708 no such safety net was provided for *Love's Triumph* by which time Valentini's command of English may have improved given that he organised the opera,

[18] This must have been an embarrassment for the librettist Peter Motteux who constantly repeated that the sense should not be swamped by sound. *Love's Triumph* does not have a preface with Motteux's thoughts on Italianate opera, so we have to consult his preceding work *Thomyris* in which he insists that the music be 'subservient' to the words. This view is slightly modified in the 1708 *Love's Triumph* libretto with its lengthy dedication to Thomas Frankland 'to keep sense and sound together' (p.2). Another oddity for an all-sung opera is the Motteux claim in the same libretto, 'that Singing will not get the better of Speaking' (p.4).

[19] Dean/Knapp (1987/1995; p.144) suggest that Valentini left London after *Camilla* (March), not returning until December 1707, meaning that the audience could become familiar with some of the intricate dialogue in English before the return of Valentini. However, it is not clear when Valentini left for Italy. He may have sung in the first few performances to collect his third night benefit. Lack of precise data encourages a measure of speculative inference from circumstantial evidence.

although he continued written negotiations in French, the continental *lingua franca* for formalities.[20] Nevertheless, he sang the part of Liso in Italian, which suggests there may have been a demand, or least a tolerance, for the timbre of the Italian voice.[21]

Motteux, Plot, and Music

[3/9] Another notable aspect of the two pastoral operas, *The Temple of Love* and *Love's Triumph*, was the involvement of Peter Motteux (1663–1718), a Huguenot refugee who arrived in London in 1685, and by 1692 was editing *The Gentleman's Journal*, a publication mostly written by himself. In the first number of January 1691/2, having thoroughly assimilated English culture, he endorsed the principles of Purcellian semi-opera:

> Other Nations bestow the name of Opera only on such Plays whereof every word is sung, But experience hath taught us that our English genius will not rellish that perpetual Singing.

By 1705 with the production of *Arsinoe*, he had changed his mind, deciding that all-sung drama could be a profitable enterprise. Motteux had the ability to adapt. At different times he was a journalist, playwright, a translator, librettist – on arriving in London he was an auctioneer, by 1712 with Italianate opera temporarily sidelined by Handel, he was running a China warehouse in Leadenhall Street near the East India Company and using his letter to the *Spectator* to show that he could move easily from literature to trade to allow the latter to finance the former.[22] With the introduction of Italianate opera in 1705, Motteux was an ideal librettist. He already had experience with *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (1696), *Europe's Revels* (1697), *The Island Princess* (1699), *Acis and Galatea* (1701), *Britain's Happiness* (1704), and as a playwright he had behind him, *Love's a Jest* (1696), and *The Novelty* (1697).

[20] *Coke's Theatrical Papers*: in French – Valentini's 'Agreement' with Motteux (p.24); Valentini to Coke (p.61); with Vanbrugh (p.71).

[21] For differing views on Valentini, see Colley Cibber in his memoirs, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber*, (Dublin, 1740); 'a sensible singer', a good actor, but 'a weak voice' (p.185); Cibber continues that the audience got its 'first Impression of a good Opera singer' (p.226). Winton Dean in *NGDO* quotes observers declaring 'a fine actor', and 'more chaste in his singing' than Nicolini (1992, IV, 885). Three years later Addison mocked the bilingual approach to opera in *Spectator* 18 (21 March 1711), arguing that dialogue in two different languages without the aid of an interpreter, was a nonsense, but in 1708 its effect was minimal, and the gist of the Valentini utterance, was not difficult to discern. However, Addison referred to 'all-Italian' opera.

[22] Motteux's lengthy letter to *Spectator* 288 on 30 January 1712 shows an entrepreneur and publicist at work, moving easily from dealing in Chinese and Japanese wares, tea, fans, muslins, and then to translating Rabelais and *Don Quixote*, and back to importing atlases, gold, silver, silks, but the letter makes no mention of his work on Italianate opera 1705-1708. Motteux was not alone as a 'projector' in commercial venturism – see Daniel Defoe and Aaron Hill in Christine Gerrard, Ch.2, p.39 ff. in *Aaron Hill: The Muses' Projector* (2003).

But it was *Beauty in Distress* (1698),[23] in the year of the Jeremy Collier attack on the stage,[24] that showed how Motteux could shift from the scurrilous nature of Restoration drama to comedy of conscience (sensibility) which was the essence of the Italian pastoral. However, he achieved this in a very odd way. *Beauty in Distress* bristles with 'forced marriages, ravishings, hypocrisy, jealousies, poisonings', but has a moral lesson – 'learn from small Crimes [sic] great mischiefs to beware'.[25] Motteux adds in his Preface, a mock jibe at Collier, that his play has:

> …no Singing, no Dancing, no mixture of comedy, no Mirth, no change of Scene, no rich Dresses, no Show, no Rants, no Similies, no Battle, no Killing on the Stage, no ghost, no Prodigy, and, what's yet more, no Smut, no Profaneness, nor Immorality.[26]

After this bizarre display of irony, mocking the anti-theatre of Collier, Motteux was much in demand, was well connected in the literary and musical world, and was soon drawn into the business of constructing Italianate opera plots.[27]

[3/10] For *Arsinoe* in 1705 Motteux worked in conjunction with musicians Nicola Francesco Haym, Charles Dieupart, and Thomas Clayton, who was responsible for the overall project, reducing the original Tomaso Stanzani *Arsinoe* libretto, set by Petronio Franceschini in Bologna (1676) by half, thus exposing the occasional puzzling dramatic sequence.[28] The *Temple of Love* in 1706 has many eighteenth–century devices explored by Motteux in his masques and interludes, but Cunningham berates the plot,[29] which admittedly does not have the subtlety of the plays, but which in pastoral terms it is cleverly put together.[30] The

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[23] For a full chronology of Motteux's work, Robert Newton Cunningham, *Peter Anthony Motteux*, (Oxford, 1933), pp.200-205.
[24] Collier's book captured the zeitgeist of many at the time, including the monarchy, that the stage was a source of corrupt morals - *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (London, 1698).
[25] Cunningham, p.126.
[26] Quoted in Robert Cunningham, *Peter Anthony Motteux, a Biographical and Critical Study*, (Oxford, 1933), p.129.
[27] Motteux's qualifications in the literary world get close attention in Lucyle Hook 'Motteux and the Classical Masque' (esp. pp.108-90), *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660 -1800* (Assoc. UP, 1984), ed. Shirley Strum Kenny.
[28] See Ch.4. Clayton had overall responsibility. Franceschini (1650-80), *principe* of the Bolognese Accademia Filarmonica but invited to Venice in 1680 (NGDO, vol.2, p.279). For comparison of Franceschini and London versions, see [4/58-59].
[29] Cunningham, p.159.
[30] Cunningham's critique, 'There is as little characterization as there is plot' (p.159), is merely the nature of pastoral, but it is in the nature of the language that pastoral excels, and Cunningham is aware of this, 'Motteux shows some skill in employing a variety of metres and at times attains a pleasing lyrical note' (p.159).

difficulty for Motteux was that he had to fit English words to an Italian text in an opera allegedly set by Giuseppe Fedeli, *aka* Joseph Saggione, who came from a family of Venetian musicians. Saggione was primarily a trombone and double bass player, having possibly helped introduce the latter instrument to the Paris Opéra in 1701, but he was not noted as an opera composer.[31] The name J. Saggione appears on the title page as composer of the music, and specifies words 'English'd from the Italian', a phrase initially fashioned by Thomas Watson in 1590 for Italian madrigals.[32] The origin of the Italian text is referred to, tantalisingly, as just an 'Italian Play'.[33]

[3/11] The scene of *The Temple of Love* is *'a woody, fine Country, a Hill in Prospect on which stands the Temple of Love'*. There is a well on one side and a tree on the other, each having a role to play in the drama – the temple provides the riddle, the satyr ties Phillis to the tree, and on her rescue, the satyr retreats and falls into the well, but he later emerges unscathed to be a reformed character, a sort of baptism by well dunking.[34] The opera has three acts bookended with a Prologue in praise of Queen Anne and an Epilogue attempting to justify the genre of Italianate opera. In October 1706 John Walsh published *Songs from the New Opera* despite the second and last performance being on 16 March, seven months before with no indication of a revival. This suggests popularity of the songs, but it may have been an attempt to encourage renewed interest in the 1706–07 season.[35] If this was the plan, it was doomed from the outset, since the new season saw a transfer of opera, entr'acte entertainments, and all singing from the Queen's Theatre to Drury Lane where the manager Christopher Rich had a complete contempt for pastorals, convinced they could not make a

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[31] *NGDO* and Julie Anne Sadie, *Companion to Baroque Music*.

[32] A recurring feature of this study is the continued influence of the English Renaissance, during which the status English language and literature grew exponentially, thus establishing a national identity that measured its quality against the Italians (see the number of publications of translations from Italian in the age of Elizabeth I, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1558-1603*, Soko Tomita; Ashgate, 2009.

[33] I have been unable to trace this play so far, but what is more certain is that the opera has no connection whatsoever with the 1634 masque with the same title by William Davenant.

[34] Tying his female victim to a tree is reminiscent of Tasso's *Aminta*, but the well scene could be Motteux's comic invention.

[35] The 'Songs' are dedicated to Lord Halifax, a member of the Kit-Cat Club, with an interest in promoting Italian opera. The dedication is in Italian without translation, which suggests that Saggione himself would have preferred all-Italian opera, and so the shift to more and more Italian in the bilingual operas began, ending, of course, with all-Italian, *Almahide* and *Hydaspes* (1710), *Etearco* and *Rinaldo* (1711). However, all the published *Songs* are in English, including those sung by Valentini.

profit. So, *The Temple of Love* had managed only two performances. The Queen's Theatre was confined to plays, and so further performances of *The Temple of Love* looked unlikely.[36]

[3/12] Nevertheless, some of the songs lived on. The air 'Charming Roses, flow'ry Treasures' in A major in flowing triple time, became popular (App.2, Ex.1). It opens the opera with the virtuous Eurilla, sung by Maria Gallia, Saggione's wife, its mellow textures with increasingly long melismas on the repetition of 'Roses' setting the pastoral mood. A sustained B (b^1) in the dominant key of E on the first vowel of 'Virgins' suggest the ideal of love, but a temporary shift to an ominous C# minor for 'Swains and Virgins' gives just a hint of the thorn that will disturb her happiness,[37] the elusive love, and the irritation of the lusty Thyrsis lurking in the bushes. After some playful 'Eccho' effects, Thyrsis, sung by Richard Leveridge, strikes up a contrasting comic aria in minuet style with a melisma on 'Face' (Ex.1a), and a much longer one on 'Ravish'd' (Ex.1b), not the usual words for such vocal treatment. One can only assume that Leveridge, famed for his comic roles, is portraying the fickle Thyrsis feigning loyalty in love, but indulging in grimace and gesticulation in the course of the melismas to get the message across to the audience.[38]

[3/13] In Act II Maria Gallia is allowed to shine with even more vocal gymnastics in 'Warbling, the Bird's enjoying sweet Pleasure, free and gay' (F major; Ex.2), in which the voice and flute interact in bird imitation.[39] Act III ends with a rousing conclusion, a chorus of 'Shepherds and Shepherdesses, Hunters and others, who express their Joy by Songs and Dances', but not before Sylvander (Mr Laroon) and Eurilla (Maria Gallia) sing their final

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[36] Downes provides a short paragraph on this opera, but mainly names of performers, plus 'Dances, made and perform'd all by French Men; it lasted but Six Days, and answer'd not their Expectation' (Roscius, p.102). the Milhous & Hume 2001 update of the *London Stage* identifies only two performances, 9/16 March 1706. The songs seem to have been more popular than the opera.

[37] Eurilla sings 'See, see this lovely rose! Blushing, it invites me/ To remove it from my bosom-Ah me! It has hurt me.'

[38] In the ODNB Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson emphasise Leveridge's fame for comic roles, but omit to mention this opera.

[39] In a rare reference to this pastoral opera, Roger Fiske (1973) claims this aria to be an early imitation of bird song in the operatic repertoire (p.40). If this is the case, the success of this number may have influenced Almirena's aria in the pastoral section, Act I/vi of *Rinaldo* 'Augelletti che cantate' (1711), but with extended virtuoso piccolo passage work rather than a flute. It has been fashionable to show the influences of semi-opera, particularly *The British Enchanters* on *Rinaldo* (Price 1987, Gerrard 2003), but the ever-vigilant Aaron Hill may have been aware of attractive pastoral elements. He went a step further, by releasing actual sparrows on to the stage. Addison satirises how this caused consternation as the sparrows flew around the audience (Spectator 5, 6 March 1711). In addition, the sharp contrast between good and evil in *Rinaldo* is also a feature of sentimental comedy, *aka* comedy of conscience, the genre of the pastorals.

duet ‘O grasp me, O clasp me’, a *da capo* minuet in G major comprising flowing lines, and vocalising with increasing intensity in 3rds, ending finally in unison, finding one another after much meandering (Ex.3).[40] However, not all songs are represented in the Song Book. The final chorus includes an odd addition – a mini-scene within the chorus – a couple of country folk who have been jilted by their lovers, the woman singing philosophically, ‘Tho’ Roger is gone/ From me like a Knave/ I care not a pin/ Some other will come’, and the man, more pessimistically, ‘My Doxy bereft me/ and here I made moan’. The male thinks them ideally suited with rejection in common, but the woman is more circumspect:

> Man: No, we never shall part./Woman: Oh! I doubt we shall part.

The sting in the tail subverts the pastoral romance with the country woman injecting an astute reaction in the midst of animated dance and song, an interpolation no doubt, devised by Motteux.[41]

[3/14] *Love's Triumph* in three acts, has a text translated from Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni’s *La Pastorella*, which according to the *Discourse*, was originally a puppet show to entertain guests in the cardinal’s Palazzo della Cancelleria (p.73). Each of the three acts was set by a different composer – in sequence, Carlo Cesarini, Giovannino del’Violone, and Francesco Gasparini. In the libretto dedication, Motteux mentions ‘three of the greatest composers’ who each set an act, but does not name them. He does, however, mention Mr Dieupart, ‘for his Share in the Contrivance of the Entertainments, and his supplying what Recitative and other Music that was necessary’.[42] Motteux does not mention that as translator, he himself added the comic parts for Neralbo and Serpetta (Fig.4). Neither does he mention the role of Valentini, who according to the *Discourse* (pp.74–5), had organised the direction of the opera, claiming that the castrato:

> left out almost all the Recitative, and added a great number of Noisy Airs, that seemed to vye with each another which shou'd be the loudest;

[40] The Song Book changes the text to ‘I grasp thee, I clasp thee’ (p.28).

[41] This episode is not included in the Song Book. The ‘Roger’ scene is reminiscent of one in Motteux’s *Acis and Galatea* (1701).

[42] On the basis of this quote, Fuller and Holman in Grove Music online under ‘Dieupart’ (accessed 25.10.16) have inferred the following – ‘Dieupart wrote and arranged music for the first production of Motteux’s pasticcio *Love’s Triumph* (26 February 1708)’, a judgement typical of the superficial approach to this opera, understandable since authorities have dismissed it as a failure. Nevertheless, Loewenberg’s *Annals* (1943/1955) make the music sources very clear, and names the three Italian composers, a case of earlier scholarship transcending the later.

> to these he join'd Chorus's and Dances in abundance, after the French fashion.

As Valentini removed much recitative (no doubt in Italian), it seems that Dieupart added more (almost certainly in English), presumably under the direction of Motteux. The reference to choruses and dances 'in abundance' may refer to additional 'Shepherds, Shepherdesses, Hunters, and others' who flood the stage at the end of each act, to 'express their Joy by Songs and Dances'.[43] These finales were allegedly performed by a French troupe, but the Queen's Theatre roster from 13 January 1708 quotes a mix of French and English – René Cherrier, Miss Cherrier, Charles Delagarde, Mons Des Barques, Mrs Des Barques, Mlle Alloway, Mlle Cadet, as well as John Shaw, Mrs Bruce, Mrs Evans, and Hester Santlow.[44]

[3/15] Collaboration in *Love's Triumph* suggested an auspicious start for the opera. The part of the comic Neralbo was played by the 38-year-old, and much-loved bass, Richard Leveridge, who had distinguished himself as a singer, actor, and composer,[45] in much the same way as Motteux had done as a translator, playwright, and librettist. To have both of them working on the same project, a possible dream team, was something for the audience to anticipate with enthusiasm.[46] The addition of the comic pastoral couple was typical of Motteux's style and the music for their parts could have been composed by Leveridge, although the general contribution of Dieupart is mentioned in the Dedication.[47] Dieupart had collaborated with Motteux, composing music for *Britain's Happiness* (1704), and assisted Motteux in *Arsinoe* (1705), *Camilla* and *Thomyris* (1707). Motteux's relationship with Valentini may have been strained since the Italian's name appears nowhere in the Dedication, so it was unlikely, but not impossible, that Motteux would have worked with

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[43] Specified in the libretto.

[44] Milhous & Hume, *Draft Calendar*, 2001, p.377. *Coke's Theatrical Papers* provide details of the dancers for each of the three acts (docs. 50/60/65/66).

[45] From the age of 15, Leveridge had worked with Purcell in roles like the magician Ismeron in *The Indian Queen*, and thereafter with Daniel Purcell, Jeremiah Clarke, and composing pieces for revivals of *The Indian Queen* (1699), as well as acting in it. Like Motteux, he was able to adapt from semi-opera to the Italianate brand.

[46] The libretto was published well in advance of the performance and *The Muses Mercury* had whetted the appetite for the event.

[47] Shortly after arriving London, Dieupart was in demand as a harpsichordist, violinist, and composer. His *Six Sets of Lessons* 'purposely Compos'd for a Violin, and a Thorough-Bass' were advertised in the *Post Boy*, 14 April-16 April 1702, possibly a pirated copy from the Amsterdam original, since the engraver's name is suspiciously omitted, but otherwise sold by Francis Vaellant, bookseller in the Strand, and declaring 'fairly Engraven on Copper Plates'.

Valentini in scenes that explore English humour. Nevertheless, Leveridge and Dieupart, are more likely candidates than Valentini.[48]

[3/16] An example from each of the three acts might demonstrate why this pastoral opera, lasting three hours, obviated the need for an afterpiece.[49] Act I begins like *The Temple of Love* with another anguished Eurilla (Ex.4) followed by a comic scene, Neralbo's jolly Air in G major common time (Ex.4a),[50] an antidote to the lament of Eurilla neglected by her 'wandering lover', Liso. The text of Neralbo's *da capo* Air bounces with triplets in falling thirds to emulate the rhythm of laugher and dance:

[Section A]	[Section B]
Let's laugh, and dance, and	No Swain, that's bold and gay,
play, Dull Care defying:	Can fear denying. (A major)
(G major)	When Shepherds whine and pray,
	The Nymph is flying; (Bm)
	How should they get the Day
	Who're always dying (Em)

The use of tonality in the B section emphasises that with the absence of laughter there is a descent from the ideal of pastoral joy to degrees of minor misery. The breezy optimism of this Air captivates Eurilla, who asks for help in seeking out her love, to which request Neralbo is at first evasive, but then:

Nymph, if you want a Foreign Swain,
Yonder's his Cottage in the Plain.

The 'foreign' swain prepares the audience for a foreign language and somehow justifies the fickle Liso (Valentini) singing in Italian. Eurilla is determined to pursue her desire, but the response of Neralbo has an air of practicality about it, singing in a carefree minuet-like folk idiom in C major:[51]

Do like the rest,
Do like the best,

[48] The reference in the *Biographical Dictionary* IV, (ed. Highfill), p.400, and quoted in the *Coke's Papers*, to Dieupart having used music from Scarlatti needs questioning. Primary sources make no reference to this, which if true would have been a selling point, and therefore worth a mention.

[49] The title page of the libretto stipulates three hours. Operagoers reading this in advance of the performance, would learn that unlike previous pastorals or pasticcios, this one would guarantee an evening's entertainment without the need for a mainpiece or afterpiece to make the event worth the attendance.

[50] *Songs in the new Opera call'd Love's Triumph*, p.2.

[51] *Songs in the new Opera call'd Love's Triumph*, p.3.

They leer, [falling appoggiaturas]
They sneer, " "
They dress,
Caress,
And wheedle, where they like.

Designed as this Air is to puncture passion, it has minimal effect on Eurilla.

[3/17] Act II begins with Licisca's Air in G minor, 'Wanton Rover, Winds now sporting, Ev'ry Leaf and Flow'r you're courting' (Ex.5),[52] to the accompaniment of running semiquavers in the bass suggesting both the wind and her fickleness. But when alone there is another side to Licisca, 'Remember, Remember O dissembler you may repent too late' (A major; Ex.5a),[53] in which the accompaniment is sparse with only jagged interjections in the bass as a prod to her conscience. This has all the indicators of a continuo aria allowing the voice the articulation of her solitude and remorse.[54] In keeping with the role of conscience and deep feelings, pathos is explored in Act II when, in spite of attempted cheering up from Serpetta, Eurilla is in the depths of despair with, 'Oh Love now hopes no more' (Dm; Ex.5b), in what is certainly another continuo aria with cadential open 5ths and octaves, and a sparse, minimum sustained bass supporting an anguished disjointed vocal line.[55] In Act III when hope returns for Eurilla and she utters, 'Is he then mine! And shall this Hour see us join'd…', her Air in Bb, 'Kind Hope, thou Dawn of Pleasure',[56] has an offbeat accompaniment of quavers suggest her heart beat (Ex.6). This is in sharp contrast to Licisca's joy at the end of Act II in which 'Delights all around', sounds a paean of triumph in a virtuoso Air with coloratura panache (Ex.7). As the couples join in keeping with the comedy of sentiment, Neralbo is being left out as Serpetta still distrusts him, so his solution is a mock suicide attempt in D minor (6/8), reminiscent of the later Papageno in *The Magic Flute*. With a noose around his neck, and presumably standing precariously on a box, he laments (Ex.8):

Now my Dear, All is Clear
And our Friends agree and join.
Let me know, [bass response in quavers]
E'er I go, [" "]
Must I hang, or are you mine?

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[52] *Songs in the new Opera call'd Love's Triumph*, p.26.
[53] *Songs in the new Opera call'd Love's Triumph*, p.28
[54] The 'Songs' provide only a bass without harmony or figures, so the implied texture is the only clue as to the type of air, and how accompanied.
[55] *Songs in the new Opera call'd Love's Triumph*, p.30.
[56] *Songs in the new Opera call'd Love's Triumph*, p.48.

Serpetta concedes but on condition of good behaviour, and as with the end of each act, there is a climax with dance and choral song.

[3/18] As the appetite for the castrato timbre increased, the bilingual balance became more weighted in favour of Italian. The usual explanation for this was the refusal of the castrati to sing in English, but in *Love's Triumph* there was an attempt to make a dramatic virtue out of a linguistic necessity. A foreign language became part of the plot. Valentini as Liso, is a lecherous foreigner. He enters after some comic wooing by Neralbo for Serpetta, a female who reminds the audience of the rampant male libido. This subverts Valentini's attempt at romance with a siciliano air in Bb in 12/8 metre (p.5; Ex.9):

Senza l'amato ben,	[‘Without a good lover, I cannot find joy for my
Non trova un di seren	Eyes’ – literal translation]
La mia papilla	[‘A secret Joy I share/Tho’ absent from my Fair/
	Her Sight desiring’ – libretto translation]

It appears that he is in love, pursuing some female, but it does not matter which, since he is a ‘rover’. Olindo enters and fears that Liso is in pursuit of his paramour, so the ambiguity in the Italian transfers easily to the dramatic sense, whatever the language. Whenever Liso confronts a female his address seldom differs, his words, peppered with ‘bellezza’ and ‘amore’, are immediately intelligible – a feigned couplet when rejected, ‘O mio Tesoro, se m'abandonni, io moro’, no doubt enhanced by suitable gestures, is not difficult to follow. The role of Liso is an ambivalent one by very nature of his fickle character, but the female’s response to his address makes his Italian utterances clearer. As it happens the two females in question, Mrs Tofts and the Baroness, were accomplished Italian singers, and they have the occasional line in Italian in response to Liso. At moments of key emotion when Liso realises that his real love is Eurilla, he has a few lines in English (Act II, beginning p.16). In the dénouement of Act III both Eurilla and Liso sing their duet in Italian, emphasising their final bonding in keeping with comedy of conscience, and an appropriate *lieto fine*.[57]

[3/19] *Love’s Triumph* ended Motteux’s career as a librettist, his skills as a translator for text-setting in English no longer required. His own words in the dedication to Thomas

[57] Of course, the libretto is no guarantee of what happened in performance when the pastoral reached the stage.

Frankland reveal his dilemma, 'to fit Words to a tune, may seem odd as to fit a Horse to a Saddle, tho' such a thing may be done upon Occasion' – but his own conviction was that it was like dancing on a tightrope.[58] The Frankland dedication may have had a motive beyond opera. The Franklands, father and son, exercised Post Office patronage, that could provide alternative employment for Motteux, who was not on the roster, either for the Queen's Theatre or Drury Lane, so a possible source of income to support his growing family.[59] Robert Cunningham,[60] is convinced that that Motteux was already employed by the Post Office at the time of *Love's Triumph*, and since his commitment was to opera in English, it was inevitable that he would part company with the trend towards Italian in music theatre. A possible rift between Nicola Haym, whose aim was Italian opera sung in Italian, and Motteux, whose commitment lay with opera in English, might have been developing.[61] There are some clues in the anonymous *Critical Discourse* published in 1709 as an appendage to the anonymous translation of Raguenet's *Parallèle des italiens et des françois*, *A Comparison between the French and Italian Musick and Opera's*. The authorship of the 1709 document has been disputed, but the most likely candidates are Motteux for the Raguenet *Parallèle*, the one skilled translator of French in the opera world, and for the *Discourse*, Haym, whose knowledge of opera in Italy, and especially in Rome, was unsurpassed in London. The *Discourse* praises the operas in which Haym was most involved, and disparages those with a Motteux contribution. However, there is no indication that Haym's competence in written English had reached the standard displayed by the *Discourse*.[62] Since he had worked closely with Owen Swiney on the translation of Bononcini's *Camilla* at Drury Lane, Swiney's contribution to the final English text may have been necessary. A Swiney-Haym collaboration may explain the anonymity of the document, and since Motteux was no longer on the team, he may not have seen the *Discourse* before publication by John Morphew.[63]

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[58] *Love's Triumph* Dedication.
[59] The only available source for Sir Thomas Frankland (1665-1726) and his son Thomas Frankland (1685-1747) is the five volume *The House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. Cruikshanks, Handley, Hayton (Cambridge, 2002); the Frankland biographies are in vol.III, pp.1108-13.
[60] Motteux's biographer (1933), pp.182 ff.
[61] A rift developed when Haym, working with Christopher Rich at Drury Lane, mounted *Camilla* on 30 March 1706, thus making a continuation of Motteux's *Temple of Love* at the Queen's Theatre less likely.
[62] *Coke's Theatrical Papers* for 27 January 1708, Haym to Coke in Italian (p.71).
[63] Stoddart Lincoln in *The Musical Quarterly* (1967) argued a case for J.E. Galliard [see Hawkins, Dover vol.2, p.829] as the author of *A Critical Discourse* based on Galliard's translation of Tosi's 1742 *Opinioni de' Cantori antichi e moderni*, but there is no evidence that Galliard's skill in English in 1708-9, or indeed in translation, was sufficient to addressing the difficulties in the Raguenet *Parallèle des italiens et des françois (1702)*, or that his knowledge of Italian opera in Rome was adequate to the footnote details. But Lincoln's account seems to have had the approbation of musicology.

The Fate of the Pastorals

[3/20] If the three pastorals discussed here were to be a first step towards a more heroic Italian opera, the fate of all three pastorals is worth closer inspection. If *The Temple of Love* and *Love's Triumph* showed so much promise at the time, the question arises as to why they did not achieve more success.[64] Authorities have dismissed these pastorals as failures on the basis of few performances, but closer scrutiny of the contexts may provide more illuminating answers. In general terms, for some critics there was too much Italian intrusion, Saggione for the first, and Valentini for the second, foreigners with little idea of English expectations; for others, not enough genuine and skilled Italian music; still others preferred semiopera. Conditions of timing and location were ill-advised: instability created by 'three theatrical revolutions' (Price, 1978), a manipulation of taste (Price, 1987), and an attitude of improvisation (Knapp, 1984).[65]

[3/21] However, the first of the three pastorals, *The Loves of Ergasto*, showed very little promise from the start, and is therefore easier to explain – it came down to theatre mismanagement and unforeseen political circumstances. The projected operas for the newly built Queen's Theatre, Clayton's *Arsinoe*, Eccles's *Semele*, and Daniel Purcell's *Orlando furioso* were not available, so *The Loves of Ergasto* was *faute de mieux*. Clayton's *Arsinoe*, it is alleged,[66] was considered for the Queen's Theatre, but the building was incomplete in January 1705, too late for *Arsinoe*, too early for *Semele*, and Daniel Purcell never composed his opera.[67] Mismanagement in the Queen's Theatre must have irritated Clayton, so he was easy prey to the blandishments of Christopher Rich at the rival theatre in Drury Lane. Mr Cook, a bass singer, was officially registered with the Queen's Theatre, but somehow he

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[64] James Winn's *Queen Anne, Patroness of the Arts* (2014), the most up-to-date cultural study of the period, devotes two lines to *The Temple of Love* (425), ignores *Love's Triumph* completely, but devotes more space to *The Loves of Ergasto* (p.402), for which richer source material is available, for example, R.O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court* (1993), p.212.

[65] Price: 'The Critical Decade' (1978), 'English Traditions' (1987, p.121); Knapp, in S.S. Kenny, *British Theatre* (1984, p.93).

[66] Grove - *London (i), §V: Musical life: 1660–1800*; Vanbrugh intended to open in early 1705 with Clayton's all-sung opera *Arsinoe* (in English), but Rich stole this novelty and mounted it successfully at Drury Lane. Vanbrugh countered with Jakob Greber's *Gli amori d'Ergasto* (in Italian); Burrows (1994), p.61 'Rich somehow slipped Clayton's opera, *Arsinoe*, over to his own theatre at Drury Lane..'. There was no 'slipping' or 'stealing' – the Queen's Theatre was incomplete both in terms of building and resources. Milhous & Hume admit that there is no evidence of a contract between Vanbrugh and Clayton. However, he does say that 'how Christopher Rich made off with it [Arsinoe], we do not know' (M&H, *Draft Calendar*, 2001, p.180).

[67] The building of the Queen's Theatre was not completed until 30 October 1705 (M&H, *Draft Calendar*, 2001, *p.240).* The Congreve-Eccles *Semele* was ready for rehearsal at Drury Lane (*Muses Mercury* Jan.1707), but with total control of opera in the 1706-07 season, Rich found Italianate opera more lucrative.

managed to freelance.[68] He shared the comic role of Delbo with Mr Good in *Arsinoe* at Drury Lane in January, an indication that, like Clayton, he had little faith in his prospects at the Queen's Theatre whenever it would open.[69] In January 1705 there was no indication of an orchestra or competent singers on the Queen's Theatre's roster, so this was hardly suitable for an opera.[70] The opening week in the Queen's Theatre, starting 9 April 1705, was not advertised in the *Daily Courant*, which is odd, since Greber had gone to the trouble of having the bilingual libretto published in advance. It was the custom for the management to alert the press, but this did not happen, probably because Vanbrugh's attention had been diverted to the building of Blenheim, and Congreve had lost interest. There is no indication that Downes saw this as his responsibility, or Greber either, having taken care to have a libretto printed in advance of the performance.[71] Incompetence with publicity was a bad start for a poor opera.

[3/22] The context of the *Ergasto* performance suggests that even had it been a potential success, the timing of the inauguration of the Queen's Theatre could not have been worse for opera attendance. The dissolution of parliament four days before the Queen's Theatre was due to open meant that members of both Houses left London for their constituencies. The court attended Newmarket races and thence to Cambridge for the conferring of honorary degrees, most of the recipients subscribers to the Queen's Theatre, thus leaving gaps in the auditorium.[72] Marlborough and the army officers had already left London for Europe (Snyder, 1975, vol.1, p.413) which meant even more opera seats were vacant. Apart from sundry numbers of the gentry attending there were many empty seats.[73]

[3/23] The prospects of *The Temple of Love* in 1706 (7/12 March) were diminished by being sandwiched between two semioperas, *The British Enchanters* (21 Feb.) which ran for twelve performances, and *Wonders in the Sun* (5 April), which managed only five, possibly due to

[68] M&H, *Draft Calendar*, 2001, p.184.
[69] Mr Cook sang the role of the satyr in 'The Temple of Love'.
[70] M&H, 2001, p.184, no orchestra, and only the New Italian boy is quoted later as singing a part, Licori, (*Courant*, 24 April).
[71] NGDO vol. III 'Playbill' p.1034 suggests that the prompter should submit notice to the press, but it may be that Downes, unfamiliar with Italian opera, relied on the management. Congreve's lack of interest is shown in his letter to Joseph Keally (3.Feb.1704/5).
[72] Bucholz provides a detailed account of the Queen's activities, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (1993), p.212. He sees the royal progresses, 10-12 April, to Newmarket (horse racing), and Cambridge (conferring degrees on Whigs), as an attempt by the Whigs in the course of the general election, to demonstrate partisan favour (p.221).
[73] Downes refers to attendance 'by the Gentry…', *Roscius* (1708), p.99.

the expense of the semioperatic extravaganza (Fig.5 below). For the Queen's Theatre, mounting three operas so close together was a precarious enterprise,[74] but Betterton was keen on semiopera, and Vanbrugh equally determined to introduce Italianate opera along the lines of *Arsinoe* which was still having a successful run, bringing in substantial profit for Christopher Rich.[75]

[3/24]

Fig. 5

1706	February	March	April	May
The British Enchanters QT	**21**, 23, 25,**26**, **28** **[bold indicates competition or sabotage from Drury Lane]**	**2**,**5**, **9**, **12**, 26	**2**	3 [a command performance for the ambassador from Morocco, no competition]
The Temple of Love QT		**7** **16**		
Wonders in the Sun QT			5,**6**,**8**,**9**,**10**	
Camilla DL			**6** 11, 22,23,30	16, 23
Arsinoe DL	**21** **28**	**9**		
The Island Princess DL		**7** **16** 25	18	
The Indian Queen [Purcell with singing and dancing, see Tempest below] DL			**2**,4	
The Recruiting Officer [with music and dancing] DL			**8**,**9**,**10**, 12,13, 15,17,20	
King Arthur [Dryden, Purcell] DL		**2** **12**		
The Tender Husband [with Gasparini violin sonatas, songs by Leveridge, Hughs, etc.] DL	**26**			
The Tempest [Dryden, Davenant, Shadwell; Purcell singing, dancing: Ruel, Cherrier, Santlow, DL		**5**		

[74] M&H, *Draft Calendar*, 2001, p.184 – 'No company in the history of London theatre had ever tried to mount two new productions of this sort in a single season'.
[75] M&H, 2001, p.240.

If there was mild animosity between Betterton and Vanbrugh, it paled into insignificance compared with the competition and challenge from Drury Lane.[76] Rich targeted all three operas at the Queen's Theatre. Against both performances of *The Temple of Love* (Fig.5), Drury Lane ran *The Island Princess*, still in repertory since its first performance in 1699. The pattern of subversion was evident with *The British Enchanters*, seven out of twelve performances being challenged by Drury lane with a series of revivals: the 1705 *Arsinoe* (21/28 February, 9 March), Steele's 1705 *The Tender Husband* with song and dance (26 February), the 1691 *King Arthur*, *or the British Worthy* with music by Purcell (2/12 March), and *The Tempest* (1674) with music and dancing on 5 March. Similarly, four out of five performances of *Wonders in the Sun* were challenged by the Haym adaptation of Bononcini's *Camilla* (6 April), and by George Farquhar's new play *The Recruiting Officer* (8/9/10 April). Farquhar's play was based on his own experience of recruitment, characters based on real people, and the scandals involved in methods of recruitment, being a major issue with Marlborough's campaigns in Europe.[77] The play was seasoned with familiar songs which allowed audience participation, chief of which was 'Granadeers March' which bookended the play. The appearance of Anne Oldfield, the leading actress of the period, was an added attraction, her performance enhanced with the supplement of song and dance.[78]

[3/25] In terms of competition in which both sides are in conflict, it is possible to argue that both parties were in the business of mutual obstruction. The chart, however, suggests that with Drury Lane subversion was directed towards the Queen's Theatre, and not the reverse, so easy victory lay with Drury Lane. Opera performances at the Queen's Theatre ended and theatrical output dwindled, whereas Drury Lane went on from strength to strength. It might be suggested that *The Island Princess*, *Camilla,* or *The Recruiting Officer* had not been mounted exclusively to undermine operatic productions at the Queen's Theatre, since these productions were in repertory, and continued after opera at the Queen's Theatre had been suspended. However, the simultaneous programming had a deleterious effect on the Queen's Theatre, and there are indications from Drury Lane that this was the intention.[79] In the dedication to his play, Farquhar explains that there were accusations against Rich of a

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[76] Fig.5 - attempts to sabotage the Queen's Theatre operas are in bold.

[77] *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence,* vol.2 (ed. Snyder, 1975), p.945.

[78] The songs were published the Henry Playford's *Wit and Mirth,* 1706 and 1709, and are reprinted in the New Mermaid's edition of the play edited by Tiffany Stern (2010), pp.147-157. So popular was the play in the 18th century, that it ran for 512 performances in London (ODNB).

[79] An anonymous Drury Lane actor describes 'fierce combat' between the theatres in Spring 1706 (Milhous & Hume, *Theatrical Documents*, 1991, vol.1, p.403, doc. 1852).

deliberate attempt to sabotage Durfey's *Wonders in the Sun*, subtitled the *Kingdom of the Birds*. Jokingly, he wished to exonerate the manager patentee, 'to acquit him before the World of a charge which he thinks lies heavy upon him', but mockingly continues:

> *Be it known unto all Men by these Presents, that it was my Act and Deed,* or rather Mr. *Durfey*'s; for he *wou'd* play his Third Night against the First of mine. He brought down a huge Flight of frightful Birds upon me; when (Heaven knows) I had not a feather'd Fowl in my Play, except one single *Kite*: But I presently made *Plume* a Bird, because of his Name, and *Brazen* another, because of the Feather in his Hat; and with these three I engag'd his whole Empire, which I think was as great a *Wonder* as any *in the Sun*.

Taking his cue from Durfey's birds, Farquhar ridiculed the author's production by reducing theatre hostilities to a war of feathers, his rake hero Plume, and the servant Kite, in combat with Durfey's flock and winning, an example of concerted plan to draw audiences from the Queen's Theatre to Drury Lane.

Vanbrugh versus Rich

[3/26] The 1705–1706 season had begun well for the Queen's Theatre, but Christopher Rich had a motive to change this, perceiving the new theatre in the Haymarket to be a serious challenge to the advantages he had enjoyed in Drury Lane and Dorset Gardens, the latter now falling into desuetude. Vanbrugh's aim was to revive the Union of the theatres which had split with actor's rebellion against Christopher Rich at Drury Lane in 1694, a union that he hoped would divide genres amicably, and so end expensive competition, but he also wanted control of opera, both Italianate and English (semiopera). Rich was enjoying success with Italianate opera and was unlikely to give it up. He had resisted Vanbrugh's attempts at a union before the 1705–1706 season, but as the cost of opera for Vanbrugh escalated, marking the end of opera production at the Queen's Theatre for the season,[80] Vanbrugh was again working on a plan for union, his desperate, but only solution to the expensive competition from Drury Lane. He had relied initially on Congreve to manage and fund the

[80] All that could be mustered were popular songs from Durfey's *Wonders in the Sun*, and appearing in the later Queen's Theatre productions, 26 April 1706, an adapted *Measure for Measure* with Durfey's songs, but also with *Acis and Galatea* (Motteux/Eccles) as an afterpiece; 30 April, Tate's adaptation of *The Tempest*, including 'comical songs and dialogue', no doubt inserted for light relief ; 2 May, *The Rival Queens*, 'With all the Comical Songs, Dialogues, and Dances that were perform'd in the last new Opera, call'd, *Wonders in the Sun*, particularly the Fop Song by Mr Pack in Imitation of Italian' (see 2001, M&H *Calendar*, pp.296–7, for basic information).

Queen's Theatre while he busied himself with building the palace at Blenheim,[81] but on 15 December 1705, Congreve resigned, exonerating himself from financial responsibility.[82] This may partially explain the cash flow handicap for opera at the Queen's Theatre, February to April 1706. By June 1706 Vanbrugh had run short of money, and no longer able to balance the books, he could not afford to pay the actors, so left them to their own devices to make what money they could, but with dwindling audiences the actors struggled to survive.[83] As early as April 1706 Congreve wrote to his friend in Ireland, Joseph Keally, 'I believe the Play house [the Queen's Theatre] cannot go on another Winter'.[84] It looked like the fate of *The Temple of Love* was sealed, with Vanbrugh's plan for Italian opera now in tatters.

[3/27] The introduction of Italian opera in London owes much to Vanbrugh,[85] but his architectural commitments meant that his concentration on performances at the Queens's Theatre was limited. During the 1705–06 season, he was already preoccupied with three commissions outside the theatre – Castle Howard, Blenheim, and Kimbolton, projects acquired due to his growing reputation as an architect, but also due to his close links to the aristocracy. At the point of financial crisis in the Queen's Theatre, April 1706,[86] Vanbrugh had another diversion. He was chosen for an important mission to Hanover to present the insignia of the Order of the Garter to the Prince Georg Ludwig, who on the death of his

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[81] The entry in the M&H *Calendar* for 26 April 1706, specifies planning another union as well as managing Woodstock (Blenheim). See also Milhous & Hume *Theatrical Documents*, 1991, vol.1, p.402, doc. 1848, 'he [Vanbrugh] is now upon making an agreement betweene the two playhouses…', 26 April 1706, Duchesse of Marlborough to Montagu. Congreve writes to his friend Joseph Keally on 30 April 1706, about a plan for another union due to financial difficulties with 'the Play house'. (*William Congreve: Letters and Documents* (ed. Hodges), p.40.

[82] *Congreve: Letters and Documents*, p.38. At this early stage, Congreve became aware that Vanbrugh's ambitions for Italian opera vastly outweighed his means, that audit accounting in modern terminology, was deficient, that he, Congreve, 'was dipt', and so in quoting Terence, 'Quid, nisi ut te redimas captum, quam queas minimo ...' – he should escape from a losing situation as cheaply as possible.

[83] Evidence for this information comes from Downes in *Roscius*, p.103. However, although Hume quibbles about dates (2001, p.300), the essentials can be relied on. This arrangement would have earned the players less than half their salaries.

[84] *Congreve: Letters and Documents*, p.40.

[85] The gathering of subscriptions for the building of the Queen's Theatre which eventually became an opera house, and the ideal venue for Handel on his arrival in London. These subscriptions had the backing of members of the Whig Kit-Cat Club (11/30 subscribers) and a large number of aristocrats, showing that Vanbrugh was well connected with the establishment; an advantage in his opera project; Judith Milhous, 'New Light on Vanbrugh's Haymarket Theatre Project' (*Theatre Survey*, 1976, pp.56–59).

[86] Congreve knew not only about the crisis in April 1706, but reported information about a 'Union of the two houses, as well as Kingdoms', an early reference to the Queen's Theatre and Drury Lane, but also to the protracted negotiations between England and Scotland for a Union of Parliaments, *Congreve: Letters and Documents*, p.40.

elderly mother, the Electress Sophia, would be heir of the British throne to succeed Queen Anne. On 26 April, the Duke of Montagu wrote to Lord Halifax intimating that Vanbrugh's departure for Hanover would be delayed because 'he is now upon making an agreement betweene the two playhouses, and after that he will not go till he has settled matters at Woodstock [Blenheim]'.[87] Vanbrugh did not reach Hanover until 6 June, still apparently without an 'agreement'. After elaborate festivities in Hanover, Vanbrugh returned to England sometime in July.[88] Juggling his various enterprises was Vanbrugh's handicap.[89] Clearly, he needed an efficient manager for the Queen's Theatre.

[3/28] Whether Vanbrugh physically searched for such a manager, or whether one was thrust upon him, is not clear from the records. If the latter, it adds to the argument that the arrival of Italian opera in London was a combination of chance, reactive muddle, and improvisation.[90] What is clear is that on 14 August 1706, Vanbrugh came to an agreement with Lord Chamberlain Kent to relinquish management and fiscal control of the Queen's Theatre to Owen Swiney, but with himself retaining proprietorship.[91] Why Vanbrugh should hand over control to Owen Swiney, a major player in the Drury Lane productions, and Rich's most important asset with Italianate opera, especially with the very popular *Camilla*, is not

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[87] *Theatrical Documents* (M&H, 1991), vol.1, p.402 (doc.1848); Kerry Downes, *Sir John Vanbrugh* (1987), pp.316–18; K. Downes quotes the wrong source (p.509).

[88] The complex negotiations of the investiture were recorded by Vanbrugh's assistant, Samuel Stebbing, and Kerry Downes provides an account of this event (pp.316–322), but does not say when Vanbrugh returned, or what manoeuvres led to what followed. The trip to Hanover purported to lend ceremony to the bestowing of the Order of the Garter, which had already been awarded to Elector Georg in 1701, but without the ceremony accorded to the event if in England. This led to awkward breaches of protocol in Hanover. In the end the 'blue' garter was replace by a 'gold' one. The visit, with huge expensive celebration, seemed to be an attempt to consolidate the Protestant succession, given recent rebelliousness from the Scots, still bent on a Stuart succession, and with a massive Jacobite majority in the Scottish parliament, demanding total independence from England, thus sabotaging the negotiations for a Union of the Parliaments planned for 1707, if they did not get their own way (Hoppit, pp.251 ff.). The political union with Scotland ran parallel with Vanbrugh's search for a theatrical union in London (*William Congreve Letters and Documents*, ed. Hodges, p.40, fn.4). Whether the former affected the latter us not clear, but what is clear is that Vanbrugh's appetite for elaborate court ceremony did nothing to solve his problems over the Queen's Theatre.

[89] The Kerry Downes verdict – 'too many irons in the fire' (p.323).

[90] *Congreve: Letters and Documents*, p.43; by September 1706 Congreve is calling this theatrical shift a 'revolution', a term picked up by Curtis Price in 1978 to demonstrate the pattern of theatrical manoeuvres, 'The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700–1710' (Harvard Library Bulletin). *The Muses Mercury* (Dec.1707) also uses the term 'revolution'. See [3/32].

[91] The scribal copy, signed by Vanbrugh and Swiney (PRO LC 7/2, fol.1), is reproduced in print in *Coke's Theatrical Papers* (1982), p.7.

clear.[92] The August agreement, entitled a 'Memorandum' allowed Swiney the lease of the Queen's Theatre for seven years, and 'to pay Mr Vanbrugh, Five Pounds every day there shall be a Play'.[93] The Memorandum was followed by an 'Order of Separation', known by scholars as 'the proto-union' of 1706 (M&H, 2001, p.309). It stipulated that Drury Lane cede their best actors to the Queen's Theatre which would then have a monopoly of plays in return for which Drury Lane was awarded a monopoly of opera, including music and dance, which meant semiopera as well as the Italianate genre.[94]

[3/29] A monopoly of plays would seem to be an advantage for the Queen's Theatre, but the reverberant acoustic, suitable for opera but not plays, was a setback.[95] Plays without the added popular attraction of music and dance was another handicap. The arrangement was completely in favour of Christopher Rich, who could stage not only operas, but plays as well as long as they had music attached.[96] Why Vanbrugh accepted this arrangement is a mystery. His biographer, Kerry Downes, sheds no light on the matter. Since Vanbrugh's ambition had been the establishment of Italian opera, the arrangement for a monopoly of plays can only be understood in terms of Vanbrugh relinquishing his operatic ambitions to avoid bankruptcy. Perhaps, even as a playwright, he had lost interest in the theatre, and that at least Swiney would pay rent. The arrangement would, of course, allow Vanbrugh to concentrate on his architectural works. Rich, however, showed no interest in pastoral opera, so *The Temple of Love* was doomed by the proto-union. Instead, Rich could now focus on successful enterprises like revivals of *The Island Princess*, *Arsinoe*, *Camilla*, and a new Italianate opera, *Thomyris* (April 1707), featuring the novelty of a castrato, Valentini, at the special request

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[92] *Camilla* was rated to be the most successful musical stage production before *The Beggar's Opera*. See *Giovanni Bononcini 'Camilla'* – (RCM, MS 779, 1990)), ed. Lindgren, Introduction, p.xi; Lindgren, 'Camilla and the Beggar's Opera' (*Philological Quarterly*, Winter 1980, p.46).

[93] Vanbrugh's manager at Blenheim was Nicholas Hawksmoor who had trained with Christopher Wren. Vanbrugh had no adequate experience or qualification in surveying let alone architecture, even less so than with the theatre, his work to that point being partial works at Castle Howard, and his own 'Goose-Pie' house in Whitehall, so one wonders why Marlborough appointed him for such a massive project. One can only assume that Marlborough, *faute de mieux*, Wren not being available, chose Vanbrugh as a stand-in to get the works started until someone better could be found. The Queen provided the funding in the wake of the Blenheim victory, August 1704, £5,000 per annum for a 'great house' (Snyder, vol.1, p.410), and Marlborough's instinct was to spend the money before national euphoria ran out, or should the Queen change her mind. Whereas Hawksmoor was a permanent fixture in Blenheim, Swiney would be used for crisis management at the Queen's Theatre.

[94] *Coke's Theatrical Papers* [ca. August 1706], p.8, doc.4. It meant the Queen's Theatre was denied music in plays, a major setback.

[95] Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber*, ed. B.R.S. Fone (Michigan, 1968), p.182.

[96] Although all the best actors had been removed to the Queen's Theatre.

of the nobility who had subscribed to the first performances. It appeared that the initiative for Italian opera was now in the hands of Christopher Rich.

[3/30] However, it may well be that the Vanbrugh-Rich competition, or rather the interaction between the two theatres, did advance the cause of Italian opera by the very fact of both theatres attempting to secure a monopoly, an indication of a cash cow worth the nurture. Before the 1706-07 season started on 14 October, a letter dated 5 October from Swiney to Colley Cibber,[97] another Rich protégé,[98] reveals what actually happened behind the scenes. It appears that even 'Mr Rich's best friends were incensed against him' for his treatment of Vanbrugh. Many actors who respected Vanbrugh as a playwright, began to rebel against Rich, who was increasingly being regarded as an avaricious and oppressive manager, whose primary aim was profit. In the above letter, Swiney wrote:

> Mr Rich intended nothing but the going on his old way of paying Singers and dancers & not paying the Actors …

Since opera was Rich's priority, actors were less important. It was no surprise therefore that actors were keen to move to the Queen's Theatre where personnel were paid even when the theatre was losing money.[99] Swiney was convinced that Rich would attempt to control the Queen's Theatre through him, and so influence the theatre to his own advantage, but Cibber asserts that neither he nor Swiney would be used or manipulated.[100] Congreve wrote to Keally on 10 September that actors were actively rebelling against Rich and that 'My Lord Chamberlain approves and ratifies the desertion'.[101] Should Rich attempt to treat opera singers with the contempt he had shown to actors, the operatic advantages for Drury Lane could easily be lost.

[3/31] If the prospects of *The Temple of Love* in 1706 were curtailed due to an under-capitalised Vanbrugh, poor programming, relentless competition from Drury Lane, and the proto-union of September 1706, the fate of *Love's Triumph* evolved in a slightly different context. By the first performance of this pastoral on 26 February 1708, opera was back in

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[97] *Coke's Theatrical Papers*, p.11 [interdocument] *Saturday night October 5th, 1706*.

[98] That is until actors were removed to the Queen's Theatre in the proto-union agreement for the 1706–07 season.

[99] Swiney continued the tradition 'all paid their full Sallaries' (Cibber *Apology*, p.181).

[100] Colley Cibber, *An Apology*, pp.180–1; *Congreve: Letters and Documents*, p.44.

[101] *Congreve: Letters and Documents*, p.43, London 10 September,1706.

the Queen's Theatre due to another judgement by Lord Chamberlain Kent, whose Order of Union, dated 31 December 1707, came into effect after 10 January 1708, transferring plays back to Drury Lane, and opera to the Queen's Theatre.[102] The decision was not based on a whim. By November 1707 singers at Drury Lane were already in open rebellion against manager Rich and moving to the Queen's Theatre.[103] The Order of Union was driven by circumstances with the Lord Chamberlain merely reacting to events. This revived Vanbrugh's interest in opera, so that in December 1707 he resumed control of the Queen's Theatre despite the seven-year contract with Swiney, but retained him as salaried manager. This was a wise decision since Swiney's efficiency had kept the Queen's Theatre afloat financially since August 1706. Vanbrugh was convinced that given the absence of competition from Drury Lane, his control of Italian opera would herald a new beginning. But his optimism obscured the difficulties, not least in the Order of Union that allowed Rich to retain a monopoly of semiopera, the popular genre that had hitherto financed the Italian counterpart. Such was Vanbrugh's euphoria in seizing the monopoly of Italian opera from Rich against all expectations, that he was blind to the weaknesses inherent in the new arrangement.

[3/32] The theatrical complications of 1708 sealed the destiny of Vanbrugh's plans Italian opera, let alone the future of *Love's Triumph*. But initially the omens were good. The December 1707 edition of *The Muses Mercury*, held over to February 1708 to comment on the latest developments of the theatrical Union, declared, 'there has been a Revolution, with which all Lovers of Opera's are very well pleas'd', and continued, 'The Opera has always been crowded since it has been under the present Management, and is now in a fairer way to live than ever.' Vanbrugh himself was no less enthusiastic. On 24 February 1707/8, he wrote to the Earl of Manchester in Venice,[104] 'the Operas are Established at the Haymarket, to the

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[102] *Coke's Theatrical Papers*, p.49 [interdocument] *Order of Union*, 31 Decenber,1707.

[103] *Coke's Theatrical Papers*, pp.29–30, doc.16; doc. 28, pp.45–49, details their complaints: from Valentini, de L'Epine, Tofts, Ramondon, the dancers and the orchestral players, re late payments, limited performances, demands for higher salaries, and for prima donnas, compensation justified by the vulnerability of the voice.

[104] Often referred to as a duke, Lord Manchester did not become one until 1719, less than three years before his death in 1722. He had three temporary ambassadorial appointments: 1697–08, Winter to Spring, to plead release for captured English sailors in Venice, but failed and was recalled; 1698 in Paris, August to November, to negotiate ostracism of the exiled Stuarts from St Germain, but failed and was again recalled; finally, he was sent to Venice,1707 (Jun.) to 1708 (Sept.) to negotiate the Republic joining the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV, and for a third time he failed, and was recalled. However, he was a noted patron of opera, having received in Venice, the dedication of Francesco Gasparini's *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* in March 1708 (Selfridge-Field, 2007, p.284). The opera correspondence between Vanbrugh and Manchester took place Feb-July 1708.

generall likeing of the whole Town; and both go on in a very Successful manner…This Settlement pleases so well, that people are now eager to See Operas carry'd to a greater perfection'.[105] Opposition from plays in Drury Lane, initially, was minimal, although on 7 February Congreve's *Love for Love* may have reduced receipts for *Camilla* significantly (Fig.6 below). However, apart from the fame of Congreve's play as a crowd attraction, other factors may explain the collapse in receipts: the long run of *Camilla* with a loss of interest, and rumours about the disastrous castrato, Cassani (M&H, 2001, p.412, 7 February; *Coke Papers*, p.109, Vanbrugh to Coke). Nevertheless, the first performance of *Love's Triumph* on 26 February marks a high point in the early successes of the Queen's Theatre in 1708, and the publication of *Songs in the new Opera, Call'd Love's Triumph*, engraved by Walsh and Hare, and advertised in the *Daily Courant* two days later, suggests a vote of confidence in the prospects of the opera. But by March 1708 there were complications.

[3/33] Complications did not occur to Vanbrugh who saw only the happy prospects for Italian opera under his watch. Keeping detailed accounts of transactions (Fig.6 below), made for more accurate bookkeeping, which it was hoped would regulate the cash flow, and help balance the books, something that was missing in 1706 when costs forced Vanbrugh to abandon his plans for Italian opera. Encouraged by Vice-Chamberlain Coke who had an interest in efficiency and the success of Italian opera,[106] Vanbrugh in December 1707, estimated costs for the remainder of the season – January to the end of June 1708 at £94 a performance for 64 nights, totalling £6016. With receipts averaging at £120 a night, an income of £7680, and a projected profit of £1664 – this was the sort of balance that had eluded him in the past.[107] The downside of this prospect was the exorbitant fees being claimed by Italian singers, who began to quote previous putative contracts agreed by Rich at Drury Lane.[108] The scores for 'Love's Triumph' and 'Pyrrhus and Demetrius' had been prepared under the tutelage of Rich at Drury Lane, and payments were due to those participating, but the documentation was missing, which may explain why Rich had delayed,

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[105] *Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, vol.4, ed. G. Webb, p.16 (Bloomsbury, 1927).

[106] Thomas Coke (1674–1727) was appointed Vice-Chamberlain (December 1706) due to his proven management skills in dealing with the complexities of the Royal Household, but since he was a lover of Italian opera, and a close acquaintance of Vanbrugh, prospects for the latter seemed auspicious, especially since Lord Chamberlain Kent was indifferent about theatrical business, and left it to Coke. No doubt, the initiative for strict bookkeeping was due to Coke, but Vanbrugh's unjustified optimism, and reckless payments to Italian singers, was something even Coke could hardly control. Others would later take up the baton for Italian opera.

[107] *Coke Papers*, doc.24, figures calculated from data in pp.40–42.

[108] Rich was a manager famed for avoiding written agreements, at least, none has survived. Lacking written evidence, the claims by singers may have been fabricated, partially at least.

and subsequently avoided, payments for work that he had contracted. Vanbrugh seemed to accept earlier expenses incurred by Rich preceding the transfer to the Queen's Theatre, including the costs of the two operas, only too keen to have control of Italian opera at any cost, perhaps convinced that he could now pay his way, thus fulfilling his ambition to implant Italian opera in London.[109]

Fig.6

1708 date	Queen's Theatre	Receipts	Drury Lane	Sources
13 Jan. Tues	*Thomyris*	£193.17s.6d	-	M&H [Milhous & Hume; Calendar]
17 Jan. Sat	*Thomyris*	£153.19s.6d	*The Maid's Tragedy* (Beaumont and Fletcher)	*Daily Courant*; Drury Lane's 'Betterton & Barry' attraction.
20 Jan. Tues	*Thomyris*	£127.0s.0d	*A Jovial Crew* (Brome)	M&H; Coke (57).
24 Jan. Sat	*Thomyris*	£159.6s.6d	*K. Henry the 4th* (Shakespeare)	M&H; Coke (57).
27 Jan. Tues	*Camilla*	£170.5s.0d	-	M&H; Coke (51), bassoon player needed.
31 Jan. Sat	*Camilla*	£137.3s.6d	*The Rival Queens* (Lee)	M&H; Coke (57).
3 Feb. Tues	*Camilla*	£89.5s.6d	*Amphitryon* (Dryden)	M&H: Coke (57).
7 Feb. Sat	*Camilla*	£53.15s.3d	*Love for Love* (Congreve)	M&H; Coke, Cassani debut, 'fiasco'
10 Feb. Tues	*Camilla*	£77.17s.6d [7th+10th total £131.12s.9d]	*Irene:* a new play (Goring) 'success not encouraging', *Muses Mercury*, 'Jan'.1708	M&H; Coke, Cassani 'fiasco', p.109; receipts from Mrs White, higher for 7th+10th, £175.11s.6d (p.92).
14 Feb. Sat	*Thomyris*	£155.7s.9d	*Mithridates* (Lee)	M&H;
17 Feb. Tues	*Thomyris*	£96.18s.9d	*The Beaux' Stratagem* (Farquhar)	M&H; advertised 'last perf. of season'
21 Feb. Sat	*Camilla*	£125.15s.6d	*Marriage A-la-Mode* (Cibber)	M&H; Coke (57), Cassani removed. Vanbrugh request to the Queen through Coke for an annual £1000 subsidy for the importation of Italian singers.
26 Feb. Thurs	*Love's Triumph*	£240.6s.9d	*Northern Lass* (Brome)	M&H; Muses Mercury; Vanbrugh and Addison, letters to Lord Manchester.
28 Feb. Sat	*Love's Triumph*	£101.1s.9d	*The Lady's Last Stake* (Cibber).	M&H; *Songs from the new Opera call'd Love's Triumph* (*Daily Courant*).
2 Mar. Tues	*Love's Triumph*	£84.7s.3d	*Love for Love* [1/2.March]	M&H; Coke no.57.
6 Mar. Sat	*Love's Triumph*	£101.14s.3d	*She Wou'd if she Cou'd* (Etherege)	M&H; Coke no.57.
9 Mar. Tues	*Love's Triumph*	?	*The Soldier's Fortune* (Otway)	M&H
12 Mar. Fri				Published, 'Songs …in the new Opera call'd *Love's*

[109] *Coke Papers*, doc.29, the promotion of Italian opera was 'his mighty call' (p.50); also pp.54, 62, 65.

				Triumph' printed for J. Walsh (*Daily Courant*).
13 Mar. Sat	*Camilla*	?	*The Chances* (?)	
16 Mar. Tues	No performance			Vanbrugh's letter to Manchester on the abortive French invasion; threat over, so renewed plea for Nicolini.
20 Mar. Sat	*Love's Triumph*	?	*Love for Love*	M&H
23 Mar. Tues	*Love's Triumph*	?	*The Royal Merchant* (Fletcher and Massinger)	M&H
27 Mar. Sat	*Camilla*	?	*The Scornful Lady* (Beaumont and Fletcher)	M&H; *Daily Courant*
6 Apr. Tues	*Camilla*	?	*The Recruiting Officer* (Farquhar)	M&H; balance sheet, 'ye Opera Account' - no losses, 7 April, Coke, 62
10 Apr. Sat	*Thomyris*	?	*Bury Fair* (Shadwell)	M&H
13 Apr. Tues	*Thomyris*	?	*The Rival Queens* (Lee)	M&H; Vanbrugh to Coke, plea for Queen's subsidy.
17 Apr. Sat	*Love's Triumph*	?	Greenwich Park	M&H; Coke nos.65/66

[3/34] Milhous and Hume do not explain why Vanbrugh so readily accepted the contracts negotiated by Rich,[110] or why singers could bypass Vanbrugh to negotiate directly with Coke, ignoring the man who had to foot the bills. In 1966 Albert Rosenberg was convinced that 'the salaries of the performers were set by the Vice Chamberlain [Coke]', and quoted Howard C. Vincent (1937) to reinforce the argument.[111] If this were the case, it might explain why Vanbrugh had limited control over finances. However, it was Coke's approval as a means of controlling the singers that motivated Vanbrugh, and so he wrote to Coke on Wednesday 7 January 1708:

> Sir, In order to hasten the Performance of the opera (which I find a mighty call for) twill be necessary to settle out of hand, the Rates to be allow'd the People and that I doubt will take up more time than it shou'd do, without a Little of your aid.

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[110] *Coke Papers*, 'We do not know to what degree Vanbrugh felt bound to honor the terms of Rich's contracts' (p.58); also pp.62/65.

[111] Albert Rosenberg, 'New Light on Vanbrugh' (*Philological Quarterly*, 1966) maintains 'The salaries of the performers was set by the Vice Chamberlain [Coke]' (p.606, fn.16); Howard P. Vincent 'Two Unpublished Letters of Vanbrugh' (*Notes and Queries*, 1937, p.128). This claim has either been accepted or ignored until now.

This suggests a negotiating position, a request that Coke might use his position to reinforce Vanbrugh's authority to curb singers' demands.[112] The hitherto 'unpublished' letter from Vanbrugh to Coke, dated 14 May 1708, quoted by Rosenberg and Vincent, merely suggests consultation but not control. As singers complained to Coke, so Vanbrugh had to provide an account of payments.[113] Vanbrugh was entirely responsible for payments to singers, and the role of Vice-Chamberlain was like that of a referee. The singers' salaries were entirely Vanbrugh's responsibility.

Opera Finance

[3/35] The inflated monetary claims by Italian singers deserves a separate study in itself,[114] but it is relevant to the end of the pastoral episode in the progress towards Italian opera, and indeed, to the end Vanbrugh's contribution to Italian opera in London. The most extreme of these claims came from Valentini and Cassani, the former who had started with a salary of £400 in December 1707, but later demanded in a letter to Kent (Jan.1708) 420 guineas for 40 performances, plus 200 guineas in expenses.[115] Even more extortionate was Cassani who began with £300, but like Valentini, inflated his demands, in his case to £437.10s, including travel expenses to and from Italy, board and lodging in London, and a 'Bottle of Wine Every Day'.[116] This may have encouraged the female Italians to claim in a similar fashion, Anna Lodi starting with £100 in December 1707, but requesting from Coke 200 guineas in January,

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[112] *Coke Papers*, doc. 29, p.50; also doc. 46, Vanbrugh to Coke, 'I wou'd fain fix all these peoples [singers] Bargains. [claims]…..' (p.72). R.O. Bucholz in ODNB Coke biography makes no mention of Coke fixing salaries. He simply specifies 'regulation' and 'management' of London theatre, but without specifics. A letter by Lord Chamberlain Kent to Coke in December 1707 merely expresses the hope that opera will not be the ruin of the two theatres (*Coke Papers*, doc. 25, p.42).

[113] Vanbrugh's letter to Manchester in Venice, 11 May 1708, anticipates Rosenberg's 'discovered' letter by three days, and emphasises 'consultation' (*The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, vol.4, Geoffrey Webb (ed.) 1927 (p.20).

[114] It occupies 88 pages in the 'Season 1707–08' of the Coke Papers, described by M&H as 'the strangest and most interesting throughout the entire eighteenth century', but they might have added, 'the most complicated' (p.27). It has been my purpose to use this raw data to find a pattern of events that could have seriously jeopardised the establishment of Italian opera in London, so affecting the arrival of Handel.

[115] *Coke Papers*, docs. 22 and 39/40.

[116] Ibid., doc. 42, 'Cassani's Agreement with Rich', p.65. In spite of Cassani's disastrous performances, when he was hissed off the stage on 7/10 Feb. in *Camilla* (Fig.6), he seems to have been paid a considerable amount. His letter to Coke on 13 May demands 'le reste de mon argent de 150 G[u]inees entre le mois de May' (doc. 69). Vanbrugh need not have paid Cassani, but did not want to antagonise Italian singers in case this dissuaded other singers from coming to London. It was not until May 1708 when Vanbrugh had run out of money, that Vanbrugh wrote to Coke: 'But what to do about Cassani I don't well know… not that I really think he has a claim to almost anything'. Audiences were dissatisfied with 'a Cruell Clamour & Disgust of the Towne against the House for imposing such a Singer'. Vanbrugh felt justified in not paying him more, and perhaps even more justified, since the agreement had been with Rich. He hoped that Swiney would lend Cassani something 'to keep him from Distress' (14 May; Coke Papers, doc.70, p.109).

and when rejected, tried to settle for £150, a claim that was later dismissed since she had little operatic experience.[117] Maria Gallia Saggione starting with £100 in December 1707, claimed 700 guineas in January, requesting a rating similar to that of Margarita de L'Epine and Margaret Tofts, but when established that these prima donnas had salaries of a mere £300, Maria Gallia lowered her sights. She was offered £120.[118] Josef Fedelli Saggione, encouraged by his wife's temerity, claimed a salary of £150 for his role as a double bass player in the orchestra when the going rate for orchestra members varied from £40 for leaders to £25 for rank-and-file.[119] Saggione started with £40 in December 1707, but by January was accepting 25 shillings a performance, still, on a par with leaders like Banister, Corbett, Lullie, or Paisible.[120] The trend towards inflated earnings started with the rebellion against Rich when as a result of the Order of Union, performers led by Charles Dieupart, mounted a campaign for higher salaries, the female singers making a case for special treatment compared with actresses, both in terms of reduced performance frequency and greater voice management.[121] Although some claims were later rejected, Vanbrugh was left with a precarious situation with singers empowered by their indispensability.

[3/36] The claims of singers, the ever increasing costs of costumes, scenery, dancers, tradesmen, officials, and other overheads,[122] meant that, although Vanbrugh began with projected costs of £94-a-night in December, by January when the season began, a potential 64-night season had escalated £114-a-night, which meant a nightly income of £150 to make a working profit.[123] By March the outlay was calculated at £140.17s.6d per performance which meant he was in deficit to the tune of £38 a night, a loss of £606.[124] By 7 April Vanbrugh's losses amounted to £1146, so it became clear that the Queen's Theatre could not continue, and would have to close early after 29 performances. Coke must have been keen

[117] Ibid., docs. 32, 33, 34.
[118] Ibid., doc. 43.
[119] Ibid., docs. 43/22.
[120] Ibid., data in docs. 22/44; an increase in wages, if more than 32 performances; 64 envisaged, only 29 took place. Singers were similarly affected. The incomes of Haym and Dieupart are not quoted, perhaps due to their additional responsibility for opera scores and production.
[121] See fn.95. Opera was restricted to two nights a week, Tuesdays and Saturdays, whereas plays could be performed every night except Sunday, allowing for higher income. The challenge to the voice in opera as opposed to spoken drama is self-evident, but was only gradually taken into account at this period in London history, and was especially relevant in Italian opera. The singers blamed the effect of the bad weather on the throat.
[122] *Coke Papers*, docs. 59–62.
[123] *Coke Papers*, doc. 49.
[124] *Coke Papers*, doc. 56–57.

to discuss the issue with Vanbrugh, because in a letter dated 14 May, Vanbrugh wrote to the Vice-Chamberlain, ‘I am forc'd to be gone for Blenheim, without time to wait on you’, detailing how Swiney would deal with the problem of payments.[125] After the 1705-06 and 1706-07 seasons, the 1707-08 season, was the third time that Vanbrugh had put the advance of Italian opera in jeopardy through mismanagement.

Love’s Triumph, French Invasion, and the Press

[3/37] The fate of *Love’s Triumph* was bound up with this sequence of events, receipts no longer recorded after the fourth performance. Figures are missing from Tuesday 9 March (Fig.6), possibly due to an embarrassing plummet in ticket sales, although the figures may be lost.[126] However, the question of political context for the fate of *Love’s Triumph* arises, since the opera performances coincided with the attempted invasion of Scotland by the French, 30 thirty ships with 6,000 troops heading for the Firth of Forth from Dunkirk with the aim of supporting a Jacobite rising. On 16 March Vanbrugh conveyed his take on the event to Lord Manchester in Venice:[127]

> This attempt of the French has been a great Surprise upon people, Nobody believing they Wou’d persist after our Fleet had Appear’d before Dunkirk much superior to ’em …. People Seem’d a good deal disorder’d at it…. But the News that came to the Houses today at Westminster, of Sr George Bings being in the sight of the Enemy Off of Edinborough I observ'd gave very sudden change to Poeples faces. I'm Sure the News of the Battle of Blenheim was not receiv’d with more joy….. And since there is hopes of being quiet at home, I may think again of Operas.

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[125] *Coke Papers*, doc. 70.

[126] The papers with the figures could be missing. *The Coke Theatrical Papers* are not complete. They comprise a collection of documents kept by Vice-Chamberlain Coke containing a wide variety of theatrical matters for which he was responsible, the theatre being a tiny part of his overall duties in maintaining the Royal Household. The collection was dispersed soon after his death in 1728, a fraction of much bigger auction, the sales catalogue having 60 pages listing 127 paintings, 1068 books, 171 volumes, offprints, etc. (*Coke* Introduction, pp. xxvi, ff.). The Papers were widely scattered and many documents perhaps lost. Existing material was collected privately and ultimately absorbed by libraries, currently Harvard and the BL, among which are the Winston and Drexel 19th century transcriptions. M&H have put the existing collection in order adding approximate dates where these are missing. For 1708 this is a valuable source worth close examination for identifying now Vanbrugh's optimism for the prospects of Italian opera was misplaced (M&H Preface and Introduction to the Papers, especially in the section, ‘Provenance’ (pp.xxix, ff.), and existing locations (pp. xxxiv–xxxix). Vanbrugh's misplaced optimism needs some sort of explanation at this critical point in the emergence of Italian opera in London as the pastoral phase draws to a close.

[127] *Complete Works of Vanbrugh*, vol.4, Letters, ed. Webb, pp.17–18.

However, there was no ‘great surprise’, and no indication of people ‘disorder’d’. By 16 March Admiral Bing’s defensive action was no longer ‘news’ – the French fleet had fled the scene, and moreover, the confrontation had occurred at the mouth of the Firth of Forth, between Crail and Pittenweem, not near Edinburgh. Newspapers at the time provided sufficient information for a more accurate account of events. They recorded that there had been a French attempt to divert attention from their forthcoming Flanders offensive by attacking England through ‘the back door’,[128] but the French plan was thwarted by the absence of the Jacobites at the mouth of the Firth, and by the arrival of a superior British fleet under Admiral George Bing, at which point the French retreated. Historians have tended to underplay the abortive Jacobite rebellion of 1708 as having little consequence, but at the time Vanbrugh seems to have used the event for damaging the progress of Italian opera. News of the British victory reached parliament on 11 March, almost as a footnote to Queen Anne’s address to the House of Lords by which time the threat was already over, so perhaps Vanbrugh on 16 March had personal reasons for exaggerating events. Apart from Vanbrugh's comment, there is little indication that London in general was unduly alarmed, although there may have been cause for rejoicing at the news of the French retreat.[129] Vanbrugh may have used the term ‘panic’ in London as a temporary excuse for his being diverted from opera, and as an explanation for his failing administration. It is just possible his own concern was linked to the end of recorded receipts (Fig.6). However, *Love's Triumph* was unaffected in so far that it ran for another three performances until 17 April, although attendance figures are not available. One can only infer that they were not impressive, otherwise Vanbrugh would not have exaggerated the effect of the French attempted invasion.

[3/38] The ‘crisis’, if crisis it was, was over in a week,[130] and yet Vanbrugh emphasises that it was enough to prevent operagoers from attending the Queen’s Theatre, and that he himself was diverted from opera business. The dates of the event, 6-12 March, coincided with the

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[128] The 1708 attempted Jacobite rising was not a total surprise in that these events had been a threat ever since 1689 and would continue through 1715, 1719, until 1745, and, in different guises to the present day (Szechi, 1994). The abortive Jacobite rebellion of 1708 pales into insignificance compared with 1715 and 1745, but in this study London reception of 1708 will establish whether Vanbrugh, on whom the progress of Italian opera depended, was exaggerating the rebellion to cover his own incompetence.

[129] Hoppit, *Land of Liberty*, pp.254–5. For a witty account, Michael Fry, *The Union, England, Scotland, and the Treaty of 1707*, p.301.

[130] Daniel Szechi is the only historian I have found to provide a detailed chronology of Jacobite activities. *The Jacobites* dates the event 6–12 March (O.S.; p.xvi). Szechi does not tell us how people in London, referred to by Vanbrugh, heard the news. Szechi does not discuss the event itself, but is convinced that it was the Jacobites who persuaded the French to invade. The French view of a diversionary ploy is a stronger argument.

slump in Vanbrugh's fortunes, but as the crisis passed, Vanbrugh's fortunes did not revive. Initially, there may have been a manufactured scare when the twice-weekly, government-controlled *London Gazette* issued on 8 March, one of its thunderous Proclamations, this one from Queen Anne, and in italics:[131]

> *Whereas We have received certain Information, That the Person who, during the Life of the late King* James *the Second, Pretended to be Prince of* Wale*s, and since his Decease has taken upon himself the Stile and Title of* James *the Third, King of* England*, and* James *the Eighth, King of* Scotland*, being bred up in the Popish Superstition, and instructed to introduce the* French *Government into all our Realms and Dominions, Openly and Traiterously has undertaken an Invasion of our Kingdom of* Great Britain*, with an armed Force of the* French *King's Troops, Our declar'd Enemies, and of divers of our Rebellious Subjects, who have Traiterously adhered to Our said Enemies, in manifest Violation of Our Lawful and Rightful Title to the crown of these Realms, and of the several Acts of Parliament made, as well as recognising the same, as for Settling the Succession to the said Crown in the Protestant Line: And where as the said Pretended Prince stands now Attainted of High Treason by an Act of Parliament made in England in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of Our late Brother King William the Third of Glorious Memory, and all manner of Correspondence with the said Pretended Prince, or any of his Adherents, is thereby forbid to all Our Subjects, upon pain of High Treason…*

This single sentence continues in similar strain until followed by a list of restraints, punishments, and retribution for all 'Popish Recusants', including stop and search, detention, confiscation of weapons and horses, and a panoply of restrictive orders to convince the Englishmen that traditional defensive action was being taken.[132] Subsequent editions of the paper included affirmations of loyalty and gratitude from different parts of the kingdom, starting with the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and Commons of London, and then the inhabitants of Westminster on 12 March, followed by the 'County of Bucks', St. Edmundsbury, various representatives of parliament, the University of Oxford, the County of Devon, the Ancient Borough of Devizes, the County of Surrey, and the Borough of Windsor. By 18 March the litany of loyalty had reached Edinburgh and Glasgow.[133]

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[131] 'Thursday March 4. to Monday March 8. 1707' [O.S.;1708] occupying over 1.5 columns.

[132] In Vanbrugh's letter (16 March), the only people 'disorder'd' would have been Catholics, although to what extent in practice, is not clear. Two letters by Pope, 3/18 March1707/8, give no indication of persecution in London (*Correspondence*, ed. Sherburn, vol.1, pp.41–42).

[133] Further editions included the University of Cambridge, county of Wilts, land and sea officers from Salisbury, etc. More royal proclamations followed, but mainly to assure loyal subjects that the situation was under control. By 25 March the *Gazette* had expanded from two to four pages to include the all joys of

[3/39] Rather than panic, it was support for the monarch that affected Italianate opera. Responses of loyalty, fealty, and homage, provided obsequious copy in the columns of March editions of the *Gazette*, sending out a message that Britain could cope with foreign aggression, providing a rallying point for national fervour. To what extent this represented a response to a crisis, or was just a routine demonstration of patriotic fervour, remains to be examined. In London there was little sign of panic. Joseph Addison, in his capacity as diplomatic Under-Secretary to Lord Sunderland, was well placed to assess the situation. He was both witness to the inner proceedings of parliament,[134] and to the talk of the coffee houses where he gathered populist views of current affairs. While Lord Manchester was in Venice,[135] Addison kept him apprised of developments at home. His letter to Manchester (Tuesday, 2 March 1707/8) focused on a Bill for securing American trade, and then, an alert about French manoeuvres:

> The French will certainly be surprised to find us so well prepared for their Invasion. Our Grand Fleet will be going away with the first Fair Wind…Sr G. Byng has a powerful Squadron before Dunquerque which is daily reinforced…We are no longer in doubt of a design upon Scotland and the Prince of Wales being at the head of it and are very happy in a Ministry that can take such vigorous and speedy Methods of our Defence and Security.

Subsequent letters are confident that the attempted French invasion is a minor matter; other developments are more pressing. Addison predicted that the French fleet would retreat at the first sight of the Royal Navy, and this turned out to be true.[136] Narcissus Luttrell (1657-1732), historian and MP, but also a prolific diarist, agreed with Addison that dealing with the French at sea was a routine matter compared with manoeuvres in Europe:

deliverance, basically from a non-event. It is possible that Vanbrugh had been swept along in this tide of exultation.

[134] Parliamentary business tended to be a tightly kept secret except when Government instructed the *Gazette* to publish the proceedings. Otherwise, newspapers were banned from publishing proceedings unless special permission was granted; the 1660 restriction lasted to the end of the 18th century – 'no person whatsoever do presume, at his peril, to print any votes of proceedings of this House, without special leave and order of this House' (Sutherland, p.7 from *Journals of the House of Commons*, VIII. 74).

[135] Manchester was on diplomatic business in Venice, June 1707 to September 1708. Vanbrugh's correspondence dates from February to July 1708. Compared with Addison's flow of information, one wonders how seriously Manchester took Vanbrugh's letter of 16 March (above).

[136] *The Letters of Joseph Addison* ed. Graham (1941, Letters 108 ff.); *The Life of Joseph Addison*, Smithers (1954, p.126).

> This day the commons debated the matter about the invasion of Scotland, and resolved…that it appears to this house, that timely and effectual care was taken by those employed under her majestie at the time of the intended invasion, and to disappoint the designs of her enemies, both at home and abroad, by fitting out a sufficient number of men of war, ordering a compleat number of troops…and by making if the necessary and proper disposition of the forces in England.

However, this entry on Thursday 10 March begins with an account of poor people starving in Paris, the shabby treatment of the Tsar's ambassador in England, a trial at the Old Bailey, a Commons division on the exportation of tobacco, and the prohibition of French wines, but only then, a mention of the French invasion attempt:[137] Compared with Vanbrugh's initial attitude of panic, the reaction of others was more relaxed.

[3/40] Early eighteenth-century London press gives a clue to where public interest lay, so interest in opera, let alone the Italian variety, took a back seat while politics were paramount. Attitudes and views are more pronounced between public and private writings, but also between different sectors of the press. It is estimated that the circulation of the twice-weekly *London Gazette* was approximately 6000 per edition, whereas the *Daily Courant* (Monday to Saturday) could muster a mere 800 copies. Given that the *Gazette* declared on its masthead 'Published by Authority', mostly interpreted as government propaganda, it had by far the widest circulation,[138] perhaps an indication of popularity and perhaps even of integrity. It is difficult to find an explanation for this. The *Gazette* had access to privileged information and a wider range of sources denied it rivals, so that may have been an attraction.[139] Since its foundation in 1665 the *Gazette* was regarded as a means of public control, an instrument to prevent a recurrence of civil war. By the early eighteenth century it had a similar function of attempting to manipulate the public mood during the War of the Spanish Succession, and indeed during the failed French invasion attempt of 1708. It flourished with a sort of 'crisis-resolution' model. It rallied the national mood in times of war, and revelled in victory when it occurred. Crucially, it may have been subsidized by the government, which would allow

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[137] *A Brief Historical relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, Narcissus Luttrell, vol.6, p.416.

[138] Cranfield (1978), p.32; Sutherland (1986), p.228; Sutherland 'The Circulation of Newspapers and Literary Periodicals 1700–30' (*The Library*, 1934).

[139] The use of information from consuls scattered throughout Europe, was a big advantage - Brussels, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Paris, Madrid, Bilbao, Seville, Alicante, Barcelona, Turin, Leghorn, Naples, Venice, and as far afield as Smyrna, Tripoli, Aleppo, Alexandria, etc. (Sutherland, Ch.4 passim.).

the massive circulation. The *Gazette* was not interested in music or theatre, so notices about Italian opera were not included in the advertisement section, which favoured lost property, house sales, books, or bankruptcies, although, this section of the newspaper was suspended when eulogies of the monarch took precedence. For theatregoers, the *Daily Courant* was the newspaper of choice, but it too was drawn into the saga of abortive invasion. Fig.7 shows how the event ran like a soap opera throughout the month of March 1708 as Vanbrugh's fortunes were in decline.[140]

Fig.7

March	*Daily Courant* (O.S.) - mainly news from the *Paris Gazette* (N.S.)
1 Mon	Count de Forbin's letter re Danish complaints about French threats to Danish vessels.
2 Tues	Mixed messages emanating from the French court about naval preparations at Dunkirk, the objective not being clear, either Scotland or Portugal, the latter to 'constrain the King of Portugal to quit the Party of the Allies'.
3 Wed	French money sent to Flanders to pay the troops. The French King is seeking a loan from merchants in St Malo, Marseilles, etc.
4 Thur	Reference to stolen salt supplies and mules carrying cloth from Broglio to Saorgio.
5 Fri	No French reports [p.1: given over to an amusing story about a sect of French Antinomians or prophets preaching in London]
6 Sat	No French reports [p.1: a letter from Marlborough assuring that Catholic services and traditions will be respected in the Netherlands, and that no offence will be given]

[140] *The Daily Courant*, published six days a week, was widely available in the many London coffee houses, where politics were read and discussed, so it is a fair indicator of public opinion. In the run from 1–22 March there is no point where the prospect of a Jacobite rising is a serious threat, and since reportage came well after the event, the outcome was secure as the ‘threat’ was being reported. For example, when *The Courant* (17 March, O.S.) published information from the *Paris Gazette* (19 March, N.S.), the incident referred to would have been recorded in Paris on 8 March (O.S.) and may refer to an incident at least a day old. As *The Courant* delivered the belated data, *The Observator* (1702–12) poked fun at the invasion attempt through the format of fictional dialogue between Mr Observator and Roger the Countryman (e.g. 10–13 March 1708). *The British Apollo* (Feb.1798–March 1711) edited by Aaron Hill, who in February 1711 would produce Handel’s *Rinaldo*, presented cultural affairs with questions submitted by readers, but who, at this point, took no interest in Italian opera, although in 1709 there is a mild interest in popular song (see discussion by R. McGuinness in ‘Musical Provocation in Eighteenth–Century London: the *British Apollo*, 1987’). Newspapers ignored Italian opera, but delighted in the comic aspects of the failed French invasion, a tale which took precedence over the fate of *Love's Triumph* in particular, and operatic news in general. Addison, on Tuesday 24 February 1707/8, two days before the premier of *Love's Triumph*, wrote to the opera-loving Lord Manchester in Venice with an aside from other more important political affairs that, ‘The Gay part of the Towne is in high Expectation of a New Opera that is to make its Appearance on Thursday next’ – there is no mention of the title *Love's Triumph*, and he gets the composer wrong – Bononcini was not among the trio of composers for *Love's Triumph*, Cesarini, Violone, Gasparini (ed. Graham, 1941, Letter 105). He had conflated *Love's Triumph* and *Camilla*. The destiny of Italian opera would be sidelined as more interesting affairs hit the headlines. For Vanbrugh, his main concern in April 1708 was the form and depth of the Blenheim portico (K. Downes, pp.296, 518), with a break on 7&14 April to calculate his losses at the Queen’s Theatre. He was too busy to let Lord Manchester know about the collapse of Italian opera at the critical point until it was all over.

8 Mon	French 'land-forces' at Dunkirk designed for Scotland, details of troops and payments; the King bids farewell to the 'pretended Prince of Wales' as he joins the expedition led by The Count de Forbin. The prince is reported arriving in Dunkirk accompanied with 'the chief Scots and Irish of his Court'. They will sail when there is a 'fair Wind'. The Prince has taken 'a Jesuite with him for his Confessor, but is instructed to pretend to change his Religion if he finds that necessary to make his Attempts in Scotland succeed'. The English court sees this expedition as so 'hazardous' that it is not a real threat.
9 Tues	No French reports [two French warships attack a Portugese town for provisions]
10 Wed	A report that the French King (Louis XIV, never mentioned by name), presented the 'pretended Prince of Wales' with a sword 'enrich'd with Diamonds to the Value of 50,000 Livres'. The prince did not bid farewell to his sister, she 'Sick of the Measles'. The report suggests expedition delay from Dunkirk.
11 Thur	No French reports
12 Fri	No French reports, but news from Ostend that the French fleet sailed from Dunkirk at 3.00am on Tuesday morning (9 March).
13 Sat	The King hears that the pretended Prince of Wales had the measles before leaving on the expedition. This had caused some delay.
15 Mon	No reports about the expedition.
16 Tues	*Brussels Gazette*: report that French fleet sailed from Dunkirk (6 March O.S.), but weather forced anchorage at Newport Pits. Reports from London that troops are being brought home from Ostend, and that battalions are being raised in Scotland and Ireland. Armies are marching north.
17 Wed	Paris: the longest reports so far - news that the French fleet is delayed by bad weather. Very confused messages about the expedition from Paris and the Hague, but Admiral Byng 'is giving chace' although he too is hampered by weather - this is all old news well after the event.
18 Thurs	News from Portsmouth that several of 'her Majesty's ship' are sailing north to reinforce Sir George Byng. [dated news]
19 Fri	No news of the Jacobite rising.
20 Sat	Paris Gazette (24 March, N.S) quotes Brussels Gazette (16 March N.S) 'British ministers and generals in some Perplexity, but People in the Provinces shew little Uneasiness about it'. There is an admission that the Royal Navy is more than equal to the task. More information on delay by the weather. Concern in the Hague (27 March, N.S.) that Marlborough may be detained in England, leaving the Netherlands exposed.
22 Mon	Paris (23 March, N.S) - the English fleet in pursuit of the French, 17 hours behind, but hopes 'our Squadron consisting of the nimblest ships' will reach Edinburgh well before the English with time to raise the rebellion.

The Vanbrugh-Manchester Correspondence

[3/41] If there was a crisis in March 1708, the crisis was for Vanbrugh rather than for Britain. His version of operatic crisis is recounted in his letter to Lord Manchester in Venice on 27 July 1708, in which he outlines his reasons for obstacles to the progress of Italian opera in London:[141]

[141] *Complete Works*, vol.4, ed. Webb, pp.13–26; Vanbrugh wrote six letters to Lord Manchester between February and August 1708, of which only three of them (24 Feb., 11 May, 27 July) address the subject of opera from the outset and focus on it. In other letters opera gets a minor mention among architectural and building matters. On 24 February Vanbrugh is optimistic about the future of Italian opera, but on 27 July he is ready to admit defeat.

> I lost so much money by the Opera this last Winter, that I was glad to get quit of it; And yet I don't doubt but Operas will Settle and thrive in London. The Occasion of the loss was three things, One; that half the Season was past, before the Establishm^{t}: was made. And then, My L^{d} Cham^{b}: Upon a Supposition that there wou'd be Immence gain, Oblig'd us to Extravagant Allowances; Another thing was, That the Towne having the Same Notion of the Proffits, wou'd not come into Any Subscription; And the 3^{d} was, That tho' the Pitt and boxes did very near as well as usuall the Gallery People (who hitherto had only throng'd out of Curiosity, not Tast) were weary of the Entertainment: so that Upon the Whole, there was barely Money to Pay the Performers & Other daily Charges; And for the Cloaths & Scenes they fell upon the Undertakers. I might add a Forth Reason which is, That I never cou'd look after it my Self, but was forc'd to Leave it to Managers. Mr Swiney has now Undertaken it himself, And I believe will go through with it very well Nor will he want Subscriptions to help him; I don't doubt but Nicolini will be mighty well rec'd, and find his Account, And if once Peace Comes, there will be many things to Support Musick which Are wanting Now.

Vanbrugh's account merits close scrutiny. He claims his financial losses undermined a promising enterprise, for which he still had much faith, but why Swiney could make the Queen's Theatre profitable, but not Vanbrugh is not explained. The letters demonstrate that architectural commitments took precedence. Vanbrugh seems to have regarded theatre management as a sideline, a mere 'Entertainment', but then blamed other factors for failure. He cites the late start of the season, January 1708 rather than October 1707, but the evidence suggests that this would have made little difference. Vanbrugh had not learned from a similar late start with *The Loves of Ergasto* in April 1705 during the 1704-05 season. He holds Vice-Chamberlain Coke responsible for exorbitant salaries, and yet it was his own conviction that opera profits would cover the costs, fearing that Italian singers would depart if denied their inflated salaries. Both assumptions were without foundation – opera did not pay its own way, and the singers did not depart when the season at the Queen's Theatre collapsed prematurely on 1 May 1708.[142] Coke, equally keen on the import of Italian opera, would simply have rubberstamped any financial decision made by Vanbrugh. Vanbrugh's conviction about the profitability of Italian opera seems to have led him to ignore subscriptions – there is no evidence that he considered this in January 1708. His assumption about operagoers,

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[142] *The Daily Courant* 28 April 1708 announcement, 'Being the last time of performing any Opera till Winter', although sundry performances staggered on for a few more weeks. Vanbrugh told Coke he was leaving for Blenheim on 14 May, by which time he had washed his hands of theatre affairs. An isolated performance of *Thomyris* took place on 20 May, no doubt organised by Swiney. For Drury Lane, the season continued until 4 August, M&H, *Calendar*, p.441.

motivated by curiosity, not taste, has a hollow ring – curiosity, if satisfied can lead to taste, so marketing of curiosity must have been a fault. Vanbrugh was right about the need for a decent manager, and Swiney was, yet again, willing to accept the post.

[3/42] What is missing from Vanbrugh's self-exoneration on 27 July, is just as significant as his four explanations. Politics has a role to play. Just as with *The Loves of Ergasto* in April 1705, the dissolution of parliament leading to a general election removed many potential attendees from opera performances. Addison noted in his letter to Manchester on 13 April 1708 (O.S.) that, 'The parliament was this morning prorogued for a fortnight, and't is supposed will be suddenly dissolved'.[143] Addison's prediction was correct. But before those dates, on 2 March Addison had written to Manchester, 'The session of Parliament drawing near a Conclusion, a great many Members are gone into the Country'.[144] The dates, 2 March to 15 April correspond to the absence of receipts and putative collapse in attendance of *Love's Triumph*, so it is remarkable that given a similar situation in 1705, Vanbrugh had fallen into the same trap twice, but is silent on the matter. Vanbrugh was in denial – not given to learning from experience when dealing with the theatre.

[3/43] The other omission from the 27 July letter, suggests another piece of folly on Vanbrugh's part. Convinced that the survival of Italian opera depended on quality Italian singers, he pressed Lord Manchester in Venice to use his influence in operatic circles with a letter of 24 February requesting, 'A man and Woman of the First Rate to be got against Next Winter from Italy', specifying Nicolini and Santini to be paid £1000 between them, thinking that the Queen would be proud to fund and assist her 'Servants'.[145] By 16 March, the very day when an opera had to be cancelled, Vanbrugh added an additional request: 'for some Young Agreable Person of a Woman, who not yet in great Vogue, yet promis'd fair to grow

[143] *Court and Society*, vol.2, p.343. These dates (O.S.) correspond roughly to those provided by modern scholarship (N.S.): 1 April (prorogued), 15 April (dissolved) – see Hayton in *The House of Commons*, vol.1, p.537. In political judgements Addison was accurate in a way that was missing from his report on *Love's Triumph* (Tuesday 24 February 1707/8, ed. Graham, fn.131) which reinforces the view that opera was a mere entertainment, a diversion from politics.

[144] Graham, letter 108, p.96.

[145] 'La Santini', Santa Stella. At first Vanbrugh suggested for Nicolini and Santini £1000, but M&H (*Calendar*, p.416) put the figures for Nicolini and Santini at £400 each (Coke Papers no.58). Vanbrugh requested an opera subsidy of £1000 per annum from the Queen, to be arranged by Coke – see Fig.6 for 21 February 1708, and M&H *Calendar*, p.416.

to it', and with payment of £100, suggesting one, 'Redjana',[146] which he thought would 'bring downe the Pride & Charge of our Present Singing Ladys'.[147] Despite the future of Italian opera looking more and more precarious, Vanbrugh was planning to spend more and more money he did not possess. The Queen had no intention of funding Italian opera,[148] and Manchester did not seem inclined to hunt for singers at Vanbrugh's bidding. No more was heard of Santini or Redjana. By 11 May Vanbrugh informed Manchester that Swiney was again managing the opera – 'He has a good deal of money in his Pocket; that he got before by the Acting Company', and he was convinced that Swiney would pay Nicolini £1000 for two seasons. In a postscript to the final letter 17 August before the return of Manchester to London in September, Vanbrugh adds:

> I doubt the Composer y^{r} L^{d} ship speaks of bringing won't turn to Acc^{t}: neither to the Opera nor himself For People will never believe him good, unless they had heard of him, as a most Famous Man, besides. There are So many Operas now in being, wch are translated ready to be performed, there will be no want of new Compositions in Many Years. But if y^{r} L^{d}ship brought a perfectly good Violin to Lead &Govern the Orcastre, 'twou'd be of great Service.

There is happy speculation this may have been Handel, but unhappily, no evidence. Attempts had been made to bring Bononcini and Mancini to London, but on poor salaries (£200 per annum) – no success. Vanbrugh adopted the traditional view that singers would bring in the profit and sustain the opera, but the expense incurred could also bring disaster – composers for him were less important. Vanbrugh's vision of the unfolding of Italian opera in London was limited in that he could not see that it would be a composer of merit that would make a difference. This, and his financial recklessness were major setbacks.[149]

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[146] Giovanna Albertini detta la Reggiana (?) M&H Calendar, p.422. There is no indication that Manchester knew anything about this singer, or that he had time or inclination to find out.

[147] A foolish assumption on the part of Vanbrugh – it was unlikely that Tofts, Gallia, or de L'Epine, would agree to reduce their salaries due to competition from a novice.

[148] The job title 'Her Majesty's Servants' was a mere formality. Even had the Queen been inclined to fund Italian opera, this was not a good time for the monarch, besieged by her own crises, the growing clash with Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, the conflict in the House of Commons between her favourite Harley and the Marlborough-Godolphin duumvirate, and the illness of her husband George Prince of Denmark, that would lead to his death in October.

[149] Vanbrugh's financial mismanagement was not limited to opera; his troubles extended to his architectural enterprises as well (Kerry Downes biography 1987, p.330), but at least in this respect, obstacles to progress were fewer – no patrons like the mass of fickle theatregoers, no inflated salary demands of employees, and no opposition from a rival company.

Conclusion – Vanbrugh and the Passing of the Pastoral

[3/44] From the opening of the Queen's Theatre in 1705 to the denouement of the pastoral in 1708, Vanbrugh had pursued his dream of bringing Italian opera to London, but what he achieved was the collapse of pastoral opera. At different times, he mismanaged the process through personal over-commitment, project under-financing, inefficient planning, extensive idealism, self-delusion, poor politics, and being outmanoeuvred by Christopher Rich at Drury Lane. After the week-long French invasion scare of March 1708, he tried to fabricate its damaging effect on *Love's Triumph* in spite of abundance evidence in Whig-inspired newspapers that London was relatively unaffected.[150] Addison's letters emphasised that the incident was a fiasco, although later dwindling audiences could be explained partially by the forthcoming general election.

[3/45] But there were positive aspects too. Vanbrugh had built the opera house, and his promise to pay salaries of players and singers alike had attracted talent, the ideal precondition for Italian opera.[151] This was a stage of development which marked the passage from pastoral to a more heroic phase just as Philips had asserted in his 1708 *Pastorals* – 'Virgil and Spencer made use of it as a prelude to heroic poetry', however adding, 'but I fear the innocency of the subject makes so little inviting at present'. Nevertheless, despite the subject matter lacking sufficient popularity, the innocence of 'entertaining Scenes' and 'delightful prospects' could have its attraction, especially as a diversion in time of war, but also due to its powerful English pedigree, essentially derived from the ancient Greek and Roman classics. What applied to poetry seems also to have applied to the three operatic pastorals 1705-08. However, a major weakness of the pastoral was that it lacked the social or political

[150] The *London Gazette*, *Daily Courant*, and *Observator*, were Whig-driven and anti-Jacobite, so the French invasion attempt would have presented an opportunity to the exaggerate the threat to Britain, but the opposite was the case ─ varieties of patriotism, humour, and mockery. The bias of *The British Apollo* (sub-titled 'Curious Amusements for the Ingenious'), is less clear - it refused to answer questions on the French invasion attempt: e.g., '5─10 March 1708: 'Q: What do the French intend, by those warlike Preparations, &c..; A: We would advise you to consult the FRENCH STATESMAN, for we do not pretend to hold any Correspondence with him', an evasive reply. It was politically safer just to offer translations of foreign newspapers, especially if they had appeared in the *London Gazette* first.

[151] A comparison of Vanbrugh's management at Castle Howard and Blenheim with the Queen's Theatre would be instructive, but a separate study. However, Kerry Downes has positive things to say: Vanbrugh ousted his rival William Talman at Castle Howard (pp.196─8), he had an 'excellent legal and business sense' (p.197), his official title at Blenheim was 'Surveyor of the Project', and was able to manage 15,000 men in the house, gardens, and quarries (p.278); but perhaps the extent of these responsibilities explains why the Queen's Theatre suffered. However, when it came to finance, the situation was more familiar: Marlborough was willing to spend £40,000 on Blenheim, Wren estimated £100,000, the final cost was £300,000 (Kerry Downes, pp.299─300).

relevance that was the attraction with most plays. Plays continued unabated during the abortive French invasion attempt. When social issues and politics became more interesting, pastoral opera tended to lose its appeal.

[3/46] Whether intelligent management and efficient financial resourcing would have provided better prospects for Italian pastorals is an open question, although it is tempting to speculate that in the hands of Owen Swiney or Aaron Hill, both efficient organisers, the outcome could have been different, as indeed it was with Handel in 1711.[152] In conclusion, if Vanbrugh had an idealistic project for the introduction of Italian opera, it was at best vague, and at worst, incoherent. But what evolved was the move from a pastoral to a more heroic episode with the arrival of Nicolini in December 1708.[153] Ironically however, Vanbrugh had prepared the way for this development by initiating the contract with Lord Manchester for the arrival of this castrato whose fame, voice, and performing style, would do much to establish Italian opera in London.

[152] However, even in the case of the talented Swiney, the pressures of surviving the cost of Italian opera, would drive him to bankruptcy in 1712, but in his case, unlike that of the well-connected Vanbrugh, he had to flee abroad (Jan.1713) to avoid creditors. Aaron Hill was 'fired' from the Queen's Theatre on 3 March, nine days after the premier of *Rinaldo*, the success of which was largely due to him (NGDO, vol.2, p.715), but Robert Hume concedes his dismissal was 'for reasons unknown'. The fate of Vanbrugh was also that of Hill and Swiney, eventually brought down trying to make opera pay, a not an unfamiliar scenario for their successors.

[153] Later to be argued, a case for tragicomedy.

Chapter Four: Pastoral – the Transition.

> ‘A librettist considering a story for an opera during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries would likely try to place it in either the heroic or in the pastoral moulds. The composer would do the same, and the choice would determine many of the opera’s structural and stylistic features.’
>
> (Ellen Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition*, 1980, p.235)

[4/1] It is the purpose of this chapter to examine early eighteenth–century London attitudes to pastorals, sung or spoken – how these attitudes evolved, and what impact they had on Italian opera. The Italianate pastorals (i.e. Italian ‘englished’) 1705–08 seem to represent a phase in the evolution of Italian opera in London. It is, therefore, useful to examine the character and metamorphosis of these pastorals for a better understanding of the development Italian opera in the early years of the eighteenth century, and whether the separation of genres is as distinct as Ellen Harris suggests above.[1]

The Pastoral Genre

[4/2] To discover how the pastoral evolved in those years the traditional approach has been to find a definition of the ‘genre’,[2] but historically, this has been a difficult task. In 1980,

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[1] Tim Carter in *Understanding Italian Opera* (2015), makes a similar sharp distinction, between epic and pastoral (p.21), but with an argument derived from Dryden (1685), whose knowledge of Italian opera was severely limited (see fn. 2).

[2] A modern view of pastoral is to abandon the category of ‘genre’ and to substitute the term ‘mode’, adopted by Timothy Neufeldt throughout his PhD dissertation, ‘The social and political aspects of the pastoral mode in musico-dramatic works, London, 1695-1728’ (Toronto, 2006), although he returns to ‘genre’ in his conclusion. Neufeldt takes his cue from Bryan Loughrey, *The Pastoral Mode* (1984), and especially Paul Alpers, *What is Pastoral?* (1997). Alpers devotes a complete chapter in his book (pp.44-78), explaining why ‘mode’ is preferable to ‘genre’, not only because ‘mode’ covers a multitude of genres from Hesiod to the twentieth century – poetry, plays, epics, romances, novels, but also because, ‘it refers to feelings and attitudes as such, as distinguished from their realization or manifestation in specific devices, conventions, structures’ (p.47), and ‘modal analysis helps us understand pastoralism’ (p.59), but alas, no sign of pastoral opera, a madrigal, a Beethoven symphony, a Ravel ballet score, or indeed, any reference to landscape painting. You might search in Alpers for Giorgione or Poussin, but in vain. It is therefore a surprise that Neufeldt opts for the term ‘mode’, because although Alpers provides masses of literary detail, he is not very helpful for the pastoral operas. Much better informed is J.E. Congleton in ‘Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England, 1684-1717’, *Studies in Philology* (1944), which was included in his later book as chapter four, *Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England 1684–1889* (1968) – the term ‘genre’ is used throughout his book, and so, is more helpful for the early eighteenth–century pastorals. Audra & Williams *Pastoral Poetry* (1961) might be included as well, although their chief concern is Pope. Ellen Rosand (1991, Ch.2) discusses the uses of the term genre in her book, but see fn.4 below. In terms of sources for this period, the body of evidence, both primary and secondary, is overwhelmingly literary. Primary source material on pastoral opera is either French or Italian. The oft-quoted Dryden (1685) has little to do with Italian pastoral opera in the years 1705-08. Since early eighteenth-century publications were literary, so this chapter will examine this material for clues about pastoral opera and its reception.

Ellen Harris offered her definition, 'shepherds and shepherdesses engaged in amorous pursuits against an idyllic backdrop', but with the qualification, 'these shepherds are generally aristocratic and not realistic' (p.1). Following the Harris lead, Timothy Neufeldt, in the abstract to his 2006 doctoral dissertation, added, that from 1695 to 1728, the 'pastoral is not really about shepherds at all, but is instead a commentary on "civilized" society'.[3] However, with the three Italianate pastorals, 1705–08 (Ch.3), try as one might to find social or political parallels, there are no allusions beyond generalised human foibles. Given the Italian origin of these pastorals, an English subtext was unlikely. The shepherds may be idealised, but they are not necessarily aristocratic.

[4/3] Literary historians of the pastoral have been more prolific than musicologists, no doubt due to greater emphasis on the verbal text, but the former tend to show little interest in pastoral opera, so that the interpretations of Italianate pastorals of 1705–08 go by default.[4] However, W.W. Greg (2006), has provided an indispensable work of reference for the evolution of the Italian pastoral, and J.E. Congleton, more specifically, for the early eighteenth–century context (1944).[5] The historical context to contemporary sources helps an understanding of the pastoral issue. Julian Hoppit in *A Land of Liberty, 1698–1727* (2000; pp.199–200) emphasised the 'reverence' for the ancient world and national inheritance by reviewing the reading material of 'gentlemen' and 'some gentlewomen' – works in original Latin and Greek texts, or translations by Dryden and Pope. The Grand Tour allowed the world of the Ancients to nurture English culture, and so an 'intense intellectual debate' took over in the 1690s, the 'Ancients' versus the 'Moderns'. This was the cultural context to the introduction of Italian opera in London, and it began with pastorals.

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[3] Harris (1980), see chapter epigraph; Neufeldt, fn.1. A generalisation on allegory, based on the legacy of Spenser, may be a misinterpretation when applied to Italian pastoral in London.

[4] Literary monographs: Greg (1906), Audra & Williams (1961), Congleton (1968), Poggioli (1975), Loughrey (1984; part 2), Alpers (1996), Gifford (1999; Ch.1). In musicology, Ellen Harris (1980) stands alone. Otherwise, books on opera have less interest in pastoral, and many ignore the genre completely. General books make occasional reference to pastoral: Kimbell (1991; p.47 ff.), Robinson (1972, *Opera before Mozart*, p.74), Tomlinson (1999; pp.24–5), Grout/Williams (2003; passim). Parker (1994, pp.50–1) refers to the origin of the Zeno libretto for the pastoral, *Gli inganni felici*, set by CF Pollarolo, 1695, in Venice. In her 684 pages of *Opera in Seventeenth–Century Venice* (1991), Ellen Rosand (*Opera in Seventeenth Century Venice*, 1991) is clear about opera as a genre since that is the theme of her book, but her only reference to the pastoral in 684 pages, is in the use of choruses (p.54). Other volumes on opera make no reference to the pastoral – Dent (1956/76), Kerman (1956/2005), Schmidgall (1977), Lindenberger (1984/2010), Kelly (2004), Abbate & Parker (2012); see [1/28].

[5] See fn.2.

Historical Context – Italian and English

[4/4] Historical context is often more helpful than definition. The three London Italian pastorals with the theme of frustrated or misplaced lovers, set in an arcadian landscape with nymphs and shepherds have their origin in the Renaissance. The major source is Battista Guarini, who in his *Compendium* (Venice, 1602) credited Agostino Beccari as the founder of the *favola pastorale* in Ferrara with *Il Sacrifizio* (1554):[6]

> Now the epithet of pastoral drama does not mean other than actions by the sort of men who are called shepherds. And since every dramatic action must be either comic or tragic or mixed, there is no doubt that the *Sacrificio* of Beccari is thrown into the form of a comedy, dealing with characters in a private station, causing laughter, and having a knot, a solution, and an end that are wholly comic. Yet he does not wish to call it comedy, but takes the generic rather than the specific name, and says *fable* [*favola*] rather than *comedy* … And then there is the adjective *pastoral* … and when one says *pastoral* … drama dealing with shepherds is understood.

Il Sacrifizio has three pairs of mismatched lovers, shepherds and nymphs – jealousy, betrayal, sacrifice, Diana worship, a boar, and a satyr, are the ingredients used to unravel the 'knot' and bring about a resolution.[7] Both *Sacrifizio* and Argenti's later *Sfortunato* (1567) became templates for *Aminta* and *Pastor Fido*, both of which ran throughout the seventeenth century in London, and into the eighteenth.[8] The Ferrara influence, therefore, may play a part in the pastorals that featured in the Queen's Theatre, 1705–08. These pastorals were

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[6] *Il Pastor Fido, tragicommedia ... con un compendio di poesia*, Guarini; Allan Gilbert (trans./ed.) *Literary Criticism: Plato to Dryden* (1961), *Compendium of Tragicomic Poetry*, p.532.

[7] One can see why Guarini so admired *Sacrificio* – it has similar ingredients to his own *Pastor Fido* (in circulation from 1585; printed 1590). The purpose of the *Compendium* (1601, extended in 1602), was to refute his critics, the most virulent of them being the professor of moral philosophy at Padua, Giasone di Nores. Critics attacked Guarini for departing from the categories of drama as laid down by Aristotle, tragedy or comedy. Guarini argued that the *favola pastorale* is a version of comedy, and that his *Pastor Fido*, anticipated by *Il Sacrificio* by 30 years and other plays since then, was merely following a newly established trend. Agostino Argenti's play, *Lo Sfortunato* (1567), followed the pattern set by Beccari. Tasso's *Amina* (1581) is a variant of the model. However, *Pastor Fido* gets the attention, no doubt partly due to the controversy surrounding it in early seventeenth-century Italy, but mainly due to the added complexity of the plot, which allowed it to triumph over predecessors, to enjoy continued publication throughout the seventeenth-century London, and to gain lasting fame with Handel in 1712, and even more so in 1734.

[8] In 1591 *Pastor Fido tragicomedia pastorale* was published in London with Tasso's *Aminta favola boschereccia*, both in the same volume, and in Italian, and so much in demand that a second edition appeared in the same year. Thereafter, translations of *Pastor Fido* appeared in London: 1602, 1633, 1647, 1648, 1664, 1676, 1677, 1689, 1692, 1694, 1712. For a more general account of *Pastor Fido* publications over 200 years, see Bibliography, Guarini, *Il Pastor Fido*, Fanshawe translation, ed. Staton & Simeone (1964), p.ix. See App.1, Illustration 19. *Aminta* appeared less frequently: 1628, 1650, 1660, 1698.

mainly concerned with the vicissitudes of wooing with all their complications, featuring shepherds, hunters, swains, and nymphs, with their loves, obstacles, rejections, dangers, infidelities, comic scenes, disguises, lusty satyrs, angry boars, and occasional magic, but happy resolutions, all in an arcadian landscape.[9]

[4/5] However, the Ferrara provenance is not the complete story. The title *Gli amori di Ergasto* appears at different times – 1701, 1705, and 1708. In 1711, it has the wrong title, is no longer a simple pastoral, has a different plot, and is a tragicomedy, the eponymous shepherd reduced to a minor character.[10] *The Temple of Love* has its origin in a Venetian tale, allegedly set by Giuseppe Saggione, 'Englished' by Motteux, not just in translation, but also with comic insertions. *Love's Triumph* emerged from the Roman Palazzo della Cancelleria, originally as *La Pastorella*, the product of three composers with a libretto by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, highly praised for his pastorals in Rome,[11] but a sentiment which carried little weight in London, and so adapted in various ways by Motteux, with Valentini, Leveridge, and Dieupart.[12] The description, 'Italian pastorals in London', therefore, needs some modification. Although it was commonplace for Italian opera to be adapted to circumstances, whatever the country or location of performance, in London, it would depend just how much was adapted, and to what extent it would appeal to the prevailing *zeitgeist*.

[4/6] Despite being sung in English, the three London pastoral operas were recognised as 'Italian' by observers in early eighteenth–century London.[13] The Italianate pastoral differed from English pastorals, an example of which is the Motteux-Eccles *Acis and Galatea*, billed as a masque in the 1701 libretto. Motteux adapts Ovid to suit his audience, giving the pastoral a happy ending with the marriage of the eponymous couple. There is an initial confrontation between Polyphemus and Acis, but the latter is saved by Galatea pretending to give him up and sending him packing. Polyphemus, believing himself the preferred suitor, agrees to request her hand in marriage from her elusive protean father, the water god, Nereus.

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[9] A very detailed account of the evolution of the pastoral is found in W.W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama,* London, 1906, although he has nothing on the three London Italian pastorals.

[10] In Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1480/1505), Ergasto is the poet's alter ego, a messenger in *Aminta* (Tasso, 1573), a companion in *Pastor Fido* (Guarini, 1590), and a rejected lover in *Sospiri d'Ergasto* (Marino, 1617). For 1701, see Walter Senn [1/5].

[11] Melania Bucciarelli (2000), p.1. Another source for *Love's Triumph* has been mooted, Gasparini's *Il Trionfo d'Amore*.

[12] See [3/14] ff.

[13] 'A Critical Discourse', the hypercritical essay appended to the translation of Raguenet's *Parallèle des italiens et des françois*, refers to the three Haymarket productions, unequivocally, as Italian pastorals.

Meanwhile, Acis, believing himself rejected, gets involved with a comic, bickering couple, the fickle Roger and the sceptical Joan (Corydon and Damon in Handel), having a premarital tiff on the steps of a church. Joan appears to develop a sudden crush on Acis, a more attractive proposition than her reluctant fiancé, and yet again, Acis finds himself in fisticuffs with a rival, and once more saved by the intervention of a woman. Roger wins his woman back by threatening to stab himself. In the final scene Galatea explains to Acis her subterfuge to be rid of Polyphemus, and the couple are reconciled – another love triangle resolved. The adaptation is a typical Motteux comic creation with parallels in his later contributions – *Love's Triumph* with misunderstandings, reconciliations, and fake suicide attempts with a dagger – another Roger (libretto, p.23), and Olindo (p.37). The conclusion of *The Temple of Love* features a comic scene with yet another Roger who has betrayed his woman. Unlike the Handel pastoral of 1718, Motteux's masque is a spoof of the original Ovid *Metamorphosis* (Bk. xiii).[14]

Pastorals – Tories (Ancients), Whigs (Moderns)

[4/7] A key source in the early eighteenth century for the pastoral in England is Ambrose Philips. The 'Preface' to his *Pastorals* in 1708, the year when the fate of the last of the three pastorals, *Love's Triumph*, was being weighed in the balance, suggests a starting point:

> *IT is ſtrange to think, in an Age ſo addicted to the* Muſes, *how* Paſtoral *Poetry comes to be never ſo much as thought upon; conſidering eſpecially, that it has always been accounted the moſt conſiderable of the ſmaller Poems.* Virgil *and* Spencer *made uſe of it as a Prelude to* Heroick Poetry. *But I fear the Innocency of the Subject makes it ſo little inviting at preſent.*

This view from the Preface applies primarily to poetry, but 'the Innocency of the Subject' suggests a wider attitude to pastorals generally, so that the pastoral-to-heroic model may be worth pursuing as another explanation for the apparent decline of the pastoral opera genre after 1708, in addition to causes argued in the previous chapter. Ambrose Philips was not a lonely voice. He dedicated his pastorals to the Earl of Dorset, a leading Whig patron,[15] and

[14] Ovid, himself, creates a milder Polyphemus than appears in the *Odyssey*, where the one-eyed monster, far from throwing rocks, simply devours his victims for breakfast.

[15] The 6th Earl of Dorset, Lord Chamberlain 1689-1697, and gifted poet, was admired by Pope whose witty poem *Artimesia* is also dedicated to Dorset, (Butt *Twickenham* collection, 1963, pp.13-14). Dorset died in 1706, to be succeeded by his eighteen-year-old son, who entered the House of Lords in 1708, the year of first

with the support of Addison, Steele, Tickell, Purney, and other prominent Whigs, his pastorals were published again the following two years. The Philips view became a Whig literary orthodoxy.[16]

[4/8] The pastoral, representing the idyllic experience of Arcadia with nymphs and shepherds, became increasingly more party political in source material and less allegorical.[17] The pastoral had grown in popularity in the late seventeenth century – partly because it was much cheaper to produce than the hugely expensive multi-media spectaculars, the Betterton-inspired semioperas, but also due to fashion and publicity. The Philips view of the pastoral resurrected a dispute at the core of pastoral reception in the early eighteenth century. Jacob Tonson, printer and bookseller, spotted an opportunity and published his *Poetical Miscellanies* in 1709, featuring pastorals by both Ambrose Philips and Alexander Pope, the poets being separated at either end of the bulky collection of 751 pages.[18] Whether Tonson intended this separation is not clear,[19] but the gap reflected a difference in political attitudes to classical pastorals – the Whig Ambrose Philips and the Tory Alexander Pope.[20] The Tories

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publication of the Philips *Pastorals*, but since Philips started to compose his Pastorals while still a student at Cambridge in the 1690s, the 6th earl was the dedicatee (Griffith, 'A Variorum Text of four Pastorals by Ambrose Philips', *Studies in English*, 1932, p.118). Dictionary biographies of the 6th Earl can vary – in ODNB (Harold Love) the focus is entirely on politics with no mention of poetry; in Pat Rogers, *The Alexander Pope Encyclopedia* (2004), the focus is reversed.

[16] Abigail Williams in *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Culture 1681-1714* (2009) argues that the Whigs used literature as propaganda for their progressive attitude to politics, and as a weapon against the Tories, but this study will argue that their attitude to the arrival of Italian opera was mixed, presumably because it was not clear how the genre of opera fitted the Whig ideology. The Exclusion Crisis (1679-81) created the Whig party based on Protestant succession, was reinforced by the 1688/9 settlement with Protestant William of Orange as monarch, and further by the 1701 Act of Settlement ensuring the Protestant Hanoverian succession after the passing of a childless Queen Anne. In contrast, Tories espoused heritage and tradition, and preferred a Stuart succession, opposing the Hanoverians who were somewhere between 52nd and 59th in line for the throne, their only unique qualification being Protestantism. However, Whigs were not a united force, and their ideology was split – radicals v. moderates, monarchical power v. parliamentary independence, country v. court, religious toleration v. exclusive Protestantism, narrow ideology v. national unity, quality literature over religious bias – Speck (1967, pp.8-9; 1998, pp.48-49); Hoppit (2000, Whigs, passim); Sharpe (*Rebranding Rule 1660-1714*, 2013; extensive coverage).

[17] For allegory, see Harris and Neufeldt, fn.1, parag.2, fn.2. These views will need closer inspection later in the chapter.

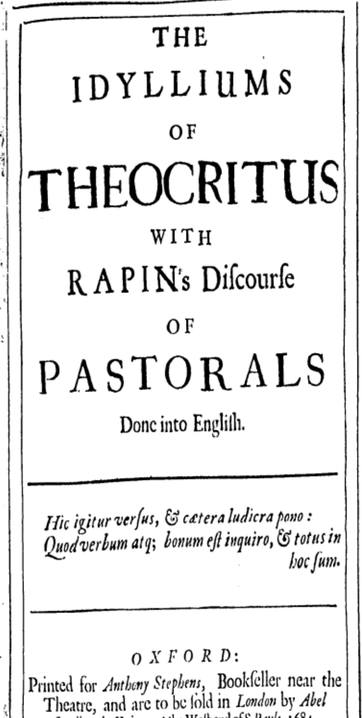
[18] Tonson, Jacob, *Poetical Miscellanies: The Sixth Part. Containing a Collection of Several Poems…* (London, 1709).

[19] One interpretation suggests that Tonson's intention was to frame the collection with two opposing views of the pastoral, imitating the singing contest that characterised the pastorals of Theocritus and Virgil; http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/.

[20] In Pope's case 'Tory' was a flexible term, largely dictated by his Catholic religion, which excluded him from the Whig persuasion. However, he was on good terms with moderate Whigs, Addison, and particularly Steele who valued his 'genius' as a poet, e.g., in *Messiah, A Sacred Eclogue*, which was printed by Steele in *The*

were influenced by Rapin (Figs.8/10) and the Whigs by Fontanelle (Fig.9) who got less exposure in a Bossu Treatise, but more in a translation by Motteux (Fig.11).

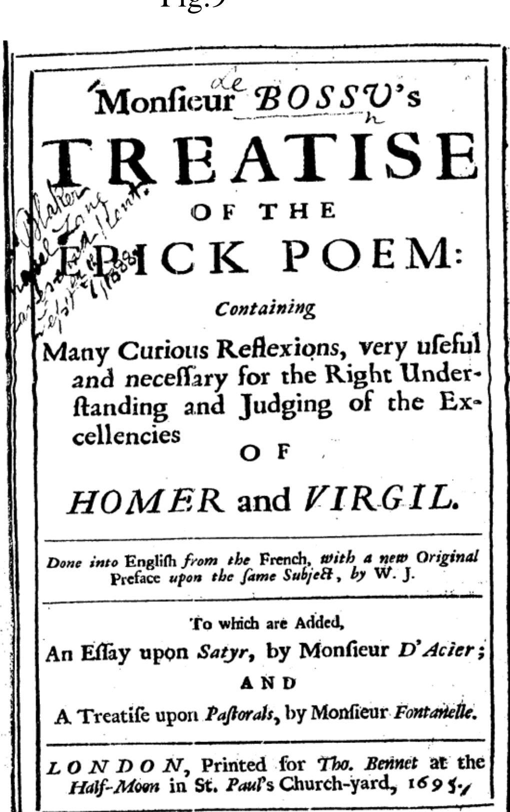
Fig.8


THE
IDYLLIUMS
OF
THEOCRITUS
WITH
RAPIN's Discourse
OF
PASTORALS
Done into English.

Hic igitur versus, & cætera ludicra pono: Quod verbum atq; bonum est inquiro, & totus in hoc sum.

OXFORD:
Printed for *Anthony Stephens*, Bookseller near the Theatre, and are to be sold in *London* by *Abel Swalle* at the Unicorn at the West end of *S. Pauls*, 1684.

Fig.9


Monsieur *BOSSU's*
TREATISE
OF THE
EPICK POEM:
Containing
Many Curious Reflexions, very useful and necessary for the Right Understanding and Judging of the Excellencies
OF
HOMER and *VIRGIL*.

Done into English *from the* French, *with a new* Original Preface *upon the same Subject*, *by* W. J.

To which are Added,
An Essay upon *Satyr*, by Monsieur *D'Acier*;
AND
A Treatise upon *Pastorals*, by Monsieur *Fontanelle*.

LONDON, Printed for *Tho. Bennet* at the *Half-Moon* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, 1695.

Spectator (14 May 1712). Pope's penchant for mocking aspects of Catholicism, e.g., 'Popish Superstition', made him attractive company for many Whigs – see Audra & Williams (1961), p.100.

Fig.10

(1)

A

TREATISE

de CARMINE PASTORALI

Written by RAPIN.

The First Part.

TO be as short as possible in my discourse upon the present Subject, I shall not touch upon the Excellency of *Poetry* in general; nor repeat those high *Encomiums*, (as that tis the most divine of all human Arts, and the like) which *Plato* in his *Jone*, *Aristotele* in his *Poetica*, and other Learned men have copiously insisted on: And this I do that I might more closely and briefly pursue my present design, which, no doubt, will not please every man; for since I treat of that part of *Poetry*, which (to use *Quintilian's* words) by reason of its Clownishness, is affraid of the Court and City; some may imagine that I follow *Nichocaris* his humor, who would paint only the most ugly and deform'd, and those too in the meanest and most frightful dress, that real, or fancy'd Poverty could put them in.

(a) For

Fig.11

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OF

PASTORALS.

By Monsieur *De FONTENELLE*,

Englished by Mr. *MOTTEUX*.

OF all kinds of Poetry the Pastoral is probably the most Ancient, as the keeping of Flocks was one of the first Employments which Men took up. 'Tis very likely that these primitive Shepherds, amidst the Tranquility and Leisure which they enjoy'd, bethought themselves of singing their Pleasures and their Loves; and then their Flocks, the Woods, the Springs, and all those Objects that were most familiar to them naturally came into the Subject of their Songs. They liv'd in great plenty after their way, without any controul by Superiour Power, being in a manner the Kings of their own Flocks; and I do not doubt but that a certain Joy and Openness of Heart that generally attends Plenty and Liberty induc'd them to sing, and to make Verses.

Society in time was brought to perfection, or rather declin'd and was perverted; and Men took up Employments that seem'd to them of greater consequence; more weighty affairs fill'd their Minds, Towns and Cities were built every where, and mighty States at last were founded and establisht. Then those who liv'd in the Country became Slaves to those who dwelt in Cities, and the Pastoral Life being grown the Lot of the most wretched sort of People, no longer inspir'd any delightful Thought.

To please others in ingenious Composures, Men ought to be in a condition to free themselves from pressing want; and their Minds ought to be refin'd through a long use of Civil Society: Now a Pastoral Life has always wanted one of these two Circumstances: The primitive Shepherds, of whom we have spoken, liv'd indeed in plenty enough, but in their Times the World had not yet had leisure to grow polite. The following Ages might have produc'd something more refin'd, but the Shepherds of those Days were too poor and dejected: So that the Country-way of living, and the Poetry of Shepherds must needs have been always very homely and artless.

T 3 And

Tickell and Whigs versus and Pope and Tories

[4/9] A decisive outcome for this dispute can be found in the pages of *The Guardian* in April 1713, a retrospective of the controversies in essay format that may explain attitudes to Italian pastorals in early eighteenth–century London.[21] The five pastoral essays by Thomas Tickell attempted to synthesise the debate that had been ongoing since the appearance of Tonson's *Poetical Miscellanies* in 1709. We learn from Fig.12 (below) that there is very little of the English-Spenserian pastoral in the five essays. Only one Philips reference is particularly English, and the rest, derived from Italian and French sources. The final tale is set in Arcadia, which during the telling, Fontenelle and Theocritus are dropped as models by the rationalist

[21] *The Guardian* was a short-lived, but significant, journal, which ran from 12 March to 1 October 1713, appearing Mondays to Saturdays. Founded by Steele, contributors included latterly, Addison, but from the beginning, Pope, Tickell, Philips, Berkeley, Budgell, Gay, Parnell, Birch, Hughes, Beveridge, Wotton, Bartlett – in other words, a wide range of political and intellectual talent. However, unlike the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, which had cryptic indicators of authorship, *The Guardian* gave no clues.

Whigs. *The Guardian* articles suggest the Spenserian models, so revered by Philips, were being quietly removed and that Arcadia was being reinstated giving Italianate pastorals a breathing space. Pastorals would return, 1712–19.

[4/10] Since the publication of Tonson's *Poetical Miscellanies* in 1709, the *Tatler* (1709–10) and *Spectator* (1711–12), by 1713 *The Guardian* represented the pastoral view of the literary establishment. Steele had intended *The Guardian* to be politically neutral when founded in March 1713, but with the prospect of a general election later in the year, it became increasingly partisan, and gave added emphasis to the Whig view, which tended to dominate by April. However, as shown in the table below (Fig.12), this Whig view of the pastoral was not consistent.

[4/11] From 1710 there was a concerted attempt by Swift, Gay, and Pope to mock the mixed rationalist views of the Whigs, with Swift suggesting a pastoral set in Newgate with whores and thieves,[22] and Gay, burlesquing Whig views in his 1714 *Pastorals* with pseudo-Spenserian language, and deriding the Whig model – Theocritus, who 'maketh his Louts give foul language, and behold their Goats at rut in all Simplicity'.[23] However, it was Pope who delivered the *coup de grâce*. Following Swift and Gay, and with the ambiguous Whig view in mind, his essay in *Guardian 40*, April 27, threw the journal's view into disarray.[24] Pope's immediate motive was the earlier excessive attention given to the Philips pastorals at the expense of his own,[25] and so his essay reflects his irritation. *Guardian 40* is in some respects a continuation of *A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry*, which Pope claimed to have written with his Pastorals in 1704 when he was sixteen years old, although not published until 1717. Some scholars have queried Pope's claim, but there is some evidence from Wycherley, Granville, and Tonson that such a document did exist.[26] The *Discourse*, therefore, partly in the public domain, sets the argument for *The Guardian* article.

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[22] Congleton (1968), p.84. Swift had already satirised the debate in *A Tale of a Tub* (1704).

[23] Gay, *The Shepherd's Week in Six Pastorals* (1714), Introduction, 'to the courteous Reader'.

[24] Steele was keen to have Pope as a contributor to the journal, but Stephens raises the question as to why Steele would allow the Whig position to be so damaged, positing the view that Steele was too busy to read Pope's submission in advance (p.640). The answer may be different to those suggested – controversy is good for sales. There is no reference to Pope's essay in Steele's letters, so it does not seem to have been a big issue, or perhaps he wanted to forget about it – the only damage done seems to have been to Philips's reputation.

[25] See also Williams (2005), pp.151-2, for more reasons of Pope's grievances.

[26] Audra & Williams (ed.), *Pastoral Poetry and an Essay on Criticism* (1961), pp.13-14

Fig.12 (Stephens, ed., pp.105–137, pp.625–637, endnotes – adapted)

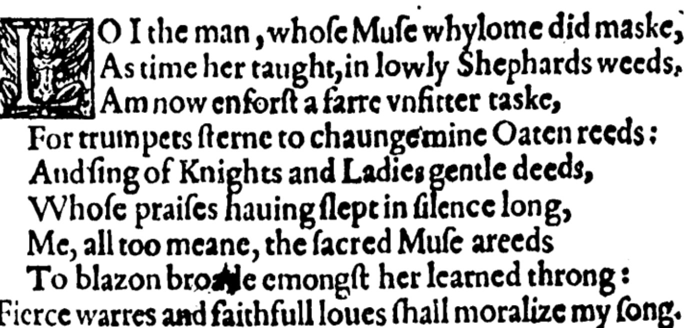
	Thomas Tickell essays on pastoral poetry – a Whig interpretation
22: Mon 6 April 1713	After delivering an imagined view of pastoral, a fairyland with singing birds, bleating flocks, purling streams, cooing turtle doves, Tickell decides it is time for rules (i.e. Whig rules), and introduces these with 'a short review' of the origins of pastoral, concluding with qualities of ease, tranquillity, simplicity, innocence, simplicity (much the same as Rapin). It is important to emphasise what is 'delightful', and hide what is 'wretched'. However, a little anxiety and misfortune is allowed. This is justified in real life: 1. Mankind loves ease which brings happiness. 2. Our love of innocence, simplicity, and goodness in others. 3. Health and a love of the country air.
23: Tues.7 April	The character of the shepherd, rude, uncultivated, but with wit and good sense, not dull, stupid, nor too gallant or refined. Examples of ideal pastorals follow, Cowley (1668), Virgil (trans, Dryden, 1698), and 3 examples from Philips [but none typically English, no hint of Spenser, although Sidney is mentioned by name].
28: Mon.13 April	Theocritus and Virgil compared with the former preferred, due to his use of the 'Dorick' dialect, which suits the Whig view of the shepherd, and so the English swain with pseudo-Chaucerian dialect. The Italians are condemned, 'too full of conceits, and far-fetched imaginations', not possible for simple shepherds. Tasso's *Aminta*, and Guarini's *Pastor Fido* are dismissed - too polished. Sannazaro is rejected for piscatorial settings. The French are excluded due to excessive gallantry and fancy dress.
30: Wed.15 April	The ideal English pastoral is considered, and the predictable interchange between shepherds satirised. English landscapes, flora, fauna, birds, are encouraged and illustrated in Philips's Forth Pastoral. Pope is reluctantly quoted, although his elves are not particularly English. Two remaining quotations see Philips using dialect for its rustic quality, 'Whilome did I..', and revelling in English countryside. Spenser and Philips are the models.
32: Fri.17 April	Tickell imagines a scene in the style of a fairy tale, 'In ancient times there dwelt in a pleasant vale in Arcadia' the wealthy Menalcas who adhered to the 'Rules of Pastoral Life', and who invited suitors for his daughter's hand in marriage. Amaryllis is a 'Virgin of the most enchanting Beauty', and 'bashful to the last Degree'. The trial is on a shepherd's pipe, and the contest in a 'flowery meadow'. The first contestant is too lavishly dressed and plays 'too many Graces and Quavers' [it mocks the French, and Fontenelle, surprisingly, is identified]. Next comes one dressed in 'rough Goat-skins' – he snatched the pipe in an uncouth manner and played 'harsh and jarring notes', so he too, is rejected [this apparently is Theocritus!]. The third appeared awkwardly dressed, and his playing was so complex, listeners were confounded [Tasso apparently, or any Italian]. The forth contender, Amintas, dressed and played beautifully, and the maid 'sighed for both'. He was embraced by Menalcas, but the show was not over – a late entry, dressed in blue, 'crown'd with Sedges and Rushes', carrying an 'Angling-Rod in his Hand, a Pannier upon his back ..', his clothes wet, and carrying oysters – enough – the shepherds hoisted him up and threw him into the river, an 'Enemy to Arcadia' [Sannazaro].

[4/12] In the *Discourse* Pope reviewed the history of pastoral criticism and argued that on basics there is little disagreement about the nature of pastoral, and that the dispute between Rapin and Fontenelle had been exaggerated. Both French scholars agree about the origins in the Golden Age, the concerns and songs of shepherds, that simplicity and delicacy are paramount and that the best in the shepherd's life should take precedence over the miseries – the ideal over the reality, the prescriptive over the descriptive. Pope elaborates this template – beautiful diction, heroic couplets, the charm of dialect, brevity, limited rustic, and above all, no 'reapers and fishermen', a fault in Theocritus. Pope's preference for Virgil over

Theocritus is the point where he parts company with the Whigs, who used Theocritus to justify Spenser's use of antiquated language. Pope demolishes this view by pointing out that Theocritus used the Doric dialect, which was spoken at the time, in contrast to Spenser's dialect which was 'entirely obsolete', if it ever existed at all in late Elizabethan England. For Pope, Virgil is superior to Theocritus in terms of beautiful diction, 'regularity and brevity'. The 'moderns' like Spenser and Tasso are placed on a pedestal only to be knocked down. Spenser's *Eclogues* are too long, too allegorical, and too full of religious preaching. Tasso has drifted from the Ancients into 'Pastoral Comedy'. In the Preface to his *Pastorals*, Pope argues that the Ancients are the model, and by implication, not Spenser. The Ancients have stood the test of time, but there is no guarantee that the Spenserian pastorals in the early eighteenth century would outlive that generation.[27]

Influences in English Pastoral Drama

[4/13] If Rapin's negative attitude to music in pastorals allowed the Whigs potential pastoral support, it was soon ousted by ideology. The emphasis on pastorals with idyllic English landscapes was subverted by a Whig preoccupation with Spenser's ideological *Shepheardes Calender*. The apparent abandonment of the pastoral in the *Faerie Queene* in the shift from pastoral to epic, is the inspiration for the Ambrose Philips Preface, quoted at the beginning of this chapter [4/7]:


LO I the man, whoſe Muſe whylome did maske,
As time her taught, in lowly Shephards weeds,
Am now enforſt a farre vnfitter taske,
For trumpets ſterne to chaunge mine Oaten reeds:
And ſing of Knights and Ladies gentle deeds,
Whoſe praiſes hauing ſlept in ſilence long,
Me, all too meane, the ſacred Muſe areeds
To blazon broade emongſt her learned throng:
Fierce warres and faithfull loues ſhall moralize my ſong.

Thus, begins *The First Booke of The Faerie Queene*,[28] and 'The Legend of the Knight of the Red Crosse', dismissing the pastoral, and espousing the heroic. This is a work venerated by

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[27] Audra & Williams (ed.), 1961, pp.1-55. For a detailed account of the deep reverence of the past, the ancient world, and national history at this period in history, see Hoppit (2000), pp.199-202, in which Ancients and Moderns have a balanced exposition.

[28] *The Faerie Queene* (London, 1590),

the early eighteenth–century Whigs; with the addition to Spenser's title, '*Disposed into twelve books, Fashioning* XII. Morall vertues', the virtuous English pastoral poem was superseded by the literary epic.[29] The view that virtue was not exclusive to pastoral, but could feature in the heroic, is an indicator in the progress towards Italian opera. Spenser's trumpets, knights, war, and virtue, will be considered later in Handel's *Rinaldo* (1711).

[4/14] A disadvantage of the English Elizabethan pastoral was that it was primarily literary, transferring with difficulty to music. Pastoral drama emerged in Renaissance Italy, culminating with *Aminta* and *Pastor Fido*. Its influence fed into England with John Lyly, Sir Philip Sidney, Shakespeare, John Fletcher, Ben Jonson. By the 1690s English pastoral drama was flourishing in London with a combination of English satire, burlesque, or mock-pastoral, and with little sign of Spenser who was becoming more of an ideal rather than a source of imitation. These pastorals included *The Lover's Luck* (1695), *Cinthia and Endimion* (1696), *The World in the Moon* (1697), the sort of stage works that Collier attacked in 1698 as immoral and profane. This initiated a new moral trend, reflected in *Rinaldo and Armida* (1698), *The Virgin Prophetess* (1701),[30] *The Fickle Shepherdess* (1703), and *The British Enchanters* (1706).[31]

The British Enchanters (1706)

[4/15] With this new-found appetite for the English pastoral the stage was set for opportunity. *The British Enchanters, or, No Magick Like Love* (Granville, Isaac, Eccles, Corbett) has been variously labelled, 'a magical pastoral' (Neufeldt), 'a musical play' (Cruickshanks), 'a tragicomedy' (Price), a 'Tragedy' (1706 *libretto*), 'A Dramatick Poem' (1732 *libretto*), and although it has aspects of all of these, it is basically in the tradition of the Betterton semioperatic extravaganza.[32] Stoddart Lincoln in *Grove* claimed that this

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[29] This is not to suggest that pastoral and epic cannot be combined into pastoral epic, e.g., Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667). To make matters more confusing, *The Faerie Queene* is sometimes referred to as a pastoral epic.
[30] Although essentially about Cassandra's prediction of the fall of Troy, the rejection by Paris of his first love in a pastoral setting for the promise of fame and heroism with Helen, could be read as the folly of deserting a pastoral happiness.
[31] Eric Walter White, *A Register of First Performances of English Operas and Semi-Operas* (1983), pp.14-18. Neufeldt, 'Music, Magic, Morality: Stage Reform and the Pastoral Mode', Ch.7 in Lowerre (2014). However, in the following chapter, Amanda Eubanks Winkler has reservations about the dedication in *The Fickle Shepherdess*, a play with an all-female cast, which claimed to be 'wholly free from Vice, or any Expression that might shake either Piety of Modesty', but Winkler argues a case for 'musical eroticism' – so, thin on virtue. Perhaps this ambivalence, prompted Philips to bring back Spenser as a model.
[32] Neufeldt in Lowerre (2014) p.144; Cruickshanks ODNB under 'Granville'; Price, 'English Traditions in Handel's Rinaldo', *Handel Tercentenary Collection* (1987), p.122.

semiopera was 'successfully given at the Haymarket in 1706 to counteract Italian opera'.[33] This study has a modified interpretation – Betterton with *The British Enchanters* and Vanbrugh with Italianate pastorals were colleagues, and occasional friendly rivals at the Queen's Theatre – the real problem was Christopher Rich at Drury Lane, attempting to sabotage the Queen's Theatre productions in order to close down opposition [3/24–25].[34] Otherwise, it was entirely possible for English and Italian opera to prosper side by side, the criterion for success being audience reception.

[4/16] *The British Enchanters* (1706) opens in a pastoral grove, but there the pastoral seems to end. A clap of thunder, a temple crashing to the ground to the accompaniment of Purcell's 'Sound the Trumpet', a panicking chorus, a flourish of drums and some real trumpets, and any notion of pastoral vanishes. The plot concerns an arranged marriage which the heroine Oriana resists, being in love with the hero Amadis, but in a forest, she is kidnapped by the evil enchanters, Arcaläus and his sister Arcabon. Amadis, similarly falls into a trap in the forest – the shepherds and shepherdesses are merely demons in disguise. The lovers are threatened with death, but are eventually rescued by the good enchantress, Urganda. The semiopera concludes with full choruses of rejoicing – 'dances of heroes and heroines'.[35] This is more like a rescue opera than a pastoral, but also with features of tragicomedy (Price, 1987, p.122). It may have persuaded Joseph Addison to produce a libretto for *Rosamond*

[33] Grove Music Online does not have an entry for *The British Enchanters*; information is spread over several entries, this one under 'John Eccles'. The author, Stoddart Lincoln, may have been persuaded by Thomas Tickell's later introduction to the opera libretto: 'The opera first Italian masters taught, / Enriched with songs, but innocent of thought. / Britannia's learned theatre disdains / Melodious trifles, and enervate strains;' but references to Corelli, Dido, 'flowery groves', and 'everlasting greens, suggest, not only pastoral, but Italian influence as well (*Addison Works*, vol.1, ed. Hurd, p.55-6).

[34] Grove and ODNB ignore this period in Betterton's life, but Judith Milhous confirms his influence (*Betterton*, 1979, p.193).

[35] George Granville (1666-1735), from age 11, studied at Trinity, Cambridge, and at academies in Paris (1682-87), where the dates suggest he became familiar with Quinault's *Amadis* (1684), which is similar in structure, characters and plot to *The British Enchanters*. Curtis Price calls it 'juvenilia' in 'English Traditions' (1987, p.121), and notes the Quinault influence. In 'Political allegory'(*Music & Theatre*, Fortune, (1987), Price investigates the Marlborough allusion in greater detail, but has second thoughts (p.25). Amanda Winkler ('Musical Politics', 2015) goes further, drawing parallels, and seeing the shift from a French political opera to an English one (without anglicised names – e.g., Amadis remains Amadis), emphasising British jingoism with cries of liberty and flag waving (p.192), but see my [1/31-32]. When Granville showed the work to Betterton (1703-4), the impresario saw its potential for a semiopera, but production was delayed with the transfer of the company from Lincoln's Inn Fields to Haymarket.

(1707), which has stronger elements of pastoral, but a much stronger drive for British nationalism.[36]

Addison and Opera – *Rosamond* (1707)

[4/17] Addison's influence on the arrival of Italian opera in London is complex and ambiguous, but of enormous importance. Committed to Whig ideology, Addison used literature to promote the cause of 'liberty', Whig nationalism and the Hanoverian succession. In different literary ways he was involved in the years of the evolution of Italian opera: the poem celebrating the Blenheim victory, *The Campaign*, 1704; *Rosamond*, 1705-07; *The Muses Mercury*, 1707–8; *The Tatler*, 1709–11; and *The Spectator* in 1711–12.[37] Whether Italian opera could be used in the Whig cause was not clear, but Addison seems to have thought it could be adapted in some way to enhance English culture.

[4/18] From 1705–1711, Addison's attitude to Italian opera shifted in a curious way. In the early years, he thoroughly supported the Philips pastoral model, but chose to dispense with it in his libretto for *Rosamond* – Spenserian characters like Cuddy or Colin Clout, are absent, no doubt restricted by historical events, although the comic characters are his own inventions, Sir Trusty and [Lady] Grideline. The eponymous mistress of the king, Henry II, is given a pastoral setting, presumably to emphasise her simplicity and innocence, but also because the royal park at Woodstock and its mythical labyrinth had strong pastoral connotations.[38]

[4/19] A busy overture may be intended to reflect the rustle of trees in the wind, a rippling brook, or the queen's agitation (Ex.10). The 'B' section of the overture with its repeatedly

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[36] See [1/32]. Addison took a special interest in Granville's opera. He wrote the Epilogue (Danchin, p.312), in which he compares the author with Orpheus, having created "an Opera is the old sense of the word", i.e., semiopera. Devotees of political allegory see Amadis as Marlborough (Hume, 1998, p.38; Price, 'Political Allegory', 1987, p.25), [1/32].

[37] (See fn.14) Williams provides an exposition of the Whig drive toward the legitimacy of change, as opposed to the Tory position of tradition and continuity. In order to legitimate events of 1688-89, and their consequences, literary products became the core of the Whig propaganda machine, so that the arrival of William of Orange was interpreted as restoring 'the nation's liberties', in spite of William's primary aim being to use the resources of England to support his alliance against France, impossible with James II, who relied on subsidies from Louis XIV (Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture, 1681-1714*), Ch.3, especially, pp.93-4. Williams has only one page referring to opera, but in the context of liberty and propaganda (p.232).

[38] As early at 1633, Thomas May refers to the pastoral aspects of the drama – *The reigne of King Henry the Second written in seaven books* (Brean Hammond, 'Joseph Addison's Opera Rosamond : Britishness in the Early Eighteenth-Century' (2006).

alternating dynamics, is probably intended to suggest nervous anticipation, reflected in Queen Eleanor's approach to the pastoral labyrinth where Rosamond is concealed (Ex.11):

ACT I. SCENE I.

A Proſpect of Woodſtock-Park, *terminating in the Bower.*

Enter Queen *and* Page.

Queen. WHAT Place is here!
What Scenes appear!
Where-e'er I turn my Eyes,
All around
Enchanted Ground
And ſoft *Elyſiums* riſe:
Flow'ry Mountains,
Moſſie Fountains,
Shady Woods,
Chryſtal Floods

The inclusion of a king might rule out the pastoral genre,[39] but substitute him for a quasi-Montana high priest, the queen for a jealous shepherdess, and other characters for nymphs and swains, and the pastoral is thinly veiled.

[4/20] More Italian pastoral influence follows as the Queen continues with an aria, still in the pastoral key of D major (Ex.12). After four bars of dominant pedal ripple, the aria attempts to emulate echo effects, first, on 'hill' where the semiquaver motif is distorted by the bass imitation on 'Tost' (b.19–11, 12–13), and second, where another semiquaver motif is echoed in different registers (b.14–17). The use of 'Eccho', from Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, Book III) through its various guises in Cavalli's *La Calisto* (1651), Motteux's *Acis and Galatea* (1701), and *The Temple of Love* (1706) with the themes of equivocation, desire, jealousy, frustration, or comic effect, are in the Italian pastoral tradition:[40]

[39] Winton Dean in *Handel and the Opera Seria* (1970), is confident that heroic or dynastic opera is about monarchs, and 'no representative of the common people appears' (p.54). This could well fit this opera, except for in inconvenience of Rosamond herself. However, 'non-pastoral' is hardly a genre either, given the pastoral aspects described here. Equally unsatisfactory is the term 'pastoral oasis', or 'bucolic episode', a suspension of the heroic or epic plot, and situated in an 'obscure and faraway place', not central to the action or mood of the drama – used by Renato Poggioli in *The Oaten Flute* (1975) p.9. For this chapter the use of pastoral elements in what appears to be another genre will have to suffice as transition material. A more detailed focus on the heroic or tragicomedy will appear in Chapter 6.

[40] See Guarini, parag.4 above.

As o'er the hollow Vaults we walk,
A hundred Eccho's round us talk:
From Hill to Hill our Words are tost,
Rocks rebounding,
Caves resounding,
Not a single Voice is lost. Alluding to the famous Eccho.
Page. There gentle *Rosamond* immur'd
Lives from the World and you secur'd.
Queen. Curse on the Name! I faint, I die,
With secret Pangs of Jealousie.------ [*Aside.*

Other pastoral connections abound. It is not too fanciful to suggest that Sir Trusty plays the role of the satyr. His wife refers to him as a 'Faithless Varlet' and a 'Monster' (libretto p.5); he sees himself as a 'Pimp to the mighty King Harry' (p.8). In *Rosamond* Addison follows the Italian model of six main characters compared with the practice in English semiopera of having a stage packed with dramatis personae.[41]

[4/21] Why Addison in the Epilogue to *The British Enchanters*, praised this semiopera for its English traditions with spoken dialogue,[42] and then attempted a libretto for an English all-sung Italianate opera is a puzzle. Why he chose Thomas Clayton as the composer is an even greater one.[43] At Oxford, Addison had been on friendly terms with Daniel Purcell, but perhaps the early success of Clayton's *Arsinoe* was the greater attraction. Brean Hammond h as three 'strands of argument':[44]

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[41] *The British Enchanters* (11 characters, plus chorus of officers, guards, Romans, ladies, attendants, knights, singers, dancers; *Wonders in the Sun* (24 characters), *King Arthur* (packed with singers and choruses), and, albeit a masque, John Crowne's *Calisto* with a cast of 90 – for this lesser known dramatist, see James Winn 'Praise the Patroness of Arts' (Ch.1 in *Queen Anne and the Arts*, ed. Reverand, 2015).

[42] Amanda Eubanks Winkler, 'Musical Politics in George Granville's The British Enchanters' (*Queen Anne and the Arts*, ed. Reverand II, 2015), uses different editions of the text (1706 semiopera, and as a play in 1707, 1710, 1732) to describing it as a 'broadly political work' (p.187). It is entirely possible to interpret returning heroes like Amadis or Rinaldo as referring to Marlborough, but these are ambiguous heroes – Amadis has to be rescued by the real hero of the piece, the good enchantress, Urganda, and Rinaldo similarly, by magic and his fellow soldiers. In addition, accusations of infidelity in Amadis would have had a poor reflection on Marlborough. In retrospect, allegory is not difficult to find, but evidence of audience reaction at the time relies on Addison and Prior, advocates of Whig propaganda. Lack of neutral evidence does not prevent scholarly speculation. As a caveat, Robert Hume in 'The politics of opera in late seventeenth-century opera' (1998) refers to scholarly 'reader application' (p.29), that is, an interpretation imposed after the event, despite Granville ruling out political reference in his Collected Works.

[43] Burney's assessment was that Addison suffered from a 'want of taste and intelligence in Music', the choice of Clayton represented a defect in the ear, *General History*, 1789, vol.4, p.203. It is difficult to find even the most basic assessment of music in opera anywhere in the Addison oeuvre.

[44] 'Joseph Addison's Opera *Rosamond*: Britishness in the Early Eighteenth-Century' (*English Literary History*, 2006).

1. Creation of a native English opera in competition with the Italian brand.
2. An attempt to save the ruins of Woodstock which the Duchess was keen to remove.
3. Reasons for alterations of the plot, perpetuating the myth of a great and virtuous English king.

Persuasive as these arguments are, Addison's attitude to Italian opera may well stem from his grand tour of Europe (1699–1704), during which he attended a number of Italian operas.

[4/22] In his journal, he recorded that in Florence 'he had the good luck' to attend an opera, his eighth in Italy.[45] However, he tells us nothing about it except that in the libretto preface, the poet assures the reader that he does not believe in the deities displayed in the drama and that he is loyal to 'the Holy Mother Church'.[46] Of the eight operas, there is little discussion except in Venice where an unnamed opera concerns the rivalry of Caesar and Scipio for Cato's daughter. He quotes excerpts from the libretto in Italian, but what irritates him is, at the point of Cato's death the anachronistic presence on stage of works by Plutarch and Tasso, painted on the backdrop of library shelves.[47] His real interest is classical antiquities, where the detail is unrestrained. In Spoleto, topographical minutiae absorb him. Fragments of a statue or stony rubble with an inscription, excites his imagination. His journal was more focused on architecture, sculpture, and art, rather than opera. Even in the simplistic terms of Downes (1705), *The Muses Mercury* (1707), and 'A Critical Discourse' (1709), Addison is incapable of commenting on the music. This handicap may well explain his choice of Clayton as the composer, and the ensuing failure of the opera despite his 'distinguished' libretto.

[4/23] However, notwithstanding his ambivalent attitude to Italian opera, the Italian experience seems to have given Addison a clear view of what was needed in London. His writings may suggest he attended Italian opera merely to disparage it by comparison with English opera, but if the objective was to rival Italianate opera, an improved libretto was an ideal start. Addison's biographer was convinced that Addison thought Italian librettos trivial,

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[45] 'Remarks on several Parts of Italy', *Addison Works*, vol.1, ed. Hurd; Venice carnival, p.391-393; Florence, p.495.

[46] Without providing the title of the opera, let alone the content, he moves on briskly to palaces, pillars, and rustic works, which he finds much more interesting (pp.495-509).

[47] Addison does not provide a title, but the answer is to be found in Eleanor Selfridge-Field (*The Calendar of Venetian Opera*, 2007), *Catone uticense*, (text, Matteo Norris; music, Carlo Francesco Pollarolo), 13 Jan. 1701, San Giovanni Grisostomo (pp.248-9).

and that London needed a national opera based on a quality libretto, one that was 'essentially English', and fully comprehensible to the audience.[48] Although Addison abhorred the castrati singing heroic roles, thought Italian poetry 'low and vulgar', and their comedies 'lewd', he was attracted to the intonation and rhythm of the language, 'the celebrated smoothness of their tongue' (p.393), so perhaps this reluctant admiration spilled over into the libretto of *Rosamond*.[49]

[4/24] Addison chose myth over history, but then distorted the myth for Whig purposes. Historically, in 1173, Queen Eleanor and sons had rebelled against King Henry II. When the Queen was caught fleeing to Paris in an alliance with King Louis of France, Henry had her imprisoned, precisely at the time when she allegedly murdered Rosamond. Virgil Heltzel provides a continued distortion of events:[50]

> "Fair Rosamond" because of her exceeding beauty, became mistress of the Henry II of England, by whom she had two sons. To protect her from the increasing jealousy of his consort, Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine, King Henry secluded her [Rosamond] in a palace which he had caused to be built at or near Woodstock – a bower surrounded by an intricate labyrinth or maze to which he alone (and sometimes a keeper) had the clue. Taking advantage of Henry's absence from England, the Queen by one means or another threaded the maze, and, confronting Rosamond, compelled her to choose between a dagger and a bowl of poison in expiation of her sin. Rosamond chose to drink the poison, and her body was interred in Godstow Nunnery. For her act of treachery Queen Eleanor was imprisoned by the king for the remainder of his reign.

Heltzel's account shows that despite the history, the myth is more satisfying. Addison's political variant undermines the drama by reducing it to a piece of Whig propaganda.

[4/25] The complications of the plot grew with the myth of murder, stemming from the early seventeenth century with Robert Fabyan's *The Chronicle of Fabyan* (1504) in which Eleanor 'delte with her [Rosamond] in suche manner, that she lyved not longe after'. In 1601, John Stow, in *The annales of England*, added to the myth by having Eleanor poison Rosamond. By 1611 the myth grew with John Speed's *The Historie of Great Britaine* in

[48] Peter Smithers, *The Life of Joseph Addison* (1954), pp.112-13. See also *Spectator 18*.

[49] One wonders if Addison's relentless rhymed iambic tetrameters were suited to the recitative sections, which ideally should emulate the rhythms of everyday speech and dialogue.

[50] Virgil B. Heltzel, *Fair Rosamond – A Study of the Development of a Literary Theme* (1947, Wisconsin, USA).

which the jealous queen discovered a route through the labyrinth devised by the king to protect Rosamond, and took her revenge. Speed concluded with an epitaph on Rosamond's invented tomb:[51]

> This Tombe doth here enclose the Worlds most beauteous Rose,
> Rose, passing sweet ere while, Now nought but odour vile.

Addison, however, in the tradition of Italian *lieto fine*,[52] substitutes the poison for a sleeping potion, perhaps influenced by Lavinia's choice in *Camilla* (1706), but with a different outcome. The result in *Rosamond* is best described by Luis Gámez in 1995:

> The action centres upon Henry II's affair with his lovely mistress Rosamond Clifford, whom he keeps at Wood-stock Park in Oxfordshire, in a bowery maze of Daedalian intricacy. The jealous queen Eleonora seeks out Rosamond and, offering to murder the young beauty, presents her with a dagger and a poisoned cup. Rosamond drinks from the cup and presumably dies, though actually only drugged; she is carried off to a neighbouring convent where she will live her days atoning for her and Henry's sins. King and Queen are reconciled, and all ends well. Some light-hearted action is provided by Rosamond's guardian Sir Trusty and his marital squabbles with wife Grideline, squabbles which mirror the king and queen's.

Luckily, Rosamond chose the 'poison' – had she taken the dagger presented by the queen, the outcome would have been entirely different. The twist in the dramatic tale of the 'poison' being a sleeping potion, raises the question – did the Queen know that the poison was a sleeping potion? The thrust of the drama suggests that the Queen genuinely wanted Rosamond to commit suicide to absolve herself of murder. Four times she offers Rosamond the dagger (libretto, pp.21–24), but it is Rosamond who seizes the 'fatal bowl'. Had the Queen known about the sleeping potion, her pangs of conscience, 'My Bosom heaves, and pants with Fear', and 'a thousand Terrors shake my Soul', before the deed (p.19) make no sense. Addison's dictum that opera should not strain credulity, collapses in the denouement

[51] Quotes taken from Hammond (2006), p.610, evidence to show that Addison was walking a political tightrope.
[52] The happy-ending tradition was, of course, not exclusive to Italian opera – it was a feature of semiopera, and adaption of Shakespearian tragedy into tragicomedy – Nahum Tate's version of King Lear is a notable example.

of the drama. This flaw must have been spotted by the audience at the time, but has been missed by leading scholars Hammond and Gámez.[53]

[4/26] Addison's conviction that a quality libretto was the secret of success in opera came undone with the plot. His attempt to adapt the various Rosamond myths, and to blend these with victories of Henry II and Marlborough over the French in order to promote Blenheim, was less an allegory, and more a piece of blatant Whig propaganda.[54] Nevertheless, by the time Addison constructed his libretto, the myth potential of 'Fair Rosamond' had been established in English folklore, and so, the choice of plot resonated with the popularity of the Blenheim project, a gift by Queen Anne to Marlborough for his victory at Blenheim,[55] which took Bavaria out of the war, and reduced Louis XIV's prospects of final victory. A poem, or drama about Blenheim, seemed to guarantee success. Addison's own poem, *The Campaign* (1704), to celebrate Marlborough's victory at Blenheim, went beyond military success to glorify the Junto Whigs, government propaganda so effective that Addison found himself promoted to Commissioner of Appeals.

[4/27] Praise of Blenheim with dedications to the Duchess of Marlborough rolled off the press. In 1704, John Oldmixon's panegyric, *A Pastoral Poem on the Victories at Schellenburgh and Bleinheim*, with an obsequious dedication to the Duchess, set out to prove in the Preface that pastorals could go beyond simple shepherds by indulging in war and victory, and including current political figures, a view that obscures the distinction from the heroic. Characters' appearances are extended beyond Thrysis and Menalcas to Henry II, Queen Eleanor, and by implication the Marlboroughs, with Spenser's Collin having a cameo role for good measure.[56] A poem by William Harison, *Woodstock Park* in 1706, set out to

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[53] Hammond, 'Joseph Addison's Opera Rosamond: Britishness in the Early Eighteenth-Century' (English Literary History, 2006), Gámez, 'Mocking the Meat it Feeds on: Representing Sarah Churchill's Hystericks in Addison's *Rosamond*' (*Comparative Drama*, 1995). In fairness, both Hammond and Gámez have bigger concerns – Hammond on *Rosamond* as a promotion of Britishness, Whig propaganda, and the proposed Union with Scotland, and Gámez on Addison's attempt to allegorise the Duchess of Marlborough's hysteria (1703-4) following the death of her son, the heir to the Dukedom and estate, an argument for which he produces much evidence, adding up to Addison' concern for the effect on the Duke in the war against Louis XIV, and Sarah's unfounded conviction that the Duke, her husband had a secret lover, the latter having particular relevance to the drama. However, just as in the drama, all ends well, except for Rosamond.

[54] For a general account of Whig propaganda, see Williams (2005), Ch.4.

[55] Blindheim 'englished' to Blenheim.

[56] See Abigail Williams (2009), pp.153-156.

praise Addison's poem as the foundation of a 'pantheon of Whig poets'.[57] Why the opera, also dedicated to the Duchess, was a failure, therefore, needs some explanation. The blame usually falls on Clayton's music, although his *Arsinoe* had a respectable run of 36 performances, a sign of contemporary success.

[4/28] However, the libretto is flawed as well. Rosamond disappears from the opera in Act II, and Act III is consigned to a dream in which the king is urged to sacrifice his mistress in favour of conjugal fidelity – duty over love, but at a cost. The treatment of the abused Rosamond is a blemish in the drama. In 1633 the royalist Thomas May had already treated Rosamond as a victim in a pastoral drama in which Eleanor was portrayed as a poisonous, evil French witch.[58] Vestiges of this view and the triumph of the French Eleanor over the English 'Fair Rosamond', may have posed a contradiction at a time when the enemy in the War of the Spanish Succession was the French. Tories made the most of this anomaly, which may account for the short run of the opera. Addison's appetite for propaganda seems to have overlooked the implied slight on the dedicatee Duchess's comparison with the wicked French Eleanor. There is another inconsistency ignored by scholars. At the end of Act 2, Eleanor is determined to kill Rosamond with a dagger, but at the end of Act 3 she claims to have drugged Rosamond. Whatever the case, Addison's approach became more modified in subsequent years. There would be no more overt, blatant propaganda of the type in Act III, and no more opera librettos either. Addison's more restrained approach in the *Spectator*

[57] Quoted from Hammond, p.608. Other literary works of the period cash in on the popularity of Blenheim victory: Francis Hare, *An Exact Journal of the Campaign in Germany, for the Year of 1704. Under the Conduct of his Excellency John Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1704 and 1706); Anon, *England's Triumph or the Glorious Campaign of the Year 1704* (London, 1704); John Geree, *A Poem to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, on the Glorious Successes of the last Campaign* (London, 1705).

[58] See Hammond, p.614.

(1711–12) suggests he had learned from short run of three subscription performances.[59] A more subtle approach to the critique of Italian opera could be more effective.[60]

Whig Culture fractured

[4/29] At this point in the discussion, two factors have emerged: first, the attempt by the Whigs to control literature and drama in the interest of a genuine Protestant English culture, and second, their ambivalent attitude to the allure of the Italian opera despite its deleterious impact on indigenous English semiopera. Whig ideology, keen to establish itself as British orthodoxy through control of culture, was therefore fractured in several ways: the selective use of the Ancients in an attempt to blend it with English Spenserian values, a commitment to English opera in conflict with attitudes to Italian opera – to reject, or to adapt it, in view of a growing public appetite for the genre,[61] and finally, the contradiction, English nationalism as opposed to the need to import foreign monarchs to preserve a Protestant ethic. The espousal of William of Orange in 1688, and George of Hanover in 1714 (Act of Succession, 1701), ensured a continued Protestant rule. The continuing attraction of Italian opera, hailing from a 'Catholic' background, but promoted by the Whig Kit-Cat Club, put English opera in jeopardy, and English Protestant values as well – it was argued by many English literati that Italian opera constituted a Popish threat. This vacillating Whig ideology was the context for the arrival of Italian opera in London in the early years of the eighteenth century.

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[59] The view that a work of literary merit translates with difficulty to music, may well apply to Addison's libretto which was later published posthumously for its poetic value by Thomas Tickell in 1725. Gary Schmidgall (*Literature as Opera*, OUP, 1977, p.373), develops this literature-to-music argument, and quotes the Swift 1710 *Discourse*, 'Even as a discreet *Composer*, who setting a Song, changes the Words and Order so often, that he is forced to make it *Nonsense*, before he can make it *Musick*.' Addison's MS libretto of 2 April 1706 remained unchanged in the final opera, no doubt due to Addison's insistence on the primacy of the libretto, so that Clayton had little room for manoeuvre in his musical setting. Swift had little time for opera, so the reader has to allow for a degree of partiality. However Schmidgall does not mention that the Swift 'Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit' (1710) was published anonymously in 1704, and so referred initially to pre-Italianate opera. The composer's attitude to the quality of a text is, however, a moot point. Curtis Price argues both views with Purcell opera settings (*The London Theatre World, 1660-1800*, ed. Hume, pp.210-211).

[60] Had Addison been less political and composed a libretto along the lines of C.Z. Barnett for John Barnett in 1832, a happy end achieved by a rescue from the dagger-or-poison, he may have had more success. Barnett's *Fair Rosamond* ran for 50 performances. Donizetti's opera *Rosmonda d'Inghilterra* had similar success.

[61] Jennifer Cable, 'Composing after the Italian Manner', Ch.4, in Kathryn Lowerre, *The Lively Arts of the London Stage, 1695-1725*, (2014, p.64).

The Search for an English pastoral opera – *Wonders in the Sun* (1706)

[4/30] As Italianate opera got under way in 1705, the manager, patentee, and impresario at Drury Lane, Christopher Rich, pursued a genre of Italianate opera with more emphasis on political intrigue which had been successful in plays and semiopera.[62] Perhaps this is why, in the rival the Queen's Theatre, Betterton persuaded Vanbrugh to mount semioperas in the 1705-06 season, *The British Enchanters* in February 1706, and *Wonders in the Sun* in April, with *The Temple of Love* in March sandwiched in between, perhaps in an attempt to test audience reaction to the juxtaposition of English opera with an Italianate pastoral. Whereas *The British Enchanters* has elements of pastoral and heroic, *Wonders in the Sun*, *or the Kingdom of the Birds*, its full title, seemed to have neither. The title page of the libretto describes the drama as a 'Comick Opera'. Later reception has a variety of description – Burney describes it as 'whimsical', and John Genest as 'eccentric'.[63] For Judith Milhous it is 'a weird and wonderful piece, for Robert Hume, 'a peculiar farrago', but 'a truly brilliant production'.[64]

[4/31] Insofar as this opera has a plot, it comprises two characters, master and servant, who have arrived in a 'Bright Luminous Country', inhabited by a variety of avian species, 'High' and 'Low Fliers' with an underclass of solar lackeys crawling on hands and feet, all governed by the Viceroy, his ministers, and a squad of guards allowed to walk upright to facilitate the apprehension of criminals. To the consternation of the visitors, they are arrested, accused of the crimes against the indigenous species, mainly of 'murdering' a pheasant in addition to other offences – walking upright, blowing their noses, laughing, and possessing teeth. The penalty for such misdemeanours is execution by tethering to a tree, and being pecked to death by birds. However, the evidence of a witness, testifying to numerous acts of kindness by the accused, to a parrot in their own land, is sufficient to warrant a verdict of not-guilty. Freed and much relieved, the visitors return home using the flying machine on which they arrived.

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[62] This, of course, had been preceded by a period of English pastorals, see [4/25] above.
[63] William Appleton, 'Introduction' to the ARS-104 edition (1964) of *Wonders in the Sun* (p.i).
[64] Judith Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields* (1979), p.206.

[4/32] Bizarre as the plot appears, it has respectable pedigrees. The visitors are Domingo Gonzalez, a 'Spaniard and Philosopher', and Diego, 'His Man, very Cowardly and Peevish', both characters first appearing in a fictitious prose memoir, *The Man in the Moone: of a Discourse of a Voyage thither by Domingo Gonsales*, by the historian, Bishop Francis Godwin (1562–1633), whose book was published posthumously and anonymously in 1638 – however, there were sufficient clues to identify the author on the title page of the second edition (1658). For those scholars confused by *Wonders in the Sun*, *The Man in the Moone* is a useful preparation. In D'Urfey the use of the flying machine is vague, but in Godwin, it is described in detail, and accompanied with illustrations – a sort of kite held aloft by a flock powerful wild geese called 'gansas' – in D'Urfey, merely 'Gonzas Harness'd to it [the machine]'. Possessed of this travel facility, the Godwin Gonsales, with his servant Diego, is on a utopian search for 'arcadia', and eventually finds it on the moon, inhabited by Christians, living idyllically in a state of harmony with nature. The denizens are virtuous countryfolk, who hold 'lying and falsehood' in great disdain (p.77). This is similar to a pastoral environment, but also raises the importance of a more ethical form of Christianity, then rare on planet Earth, and in a state of religious conflict in England when the book was published. Homesickness, concern for the health of the gansas, and fear of further arrest, drive Gonsales and Diego to depart this paradise and return home.

[4/33] D'Urfey's treatment of the theme differs from Godwin, and is more comic. Gonzales, the philosopher, like the earlier Godwin Gonsales is in search of an arcadia, and Gonzales, as it transpires, is in search of a vegetarian diet as well. His servant, Diego, is a hardened carnivore, and so the dialogue follows the straight-and-funny man routine, starting with Gonzales:[65]

> *Diego*, now let's go and ſeek ſome Roots for our Dinner; Roots are the proper Diet of Philoſophers, wiſe *Epictetus* ſpeaks Divinely of'em.
>
> *Diego.* What was he? a Hog, or an *Elephant*, for no other Creature cares for that ſort of Diet that I know of, [*Peeiſhly.*] for my part, I am ſure they agree ſcurvilly with me, I hate Sallad without Oyl and Vinegar. -- Ah! if your *Tetus*, and the reſt of ye, have no other reward for your Philoſophy but Starving, ye are all Wretched Scoundrels, by this Light. [*walking about diſorderly.*

[65] D'Urfey libretto, p.9. Throughout the opera, the function of Diego is that of comic and common-sense repartee, perhaps reflecting the audience response. The use of a comic character resembles that of Motteux in *Acis and Galatea*, *Arsinoe*, *The Temple of Love*, and *Love's Triumph*.

But the produce in the neighbouring orchard is fake fruit – apples are coloured stones, peaches are like tennis balls, and cherries are made of red glass beads. A ghostly figures appears, the Dæmon of Socrates, a guiding spirit, whose function is to explain the gibberish language of the inhabitants and strange events as they unfold, both to the visitors and to the audience. Dæmon elucidates that in this country – 'all things are contrary' (p.12): physical abuse is a token of friendliness, riches and the best food are bestowed on the lowest members of society, birds are held in high regard, and humans are the enemy. This may be a land where the sun always shines, and fruit should be in abundance, but it is not the hoped-for arcadia. The opera subverts the view of a pastoral being a refuge for happiness.

[4/34] William Appleton and Roger Fiske both provide short commentaries on *Wonders in the Sun*.[66] Each misses the significance of events leading to arrest and trial of Gonzales and Diego. For Appleton, D'Urfey's skill was in song-writing, his motive being an attack on Italian opera; his 'fantastic libretto' was a window of opportunity for his songs (p.iv). Fiske agrees, and quotes 'Mrs. Willises Girle' with farmyard effects – 'Booing here, Booing there, Here a Boo, there a Boo, Ev'rywhere a Boo..'. But for Fiske, the overall effect of the opera is confusing – 'one frequently suspects a double meaning, though in D'Urfey's farrago, the first meaning is hard enough to unravel' (p.41). It would be a mistake to assume, as does Roger Fiske, that *Wonders in the Sun* is a 'sequel' to Godwin's *The Man in the Moone*. The central characters differ in many respects: Godwin's Gonsales is steeped in science, and is more precise about locations and technology, whereas D'Urfey's Gonzales is portrayed merely as a self-styled philosopher of vegetarianism, a man without initiative, and totally dependent on his ghostly guide, the Dæmon of Socrates, who appears whenever called upon like a genii from a bottle to interpret the mysterious language and intentions of the inhabitants.

[4/35] In a heliocentric post-Copernican world, Godwin's Gonsales is a devotee of the latest discoveries in astronomy, and believes that other planets could be inhabited. His objective is the moon. This cult of the moon ran throughout the seventeenth century and beyond. Since the lunar observations of Galileo Galilei, literary pundits had used this material for plays and prose – Ben Jonson, *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* (1620), John Wilkins, *The Discovery of a World in the Moone*, (1638), Aphra Behn, *The Emperor of the*

[66] Appleton's account is referred to in his fn.38 (pp.i-iv); Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, pp.41-2.

Moon (1687), Elkanah Settle, *The World in the Moon* (1697), and Daniel Defoe, *Journey to the Moon* (1705).[67] D'Urfey's solar landscape is not part of this moon cult and has different intentions. Like Motteux in *Acis and Galatea*, D'Urfey uses a pastoral base to strive for comic effect. Both, like Granville in *The British Enchanters* and Addison in *Rosamond*, are in search for a distinctive English take on the Italian pastoral.

[4/36] D'Urfey uses aspects of the Italian pastoral tradition in *Wonders in the Sun*. Its lengthy all-sung Prologue features Apollo and Caliope, discussing their 'darling son', Orpheus, and how he 'Regales with heavenly Lyre, the Satyrs, Nymphs, and Swains' (p.2).[68] This happy scene is interrupted by an aspiring satyr, playing the role of goatherd, but keen to become intimate with Caliope, is told in no uncertain terms by the Muse that his appearance would have to improve – his horns need clipping, the hair shaving, his hooves hiding, in short, he needs to dress like a beau, complete with 'Peruke Powder'd'.[69] The Prologue ends with a duet between Orpheus and Eurydice followed by a dance of silvans and nymphs, and a happy Orpheus concluding, 'And now will the Golden Age flourish again', an apparent endorsement of the pastoral genre. Each of the four acts concludes with a feast of song, an attempt by Dæmon to create a diversion with a 'Musical Entertainment' (p.19) as the prospects for the visitors look more and more bleak. However, the songs at the end of the opera, are no longer a diversion, but more, a celebration of freedom from oppression. Appleton's view that the songs are irrelevant padding can be differently interpreted. They resemble the song contests, an integral part of the pastorals of Theocritus and Virgil. But the visitors to the land of the sun are disillusioned and happy to depart. There is a suggestion that the arcadian *lieto fine* of the Italianate pastoral is an illusion. In the Epilogue Mrs. Porter introduces the Parrot who testified to the innocence of the visitors:

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[67] In 1705, the year when Italianate opera began in London, Defoe produced five accounts of voyages and journeys to the Moon, three of them pamphlets, and two bulkier works of 360 pages, *The Consolidator*, including a fictitious correspondence with people on the moon and 'translations' of their lunar language.
[68] Gods, Muses, and mythological characters appear in Prologues of Italian seventeenth-century opera (Rosand, pp.147, 322). Grove NDGO vol.3, p.1142 (Prologue). Dryden, *Albion and Albanius* (1685), Preface.
[69] This scene has been lifted verbatim from D'Urfey's earlier work, *Cinthia and Endimion* (1697) - see below. There are similar scenes in Cavalli's *La Calisto* (1651), Pan despised by Diana, Satirino despised by Linfea.

Come, pritty Poll, *let's hear what you can ſay.*
Nay, I muſt ſtrip in part your Feather'd Caſe.
Speak out, and ſhew theſe Criticks a new Face.
Takes off the Parrot's Head Covering, and then a young Girl ſhews her Face.

All is revealed, the pastoral disguise trope uncovered, and the question is raised – whether birds are much different from humans.

[4/37] D'Urfey was no stranger to the pastoral, but with his own particular English spin – a strong didactic line in social commentary. The English pastoral differs from the Italian. Ten years before *Wonders in the Sun*, his 'Opera', *Cinthia and Endimion* (1696) gives clues to his later work. It is a tale of mythological deities descending to Earth, disguised as rustics on a philandering quest for nubile nymphs. Apollo leads with a search for Daphne, persuading his assistant Mercury to arrange a rendezvous. Cupid is besotted by Psyche, and Pan pursues Syrinx. The idyllic venue is sited in Ionia, a location identified with the Whig hero, Theocritus, and peopled by locals with Spenserian names – Hobinal, Clout, and Collin, who are introduced rescuing Hobinal's daughter, Flora, from a bunch of lusty satyrs, but their main function is to offer a critique of the disreputable lifestyle of the gods. This is all too evident, since the victimised nymphs soon discover that rejecting the advances of gods, even disguised as shepherds, comes with heavy retribution – Daphne is transformed into a laurel branch, and Syrinx into a reed. Central to the plot is the love between Cinthia and Endimion, but Cinthia, aka Diana, is the virgin goddess who cannot demonstrate her true feelings to a male, so Endimion ends up in the heavens as a star.[70] This is the pastoral genre as envisaged by Dryden in the Preface to *Albion and Albanius* (1685):

> An Opera is a Poetical Tale, or Fiction, represented by Vocal and Instrumental Musick, adorned with Scenes, Machines, and Dancing. The Persons represented in Operas are generally Gods, Goddesses and Heroes descended from them, who are supposed to be their peculiar Care; which hinders not, but that meaner persons may sometimes gracefully be introduced.

[70] This is D'Urfey's particular twist. Other versions have Endymion in a long sleep unwittingly siring 50 offspring by Selene, a moon goddess. In Cavalli's *Calisto*, Endymion gets a better deal from the librettist Giovanni Faustini – Endymion and Diana end in warm embrace to a ravishing duet, the celestial placement ignored. D'Urfey's two librettos were published in 1697, unusually after this first performance in December 1696, and with only one other recorded performance on 5 April in 1697. The first edition of the libretto contained textual omissions, corrected in the second edition.

The 'meaner persons', the Spenserian rustics, are hardly graceful, are more like Shakespeare's rude mechanicals, one of them advocating a commonwealth of equal opportunity, which the gods discover and punish. Otherwise, D'Urfey has song and dance in abundance. This is English pastoral, different from the simple Italianate pastorals of 1705–08 in which the shepherds and their loves are central to the plot, and mostly free from outside interference. Both D'Urfey semioperas, 1696 and 1706, have pastoral settings, but tyrannical forces intervene, and so 'liberty from oppression' becomes the issue, a slogan dear to the Whigs.[71] *Cinthia and Endimion* was dedicated to the Whig, Henry Sidney, First Earl of Romney and *Wonders in the Sun* to the Whig Kit-Cat Club.[72] However, since Whig ideology was fractured, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent D'Urfey's semioperas made a contribution.

The Three Queens – *Arsinoe*, *Camilla*, *Thomyris* (1705–1707)

[4/38] As the Queen's Theatre struggled with three pastorals in the years 1705–08, Drury Lane Theatre explored the possibilities of three Italianate operas, each with a queen in the title role –*Arsinoe* (1705), *Camilla* (1706), and *Thomyris* (1707). These operas do not appear to fit the pastoral mould. The involvement of monarchs and politics represented a shift from the English pastorals in Drury Lane in the ten years following 1695 to a more heroic genre represented by three queens.[73] There was no indication at the time that any of the three queens bore any reference to the reigning Queen Anne, although in the Prologue to *Thomyris*, the central character being the most noble of the three queens, there is a eulogy to Queen

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[71] This is a major theme in Abigail Williams's book (2009), but with a particular slant on 'liberty', e.g., 'the image of the virtuous citizen, who thrived under liberty, and who was associated with martial strength independence, public-mindedness, and frugality…' (p.228), but took a hard line against Catholic papists.

[72] The short run of *Cinthia and Endimion* in 1696-97 in Drury Lane, is difficult to explain – it gets ignored by John Downes, and dismissed by the anonymous *Comparison between the Two Stages* (1702) as 'conceited', referring D'Urfey's claim on the title page, 'Designed to be Acted at Court, before the late Queen'; it continues (spoken by Sullen in dialogue with Ramble), ''Twas well for *Durfey* her late Majesty never saw it,: Gad if she had, People wou'd ha' said, it had first been the cause of her Illness, and then of her Death; for 'tis a mortifying Piece o' my Word: Yes, yes – it was Damn'd' (p.19). Downes has little to say about *Wonders in the Sun* (1706) – it was sabotaged by Farquhar on the benefit night, but tottered on for another two performances (see, Ch.4, parag.25). It seems that both D'Urfey's semioperas fell on barren ground, but in conjunction with the fate of *The British Enchanters* and *Rosamond*, it paved the way for Italian opera. Losses incurred in the outlay for *Cinthia and Endimion*, was a lesson to Christopher Rich to be wary of pastorals, which later affected the run of *The Temple of Love* in 1706 [3/29].

[73] See [4/25].

Anne, comparing her triumphant part in the war against Louis XIV with Queen Thomyris of Scythia's conflict with Persia. But it must have occurred to Motteux that the parallel should be limited. A happy ending for Thomyris's son, Orontes, thought mistakenly deceased, was not a good parallel for Queen Anne, whose son had died of pneumonia in 1700, at the age of 11. Perhaps this is why Motteux ends the Prologue thus:

> *Yet, when this Day we ſhow a* Scythian *Queen,*
> *Think not we dare attempt a Modern Scene.*
> *As* Britain's *Beauties all the World's excel,*
> *Great* ANNA's *Reign diſdains a Parallel.*

[4/39] Compared with the Italianate pastorals at the Queen's Theatre, the productions at Drury Lane were already in a semi-heroic mould, and more successful: *Arsinoe*, 36 performances by 1707, *Camilla*, 64 performances, 1706–09 (total:111), and *Thomyris*, 29 performances, 1707–10 (total:43).[74] However, although pastorals are familiar to recognise as a genre, these early Drury Lane 'Queen' productions have been dismissed as 'polyglot pasticcios',[75] which in terms of a transitional genre is not a useful category. Therefore, a closer examination of each opera will hopefully determine its role in the transitional process.

[4/40] Each queen has a different role to play. Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus, falls in love with her army general, Ormondo, who twice rescues her from assassination, but later she mistakenly suspects betrayal – love turns to jealousy, imprisonment, and a death sentence, but a sleep aria reveals that Ormondo is innocent. Camilla has been deprived of her throne by a usurper, so disguised as a huntress, she gets access to the court by mistakenly saving the life of the usurper's son from a vicious boar, an act which prompts mutual love. Soon she finds at court, so much rebellion against the tyrant, that after many complications, he yields the throne to Camilla who marries his innocent son. Thomyris of Scythia is at war with Persia and her son, General Orontes, has won a victory, bringing in prisoners, one of whom is the Persian princess, Cleora. They fall in love although she had a previous betrothal to another prisoner, Tigranes. Thomyris, to prevent further war between Scythia and Persia, promotes

[74] The use of 'total' refers to the number of recorded performances beyond 1711, an indication of long-term popularity.
[75] Price, 'English Traditions' (1987), p.120. The label pasticcio does not encourage serious analysis.

the union of her son with the princess, but not before he survives an assassination attempt by the rejected Tigranes. All three operas have vestiges of, or have references to, the pastoral genre, and even tragicomedy. A survey of plots, settings, or tropes should help elucidate the transitional process.

Arsinoe (1705–1707)

[4/41] Historically, *Arsinoe* has had a bad press, which means that scholars have tended to give it scant attention. In 1709, 'A Critical Discourse' concluded that *Arsinoe* should be consigned to 'the Hospital of the old Decrepit Italian Opera's' (p.65). Hawkins in 1776 declared that Clayton brought back from Italy 'airs which he mangled and sophisticated', and that the result 'was one of the most execrable performances that ever disgraced the stage'.[76] Burney's jibe in 1789 is well known – 'nothing so mean in melody and incorrect in counterpoint that no Italian composer could have had anything to do with it'.[77] For Eric Walter White it was a 'hotch-potch', and for Roger Fiske 'it is tragic that playhouse audiences were taken in by this nonsense'.[78] However, to explain the *Arsinoe* success of 36 performances in two years, Dean and Knapp speculate that criticism 'did not worry the public, whose appetite had no doubt been whetted by travellers' tales'.[79] More realistically, it was Motteux's adaptation of the drama, that may have earned its success, and no doubt, James Thornhill's lavish set designs that had an attraction as well, a view endorsed by John Oldmixon in *The Muses Mercury* in January 1707. The January edition, published in February (admitted in the December edition), praised Purcell, but had to admit that Mr Clayton could 'excel in all parts of Harmony' and '*Recitativo's*', to the delight of the audiences, 'which 40 Years ago woul'd have been receiv'd with the Disdain that Art meets from the Ignorant' (p.10). This is a contrast to the opprobrium initiated by the 1709 'Discourse'.

[4/42] *Arsinoe* is modelled on a pastoral love triangle (Fig.13 below), makes use of disguise, hidden identity, refers to nymphs and satyrs in Cyprian groves, has comic characters in the Venetian tradition (as with *The Temple of Love*; *Love's Triumph*), has a false accusation, a dungeon scene, a threatened execution, and a final revelation which contributes to the happy conclusion, much of which has a parallel in *Pastor fido*. The pastoral love triangle begins at

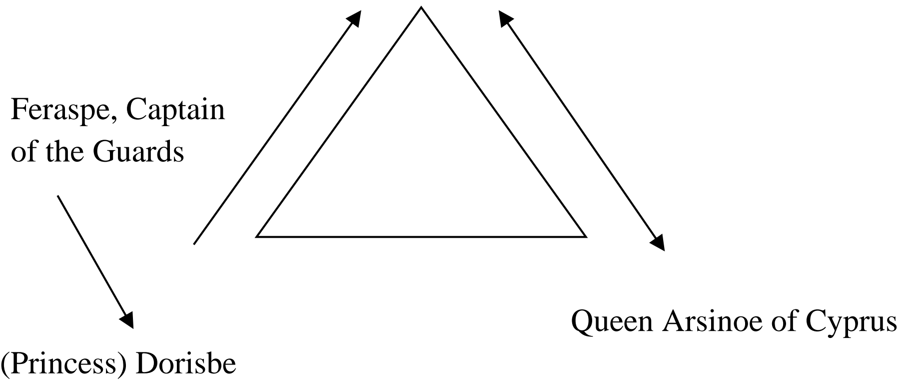
[76] Hawkins, quoting *A Critical Discourse* (Dover 1963), p.810.
[77] Burney (Dover edition, 1957), p.656.
[78] White, *REO,* (1983), p.48; Fiske (1973), p.33.
[79] *Handel's Operas 1704-1726* (revised edition, 1995), p.142.

the outset when Ormondo and his servant Delbo stray into the royal palace at night where Queen Arsinoe is sleeping *al fresco* in the garden:

Ormondo. Queen of Darkneſs,
Sable Night,
Eaſe a wandring Lover's Pain!
Guide me,
Lead me,
Where the Nymph whom I adore,
Sleeping,
Dreaming,
Thinks of Love and me no more.

[4/43]

Fig.13:
General Ormondo (aka Prince Pelops of Athens)



As Ormondo ponders his unnamed nymph, and then discovering the sleeping Queen, he falls in love instantly, but his reverie is interrupted by a disguised assassin firing an arrow at Arsinoe. The intervention of Ormondo saves the queen, who in gratitude falls in love with Ormondo. The assassin is later revealed to be a lover of Ormondo, but when rejected, the love triangle emerges. The assassin is Dorisbe, with a double motive to kill Arsinoe – to avenge her father's death, allegedly caused by Arsinoe's usurpation of the throne, and in a fit of jealously, to remove her royal rival from Ormondo's affections.

[4/44] Captain Feraspe sees himself in competition with Ormondo for Dorisbe, and so is keen to eliminate him. He uses incriminating evidence to manufacture a conspiracy having Ormondo involved in a plot against the Queen, who initially had fallen in love with Ormondo, but now in a fit of rage, condemns him to death. When Ormondo is shown to be innocent, Arsinoe's vengeance returns to love enhanced by the discovery that Ormondo in

disguise is Prince Pelops of Athens. The distraught Dorisbe attempts suicide and Feraspe faints in sympathy. Both have been complicit in framing Ormondo. However, they are forgiven, which allows Dorisbe to switch her affections to the Captain. Ormondo, aka Prince Pelops, is then united with Arsinoe. This final reshuffle of relationships is typical of the traditional Italian pastoral transformed to tragicomedy with lovers reunited, the use of disguise, a near-death situation, and the *lieto fine* as in Beccari's *Il Sacrifizio*, Argenti's *Lo Sfortunato*, Guarini's and Handel's *Pastor fido*, and the Italian-influenced Vienna manuscript, falsely entitled *Gli amori d'Ergasto*. The use of political intrigue has given way to pastoral elements and the genre of tragicomedy.[80]

[4/45] Further pastoral characteristics are found with comic characters. The intense emotions of the love triangle are balanced by the earthy buffoonery of two comic characters: Delbo, Ormondo's servant (a cross between Leporello and Papageno), and Nerina, a travesty character and elderly nurse to Dorisbe, who pursues Delbo with a view to marriage. Their function is to relieve the tension after moments of passionate outburst. When an arrow is fired in the first assassination attempt, and Arsinoe and Ormondo are struck in an ecstasy of love, Delbo rushes for cover and alternates with Ormondo's amorous overtures, 'Am I wounded, or am I dead', and then, 'for the Ferry-Boat, Charon, I thank thee' (pp.2–4). When not in a fruitless pursuit of Delbo, Nerina has the role of an agony aunt. Her pragmatic response to the love-sick Feraspe, 'you'll take Advice, and live as others do, 'Tis the Fashion, without Passion, to make Love, and not be true' (p.6).[81]

[4/46] Much of this has been refashioned by Motteux who had translated, but also adapted, the text from the Tommaso Stanzani libretto for the opera setting by Thomas Clayton.[82] In

[80] The thorny question of politics in opera will have fuller attention in Chapter 6. This chapter is more concerned with the shift away from pastoral to another genre, and to the extent that the pastoral never really disappeared. The London *Arsinoe* is not a political opera, neither in the plot nor in its context. If it has a message, then it is about forgiveness as a means to happiness, but only because a happy end was in the pastoral tradition, not necessarily a political remedy.
[81] Page references to the London libretto (1705).
[82] There were two Stanzani librettos available to Clayton during his sojourn in Italy (1678-1702), the Bologna and the Venice versions (both 1677; the Venice version hand-corrected – Fig.14). The original opera setting by Petronio Franceschini (1651-80) was allegedly performed in the Teatro Formigliare in Bologna in 1676, a year before the dated libretto, and later in Venice at Sant' Angelo on 29 November 1677 (Selfridge-Field, 2007, p.123). No additional performances are recorded. Judging by the place of Clayton's birth and burial, he seems to have been a Protestant (ODNB), so a stay in Bologna in Emilia, a Papal state, would have been risky (Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, 2009, pp.8-9). Venice resisting papal authority, was presumably safer. It is entirely possible that Clayton had the Venice libretto, but Motteux cut the assassination scenes. Black has many references to both Bologna and Venice (see Index).

the score, the opera ends with a rousing, idyllic chorus to celebrate the happy resolution of misunderstandings, and with satyr reference in the festivities:

A full CHORUS *of all the Voices.*

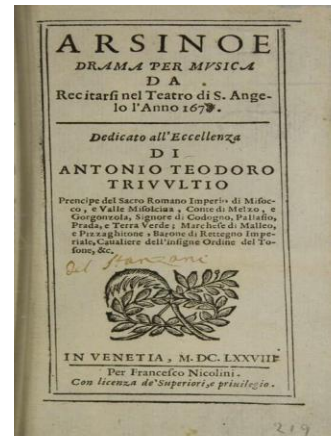
Then tell it in the Cyprian *Groves,*
Tell it all the laughing Loves;
While the tuneful Quire plays,
While the tripping Satyrs bound;
While they sooth us with their Lays,
While the Woods and Hills resound.
We envy not Jove
In Grandeur above;
Altho' we endure
Such Pain for a Cure,
Who live in the Realm of L O V E.

However, this chorus does not exist in either of the Stanzani librettos, which instead, end with a love duet. The reference to 'nymph' in Ormondo's opening Recitative and Air in Bb (above), is a translation of 'idolo mio' in the Stanzani original, which suggests that Motteux was keen to introduce pastoral references in his adaptation of Stanzani, aware that this had audience appeal.[83]

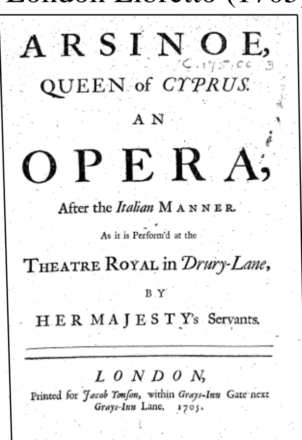
[4/47] Fig.14:

Bologna libretto (1677) Venice libretto (1677) London Libretto (1705)

L'ARSINOE
DRAMA
PER MVSICA
Da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Formagliari l'Anno MDCLXXVII.
CONSECRATA
All'Illustriss. e Reuerendiss. Sig. Monsignore
FERDINANDO
STROZZI
Protonotaro Apostolico, del numero de Participanti, Referendario dell'vna, e dell'altra Signatura, e Vicelegato di Bologna.
In Bologna per l'Erede del Benacci. Con licenza de' Superiori. Si vende dalla Porta delle Scuole all'Insegna di S. Gioseffo.



ARSINOE
DRAMA PER MVSICA
DA Recitarsi nel Teatro di S. Angelo l'Anno 1678.
Dedicato all'Eccellenza
DI
ANTONIO TEODORO
TRIVVLTIO
Prencipe del Sacro Romano Imperio di Misocco, e Valle Misolcina, Conte di Melzo, e Gorgonzola, Signore di Codogno, Pallasio, Prada, e Terra Verde; Marchese di Malleo, e Pizzaghitone, Barone di Rettegno Imperiale, Caualiere dell'insigne Ordine del Tosone, &c.
IN VENETIA, M.DC.LXXVIII.
Per Francesco Nicolini.
Con licenza de' Superiori, e priuilegio.



ARSINOE,
QUEEN of *CYPRUS.*
AN
OPERA,
After the *Italian* MANNER.
As it is Perform'd at the
THEATRE ROYAL in *Drury-Lane*,
BY
HER MAJESTY's Servants.
LONDON,
Printed for *Jacob Tonson*, within *Grays-Inn* Gate next *Grays-Inn* Lane. 1705.

[83] See music Ex.13, creating a pastoral mood leaning on the subdominant in the three-bar recitative, followed by a meandering Air (continuo aria), with languishing figuration of falling thirds and anguished appoggiaturas, held together by a busy bass; a B section contemplates rejection in the relative minor. The nocturnal mood is dictated by Ormondo's appeal to the queen of night, which might refer to Hecate, or to Selene (or Diana) since the libretto specifies 'the Moon shining'. Whatever the case, he is about to save the queen's life, and to kickstart the plot.

Of the two Italian librettos that might have been available to Motteux for translation, the apparent use of the Bologna edition is more understandable as the safer option.[84] The Venice libretto has a more coherent plot, compatible with the original Franceschini score. It is more political in that it shows Queen Arsinoe in a coup d'état over the previous monarch she regarded as a tyrant, a rebellion endorsed by the authority of the goddess Venus. A performance featuring rebellion in Bologna in the papal state of Emilia, had to be wary of censorship in that the papacy kept a tight control over its subject states throughout the seventeenth century. In deference to papal authority the Bologna libretto was dedicated to Ferdinando Strozzi, the Apostolic Protonotary in Bologna. Since the Bologna libretto is dated a year after the Franceschini performance, a delay may explain the revised version. The Venice libretto carries a message, freedom from royal tyranny, perhaps more permissible in the serene Republic. In the end it would not matter which libretto Clayton had in his possession, the Italian libretto was subjected to extensive cuts, including the one suggestive of rebellion, as expedient in London as in Bologna.[85]

[4/48] Motteux's adaptation of the Stanzani libretto can provide clues to what he thought would attract a London audience, but also what suited the Drury Lane budget, and the political exigencies of the time. He excised characters that would complicate the plot like Arsinoe's tutor, Creonte, actually an assassin of the previous monarch. Due to expense, he removed various choruses of bridesmaids, pageboys, Ormond's warriors, and Feraspe's soldiers, bringing the opera closer to the pastoral, and farther from the political genre. Also missing in Motteux's adaption are the first two scenes from the Venice Act One, in which the first scene features the coronation of Arsinoe following the assassination of the previous monarch, and the second, the appearance of a mysterious ghost, ex-King Eraspe, disrupting proceedings with 'Fermate, ò là fermate'. His interruption is worth quoting since it puts an entirely different gloss on the London productions (1705–07):

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[84] Probably the one provided by Clayton, but there is no documentary evidence for this, therefore an assumption of either the Bologna or Venice libretto, or both, is the probability.

[85] London was subject to continuing Jacobite threats leading to the Union (1707), and immediately afterwards (1708).

[L'ombra d'Eraspe:]	[Eraspe's ghost:]
Al seren della tua pace	At the sight of your peace
Vengo in ombra a muouer guerra	I come as ghost to declare war
E da regni di sotterra	And from the underground kingdoms
Porto meco ebro di sdegno	I bring an intensity of disdain
Sangue strage, e battaglia, al Cipro Regno	Blood slaughter, and battle, in the kingdom of Cyprus
Hor tu superba	Beware of your pride
Che col mio sangue imporporasti il mato. Godi pir godi il vanto.	That with my blood you took my throne Enjoy assassins enjoy the pride.
Di vedermi qui in ombra al forlio intorno	To see me here in the shade of the underworld
Che à le vendetta mie, che à miei gran torti	This is my vengeance, for my great wrongs
Pioverà sul tuo crin ruine, e morti.	It will rain on you ruin and death.

This is the king, allegedly murdered by Arsinoe's henchmen chiefly Creonte and Feraspe, and although they recoil and shudder at the appearance of the ghost, help is at hand – Venus with Cupid descend 'al Cielo in macchina', in her chariot drawn by a swan, and mocking Eraspe, she sends him packing to the underworld from whence he came exclaiming before her final 'rejoice' (*rallegrati*): 'Son vinte le frodi' – the frauds (tyrants?) have been defeated. If this is the case, Venus, an authority figure, can be seen as endorsing rebellion, usurpation, or perhaps liberation (1688?) with Arsinoe in collusion as a beneficiary. In the cause of equivocation, the libretto is not clear whether King Eraspe was a tyrant or Arsinoe a liberator.[86] The ambiguity alone may have been politically unwise for Motteux, given a possible allusion to the reigning monarch, Queen Anne, so cutting scenes with unpredictable

[86] *Arsinoe* had its first performance in Bologna, where papal authority and censorship were particularly repressive in the wake of the Galileo experience in the early seventeenth century. But rebellion against authority for whatever reason, is the theme in the Venice version of this opera. Any hint of rebellion could not appear in Bologna. However, in London, where allegory could easily be reawakened, Motteux would not take a risk with the Venice version, and if he did, the Lord Chamberlain had the power to intervene (see Hume, *English Drama*, 1990, p.217). Nevertheless, cutting a scene that is integral to the plot, does raise questions about Queen Arsinoe, insecure on the throne, so, sensitive to plots, and therefore ruthless with Ormondo without closely inspecting accusations. Without the Venice scenes, she appears to be erratic. Essentially a female usurper, why she sleeps *al fresco* without guards, and why she did not recognise the vindictive Dorisbe, daughter of the deposed king, is a puzzle. The Venice version secures her with the protection of Venus, and explains her ruthless behaviour. In Motteux's adaptation, Arsinoe appears to be less of a tyrant, and a more likeable character, important, should there have been, at the time, a comparison with Queen Anne. James Winn suggests that the two Venice scenes were dropped in London because they required stage machinery not available at Drury Lane (Queen Anne, 2014, p.400).

consequences was prudent. Expunging the political implications gave more breathing space to pastoral elements.[87]

Camilla (1707–09)

[4/49] Motteux's adaptation of *Arsinoe* pales into insignificance compared with the various adaptations of *Camilla*. Lowell Lindgren is the renowned expert on *Camilla*, from his Harvard PhD (1972) to the facsimile score (1990).[88] Although Lindgren's commentary on the manuscript facsimile of *Camilla* is a model of its kind, pastoral allusion was not part of his analysis, which has its focus on text, context, score, and potential performance. Since the aim of this study is an investigation into the vicissitudes of the pastoral, there is room for a fresh focus.

[4/50] The plot of the original *Il trionfo di Camilla* was devised by Silvio Stampiglia (1664–1725), a founder member of the Accademia degli Arcadi in 1690.[89] However, his 1696 libretto departs from Arcadian principles in the use of disguise, hidden identity, comic characters, and a prison scene, devices much despised by the Academy, but fashionable in Naples, and a feature of the pre-Arcadian pastoral. Set to music by Giovanni Bononcini, the opera saw 38 productions in 70 years. London witnessed 63 performances from 1706 to 1709, where it was staged 111 times between 1706 and 1728. Lindgren's thesis explores what happened to the opera once out of the hands of its progenitors. However, the London score of *Camilla*, as adapted by Nicola Haym, was close to the Naples original (Fig.15).[90]

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[87] The working hypothesis for this chapter is Winton Dean's assertion (1970; pp.54/100) that heroic opera is about kings, queens, nobles, dynastic conflict, and that common people are excluded. Ch.5/6 will explore this definition in more detail.

[88] 'A Bibliographic Scrutiny of Dramatic Works set by Giovanni and his Brother Antonio Maria Bononcini' (PhD diss. Harvard, 1972); *Giovanni Bononcini, Camilla*, RCM (MS779), Introduction by Lowell Lindgren (1990).

[89] The Arcadian Academy was founded in memory of their generous patron, Queen Christina if Sweden, who had died in 1689, and who had been resident in Rome since her abdication in 1654. A group of Italian literati saw the Academy as an opportunity to purge opera librettos of their baroque, melodramatic excesses in favour of quality poetry and simple pastoral values. However, just as in London, the predictability of the simple pastoral would soon give way to tragicomedy as predicted by Guarini.

[90] Lindgren (1980; p.45) lists productions 1696-1706 in Rome, Florence, Venice, Mantua, Piacenza, Messina, Verona, Ferrara, Genoa, Siena, Leghorn, Turin, Lucca, Milan, Undine, before reaching London, but it did not stop there – 23 Italian revivals 1698-1719 (1990; p.xi). In these various productions, the original was constantly changed. In Rome Bononcini added 18 new arias, adding or subtracting from the original, but thereafter changes were in the hands of other producers with new titles – *La rinovata Camilla*, *La fede in cimento*, *Amore per amore*. In London Haym followed the original aria settings, but with English translations, the verse allegedly by a mysterious Mr Northman (Lindgren, 1990, p.xii, plus the contract between Haym and Rich; facsimile MS in Appendix). However the accomplished translator, Owen Swiney, was on the Drury Lane roster, and may have been responsible for the original translation for which Lindgren draws a blank (1990,

Fig.15

CAMILLA.

AN

OPERA.

As it is Perform'd at the

THEATRE ROYAL in *Drury-Lane*,

BY

HER MAJESTY's Servants.

LONDON:

Printed for *Jacob Tonson*, within *Grays-Inn* Gate next *Grays-Inn* Lane. 1706.

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p.xiv). Swiney provided the Dedication to Lady Wharton, and is quoted in the M&H *Calendar* and in *The Coke Papers*, as providing the English text (30 March 1706). Haym, who had overall responsibility for the score, adapted and cut recitatives to suit English tastes. Lindgren notes some aria cuts as well (1990, pp.xiv-xv).

The Perſons Repreſented.

M E N.

Latinus, King of *Latium*, and of the *Volſcians*.	
Preneſto, Son of *Latinus*.	Mr. *Holcomb*.
Turnus, or *Armidoro*, King of the *Rutilians*.	Mr. *Hughs*.
Metius, a *Volſcian* Knight, and Captain of *Latinus* his Guards.	Mr. *Ramondon*.
Linco, a Country Man of *Volſcia*.	Mr. *Leveridge*.

W O M E N.

Camilla, ſuppos'd a Shepherd's Neice, but Queen of the *Volſcians*.	Mrs. *Tofts*.
Lavinia, Daughter of *Latinus*.	Mrs. *Joanna Maria*, &c.
Tullia, a Lady of the Court.	Mrs. *Lyndſey*.

Guards and Huntſmen.

[4/51] The plot of *Camilla* has strong pastoral indicators – two sets of lovers each with a Guarini 'knot' that needs to be untied. With the first set, as in *Arsinoe*, a dramatic incident at the outset of the opera ignites a state of mutual love – in *Arsinoe* rescue from assassination, in *Camilla* rescue from a wild boar, the latter a feature of the pastoral.[91] Camilla, disguised as the shepherdess Dorinda, has won, albeit unintentionally, the love of the king's son. The second set of lovers is the king's daughter and his arch-enemy, disguised a Moor, already in service at the court. Therefore, two of King Latinus's worst enemies are resident in his court, hidden in disguise – Dorinda, aka Camilla, is coupled with Prenesto the king's son, and Armidoro, aka Turnus, conjoined with his daughter Lavinia. To make matters worse for Latinus, he wishes to reward Dorinda for saving his son, so when she claims that she has been dispossessed by a tyrant, Latinus offers military restitution, without realising that he himself is the tyrant. Latinus has been planning a 'political' marriage for his daughter with

[91] See Ch.3 (fn.8), the opening scene of *The Loves of Ergasto* (1705), and the central 'knot' in *The Temple of Love* (1706). The use of the wild boar is a familiar trope in a pastoral plot: e.g., *Venus and Adonis* (Ovid, Shakespeare, Blow, Pepusch), *Dido and Aeneas*, *Pastor Fido*. The boar motif goes back to *Il Sacrifizio* in 1554 (Greg, p.174).

any prince who will form an alliance with him against the arch-enemy, King Turnus, but Lavinia resists. Under pressure from her father, she declares her love for Turnus. On impulse the king has her consigned to the dungeons. Making the 'knot' more difficult to unravel, the common objective of Camilla and Turnus to assassinate their enemy, King Latinus, clashes with the natural affection of their lovers for the king, their father. The opera attempts to solve the divided loyalties in the pastoral tradition, the challenge being a happy outcome for all.

[4/52] Both *Arsinoe* and *Camilla* have a superficial appearance of non-pastoral dynastic themes, but in the case of *Arsinoe* the dynastic element of the Venice libretto was deleted for London, and in *Camilla*, the king's erratic behaviour turns him into a comic figure, which lessens the focus on serious political issues. For additional light relief, the manoeuvres of the main characters are studded with periodic appearances of traditional comic characters. Camilla's servant Linco posing as her uncle, is pursued romantically by the Lavinia's elderly nurse, Tullia, in a series of cameo scenes reminiscent of the country couple in *The Temple of Love* (1706), and Neralbo and Serpetta in *Love's Triumph* (1708). However, it is Latinus's bizarre reaction to events that controls the drama. He sends 'Armidoro' to the prison cell to offer his daughter, Lavinia, a choice – give up Turnus or take poison,[92] but as Latinus arrives to monitor progress, he is irritated by the delay. Armidoro frankly refuses to administer the deadly beverage, and declares that he is in fact the arch-enemy Turnus in disguise, just the sort of confession to secure his own demise. The king's response is unexpected – rather than have Turnus arrested, his concern is for his daughter's 'honour'. When Turnus, swears, 'Her Honour's bright as is the Morning Star', Latinus undergoes a *volte face* unique in the history of opera:[93]

Lat. **Anger to Friendſhip does give way,**
Like Night that flies approaching Day.

Lavinia, who was about to be poisoned, is suddenly 'the Pledge of Peace', and hatred is transformed to love, but not completely – Latinus is determined to eliminate the Volscian enemy, the offspring of Metabo, who unknown to him, is Dorinda aka Camilla, residing in his palace.

[92] There is a hint of choice for Lavinia, dagger or poison, but this is clearer in the Naples original (see Lindgren, Grove online).
[93] Libretto, Act II/x; p.21.

[4/53] This unlikely reconciliation between daughter and arch-enemy is only part of the happy ending. Camilla is still determined to regain her kingdom. Her common aim with Turnus has inevitably brought the two conspirators closer together. They form a 'friendship', inevitable since both are at loggerheads with the usurper's family, but enough to send the apparently jilted lovers, Prenesto and Lavinia, into spasms of jealousy and despair. So strong is Camilla's determination, that she is not going to let Prenesto get in the way. She appeals to the Volscian people and wins their support against Latinus:

> *Cam.* Behold *Camilla*, who was born your Queen:
> Ye wretched *Volſcians*, with Regret I've ſeen
> The Royal Throne by proud Oppreſſion ſtain'd,
> Where *Metabo* with ſo much Mildneſs reign'd.

The memory of her father, King Metabo, is sufficient to rouse the populace. They see Prenesto, and want to despatch him, but Camilla offers protection by incarceration, much to his chagrin – Prenesto is blissfully unaware that Dorinda is in fact, Camilla. In the end Latinus and his family are rounded up and to the sound of a trumpet sonata, arrested, and threatened with death. As retribution is about to be their fate, Camilla sings, 'To Tyrants and Usurpers too, Severest Vengeance is due', but a second *volte face*, one more in keeping with the spirit of the pastoral and tragicomedy – Camilla switches to forgiveness, the lovers reunite, and Camilla regains her kingdom, which she is willing to share with Prenesto. Latinus is resigned to his overthrow, abdicates, and has learned his lesson – 'Hate is driv'n out of the Field, And Anger do's to Friendship yield'. This sudden display of forgiveness and love includes the comic characters with Linco responding to the enthusiastic Tullia's 'my Cupid, with a stoical 'my Psyche', joining the main couple in a final unravelling of the Guarinian pastoral knots.

[4/54] There are frequent pastoral allusions throughout the opera. Camilla arrives in the court disguised as Dorinda, a favourite pastoral name. She is constantly referred to as 'nymph', and addressed as such, particularly by Prenesto.[94] Prenesto is aware of the social gap between himself and Dorinda and wishes he were a swain, but this attitude changes toward the end of the opera, when her identity becomes clear. To emphasise her disguise as a shepherdess, Dorinda puts her plea for help to Latinus in pastoral terms:

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[94] From the Prologue, through the libretto, pages: 2, 8, 9, 13, 17, 25, 27, 28, 29; however as Camilla seizes power, the use of the term 'nymph' disappears; the use of swain gets occasional use (7, 10, 23).

Cam. Poor and diftrefs'd tho' now I feem,
My Father, near *Sebeto's* Stream,
Did fometimes large Poffeffions claim;
'Till an Ufurper, arm'd with Pow'r,
Arriv'd in an unhappy Hour,
Seiz'd on our Flocks, my Father flew,
Did me with equal Rage purfue;
And now an Exile muft I die,
If your Affiftance you deny.

The plea of dispossession is reminiscent of Virgil's first 'Eclogue' in the dialogue between Meliboeus and Tityrus, as the former bewails the loss of his fields impounded by the authorities. In order to make Dorinda convincing as at shepherdess, Stampiglia has laid on pastoral allusion with a trowel, and this transmits in the translation. As Camilla claims her destiny, the pastoral allusions seem to dwindle becoming dispensable, but the final Chorus is a reminder of the pastoral basis of the opera:

CHOR. Happy, happy is the Swain,
Who loves, and has not lov'd in vain. [*Exeunt Omnes.*

F I N I S.

[4/55] The source of the *Camilla* libretto explains much about the pastoral content. David Kimbell suggested Stampiglia's source to be in 'Livy's accounts of early Italian history',[95] no doubt referring to *The History of Rome*. Livy, however, makes no reference to a character called Camilla.[96] There are many other texts that could have be used as a source, but the key one is Virgil's *Aeneid*, and the war in Latium.[97] In Book VII, Camilla, a huntress and devotee of Diana, has become a warrior maiden:

> To crown the array comes Camilla, of Volscian race, leading her troop of horse, and squadrons gay with brass—a warrior maid, never having trained her woman's hands to Minerva's distaff or basket of wool, but hardy to bear the brunt of battle and in speed of foot to outstrip the winds. She might have flown over the topmost blades of unmown corn, and not bruised the tender ears in her course; or sped her way over mid sea, poised above the swelling wave, and not dipped her swift feet in the flood. All the youth,

[95] Kimbell *Italian Opera* (1991), p.183.

[96] A thorough search of *The History of Rome* in several editions (Baker, Roberts, Stocker), reveals no reference to Camilla.

[97] Online resources provide references and sources for the character of Camilla: Pacuvius, Suetonius, Varro, Ennius, Macrobius, Sidonius, Jerome, Quintilian, Pliny the Younger (University of Glasgow Library), but the best text is Virgil's *Aeneid*, Books 7, 11 and 12 (online Loeb Classical Library).

> streaming from house and field, and thronging matrons marvel, and gaze at her as she goes; agape with wonder at how the glory of royal purple drapes her smooth shoulders, how the clasp entwines her hair with gold, how her own hands bear a Lycian quiver and the pastoral myrtle tipped with steel.

Five characters in the opera have their origin in Virgil's *Aeneid* in which the Latin tribe is ruled by King Latinus, his chief warriors being the Volscian Camilla, and Turnus the prince of a neighbouring kingdom. The invasion of Aeneas and the Trojans, sees the deaths of both warriors, Camilla and Turnus, and assimilation of the Trojans into the Latin tribe. In Virgil, King Latinus is a benevolent ruler, keen to keep the peace, and sympathetic to his daughter Lavinia's wishes to marry Turnus rather than the invading Aeneas, but fate decides the outcome. Stampiglia's manipulation of mythical history – shying clear of war, death, destruction, carnage, mangled bodies, and the 'streams of blood' in which Virgil's text revels – preferred the pastoral model promoted by Guarini – two sets of lovers separated by circumstances, but conjoined in the end as difficulties are resolved. Massacred among others in Virgil, Camilla and Turnus are allowed to live happily in the opera, and to be united with their partners. To Stampiglia's libretto with its mix of comedy, satire, and seriousness, Bononcini's music guaranteed the drama's great success as the most popular opera of its time. The 57 arias are short, tuneful, varied, and in London, because in English, and reminiscent of ballad style, grew quickly in popularity.[98]

Thomyris 1707

[4/56] *Thomyris*, the third of the 'queen' operas in Drury Lane, was another success story, notching up 44 performances, 1707–28. However, this 'success' was not recognised at the time, and is still disparaged at the time of this study. 'A Critical Discourse' (1709) started the process of denigration by attacking the incompetence of Heidegger in his choice of arias from a range of Italian composers (pp.69–70). It is worth quoting an extract at some length because it illustrates how the initial denigration of the opera has spiralled down the ages and into the new 'Grove Music Online'. There is no entry for the opera *Thomyris, Queen of Scythia (*1707). Instead, the reader finds Curtis Price enjoying the 'receipt'/recipe analogy in his 'Pasticcio' article, referring to part of the following quotation to explain the opera.[99]

[98] Lindgren (1980) compares *Camilla*'s reception to the similar success of *The Beggar's Opera*.

[99] 'Pasticcio' accessed 3.3.18 in the 'new' (Dec.2017) Grove online, which does not seem to have included articles from *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (1992), e.g. Owen Swiney. The London opera *Thomyris* is constantly cited as *Tomiri* when referred to in separate articles in spite of the opera having the title, *Thomyris,*

The opera may have no independent entry, but a recipe is no substitute for a synopsis. The following is taken from ‘A Critical Discourse’ (1709):

> Nothing quickens the Wit of Man more effectually than Neceſſity; it is a fertile Cauſe, and often produces prodigious Effects, and may well be called the Mother of Invention, ſince it has put a *Swiſs* Count (whoſe Earldom lies in the Land of the Moon) upon Cooking up an Opera. — Thomyris.
>
> Indeed it's ſomething extraordinary, that a Perſon, who knows not what Compoſition, Playing, or Singing, or any other thing belonging to the Profeſſion means, ſhou'd be taught by Neceſſity how to make an Opera, I hope I ſhall oblige the World in imparting ſo beneficial a Secret to Mankind, which will turn to a more pofitable and certain Account than the Study of Alchimy, or the Philoſopher's Stone. The Receipt is as follows.
>
> Pick out about an hundred *Italian* Airs from ſeveral Authors, good, or bad, it ſignifies nothing. Among theſe, make uſe of fifty five, or fifty ſix, of ſuch as pleaſe your Fancy beſt, and Marſhall 'em in the manner you think moſt convenient. When this is done, you muſt employ a Poet to write ſome *Engliſh* Words, the Airs of which are to be adapted to the *Italian* Muſick. In the next place you muſt agree with ſome Compoſer to provide the Recitative, and promiſe to give him, in caſe the Opera is perform'd, as little as poſſible; by this means you'll run no Riſque, being at little or no Expence. When this is done, you muſt make a Bargain with ſome Mungril *Italian* Poet to Tranſlate that Part of the *Engliſh* that is to be Perform'd in *Italian*; and then deliver it into the Hands of ſome Amanuenſis, that underſtands Muſick better than your ſelf, to Tranſcribe the Score, and the Parts In the laſt place, conjole the Town into a luſty Subſcription, and let this Piece of Patch-work, which you call your Opera, tho' you know nothing of the matter, take, or not, you can't fail of putting four or five hundred Guinea's into your Pocket; for no leſs did the Count get by his doughty Opera of *Thomyris*.

‘Discourse’, p.70)

[4/57] This contempt for *Thomyris* is reflected in the original 1992 edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. *Thomyris* is not included. Instead, there is an opera by Reinhard Keiser, *Die grossmüthige Tomyris* (1717), a tale about the queen's general in the war against Persia, a man she would like to marry. After rescue from an assassination attempt, it is revealed the

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Queen of Scythia, and sung in English excepting when Valentini sang the role of Orontes. (However, see Ch.4, fn.19, Valentini absent March-December 1707).

general is her long-lost son, so his mother is resigned to marrying another suitor (Vol.4, p.755). This has but a remote resemblance to the 1707 London opera, which Grove deems unworthy of a separate article. Another significant source that attempts a description of *Thomyris* sees a similarity with *Camilla*, 'both queens have trouble gaining or keeping their thrones'. This is hardly an accurate account of either opera, but in the 1980s, this sort of view seems to have been acceptable.[100]

[4/58] In fact, *Thomyris* had a fair degree of success in spite of its bad press. It achieved seven performances in its first season (1706–07), 'minimally respectable' according to Milhous and Hume,[101] but much more than 'respectable' given its late seasonal start on 1 April 1707. It was a busy season for Drury Lane due to a recent shift of all operas and plays with music to the patent theatre in the so-called proto-union of 1706, which meant that Drury Lane had a monopoly of opera, and that *Thomyris* would have to fit in with other operas in repertory – *Arsinoe*, *The Island Princess*, *Rosamond* (3 pfs each), and *Camilla* (23 pfs).[102] Another healthy start for *Thomyris* was the subscription of 1200 guineas, but although a large part of the investment was assigned to Heidegger who demanded a third of the sum for collecting suitable arias from a number of Italian operas,[103] the subscription helped cover payments for Motteux's libretto fitting English words to Italian music, for Pepusch who provided the recitatives, ritornellos, and sinfonias, and of course, for production costs. *Thomyris* was able to pay its way.[104]

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[100] J. Merrill Knapp, 'Eighteenth–Century Opera in London before Handel' in *British Theatre and the Other Arts* (Shirley Strum Kenny, 1984), p.98. Domenico Lalli's *Tigrane*, Keiser's source, dates from 1713 (Wendy Gibney, NGDO, vol. 2, p.1084). John Roberts quotes the Albinoni version (1716) in NGDO, vol. 4, p.755. Online Grove has not improved matters.

[101] *The London Stage*, *Draft Calendar* (2001), p.314.

[102] Milhous & Hume (2001),online *Draft Calendar*, 1706–07 season, pp.309 ff.

[103] Motteux quotes Scarlatti and Bononcini in his Preface to the libretto, and 'other great Masters'; Price in *Grove* identifies them – Dieupart, Francesco Gasparini, and Albinoni. His source is Sartori. Pepusch arranged the music, provided recitatives, and managed the orchestra from the harpsichord.

[104] Milhous & Hume (2001), *Calendar*, p.353, 1 April 1707 entry. Their edition of the *Vice-Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers* (1982) for the 1706–07 season confirms the subscription of £1200, but the distribution of the money varies. Rich decided (Jan.1707) that 'Mr Headances' [sic – Heidegger] would not just select arias, but deliver 'Score & parts to Mr Rich', which meant paying Motteux for the translation (fitting text to score), Pepusch for the additional music, and copyists for the finished product. Rich calculated 300 guineas for 'Dressing & Decoration of it & for Printed Books for the Subscribers' (Coke, p.17). The rest would register as profit for Mr Rich, although payment to orchestra and singers is not quoted, but may have been covered by box office receipts. The payment to Heidegger is still favourable in comparison with £100 to Haym for producing the score of *Camilla* in 1706, and organising the production (Coke, p.2; Lindgren, 2000, p.xiii).

[4/59] In the Preface Motteux explains the difficulty in adapting Italian arias to his libretto text, and repeats his claim from as far back as his *Gentleman's Journal* (January 1692), that sense must not be sacrificed to sound.[105] Motteux does not say, but implies, that the plot was devised by himself. Queen Thomyris of Scythia has the dual role of defeating her enemy, the Persians, and seeing her son Orontes married to continue the Scythian line. Orontes has fulfilled the first of these tasks as the general in her armies, but with the second, his spontaneous choice of a bride from among a recent batch of Persian prisoners, does not initially meet with his mother's approval. For Orontes there is a complication with the woman he loves, Cleora; her uncle King Cyrus of Persia had betrothed her to marry King Tigranes of Arminia, currently languishing anonymously in a Scythian prison cell.[106] When Cleora discovers this, she is torn between her sudden love for Orontes and her duty to marry Tigranes.[107] Orontes overhears an emotional meeting between them, and realizes he has a serious rival – 'A Death to my Hopes'.[108] When Thomyris fathoms the difficulty she takes her son's side and seeks to eliminate Tigranes, both for political and personal reasons. Orontes's response is to set him free. But this act of magnanimity is repaid by a dastardly counter-measure; Orontes and his men are drugged by Tigranes and the Arminians and taken prisoner. This in turn provokes a response among the Scythian crowd who promptly seize Cleora with a view to instant revenge, but she is saved in the nick of time by Thomyris. The captive Orontes is willing to sacrifice love for honour, and is willing to yield his claim on Cleora to Tigranes. This display of virtue, earns his release, but it allows Orontes the freedom to lead the Scythian troops in a final onslaught against the Persians, a battle in which Tigranes is mortally wounded. Victory in battle leads to victory in love and the badly wounded Tigranes resigns Cleora to his rival. Cleora, who has been in love with Orontes from the beginning has her dilemma resolved. The themes of love and duty are reconciled. The union of Scythia and Persia in love and politics brings about the *lieto fine*, a fine example of tragicomedy.

[4/60] Motteux does not reveal the source of his libretto, but it is clearly Herodotus, *The Histories*, Book One (Clio). Other operas availed themselves of Herodotus: *Tomiri*, Medolago/Vitali (Venice, 1680), *Il Tigrane*, Lalli/Scarlatti (Naples, 1715), *Die grossmüthige*

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[105] This is an endorsement of John Dennis, 1706. The title page for the 1708 production features a new title *The Royal Amazon* but in every other respect the content, including 'the persons represented', is the same.

[106] A political match; Tigranes was the ally of Persia against the Scythia.

[107] The situation is not unlike the dilemma of Ormondo in *Arsinoe*.

[108] Act II, sc.2, p.27.

Tomyris, Hoë/Keiser (Hamburg, 1717), all with varying accounts, and encouraged by Herodotus, who admitted that there were different versions of the story.[109] Since the Herodotus *Histories* is the master text from which variations have emerged, it is worth consulting the original to discover how Motteux adapted it to suit the London audience.

[4/61] Cyrus the Great, having conquered Assyria, moved on to subdue the Massagetae, who, according to Herodotus were a primitive warlike race who lived off strange root crops and raw fish. Cyrus learned that their queen, Thomyris, was recently widowed, so he offered to marry her. Thomyris, however was an astute politician and rejected the proposal on the grounds that Cyrus's real interest was not her, but her land. What Cyrus could not achieve by cunning, observed Herodotus, he would achieve by force. War followed, the Massagetae losing the first round by being lured into a trap, the Persians retreating and abandoning their camp with rich foods and wine, which was more than a feast for the Massagetae. Herodotus describes how they regaled themselves with food and wine until they fell into a drunken stupor, at which point the Persians returned and massacred them, taking Thomyris's son, Spargapises, prisoner. Thomyris, demanded his return, but before Cyrus had a chance to respond, Spargapises committed suicide. Thomyris, in a fit of anger (a later version of the London opera, designated her *The Amazon Queen*), gathered the remainder of her army, and in a campaign of revenge, routed the Persians, killing Cyrus. His head was brought back to her palace, where she bathed it in blood, a scene, that occasioned Rubens to a famous painting (Illus.4).[110]

[4/62] This account has been subjected to various adaptations. In the case of Motteux, perhaps to soften the bloodthirsty aspects of Herodotus, and to create a more pastoral mood, the primitive Massagetae were relocated west to the agricultural province of Scythia (Illus.5), and Thomyris's son, Orontes, originally Spargapises, became the loving, but offstage, successful general of her armies. Tigranes, in Scarlatti's opera, is Thomyris's son, but in Motteux, King Tigranes is the ally of Cyrus, and his role is to drug and kidnap and Orontes and his men, the parallel in Herodotus being the trap set by Cyrus, but with a difference – no massacre, just a polite agreement. Crucially, there is no Cyrus decapitation.

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[109] *The Histories*, Penguin Classics (1982), p.127. Strabo, Polyaerius, Cassidorus, all have narrative variants.

[110] This paragraph is a synopsis of *The Histories*, Bk.1 (pp.122–8). The theme of *Thomyris* was familiar, an example of retribution by a monarch with a cause, and depicted by Rubens (1622–23) for his patron, ruler of the Southern Netherlands, Archduchess Isabella (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; title – 'Head of Cyrus Brought to Queen Tomyris').

In keeping with the Guarini knot, fashionable in pastorals, Motteux, introduces Cleora, the niece of Cyrus, to create a love triangle, the two suitors being Orontes and Tigranes. The happy union of Orontes and Cleora, of Scythia and Persia, was the attractive conclusion for the London audience.

[4/63] There are two scenes featuring Cleora in a pastoral setting, one in Act 2/i (p.20), and the other at the beginning of Act 3 (Fig.16 below). In Act 2 Cleora is found in a garden by a fountain in a scene following Thomyris urging her son, Orontes, to find a suitable bride. As a prisoner from an enemy empire, Cleora fears her love for Orontes will be taboo. She takes refuge in nature. In Act 3 Cleora again communes with nature, another example of Motteux using the pastoral genre to express the singer's plight. The Air, 'Pretty Warblers', addresses her melancholic mood, but there is little consolation – the warblers do not respond to her anguish by tuning their music to her sorrow (see analysis, App.2, Ex.14). She has overcome her allegiance to Persia (not difficult in that the proposed marriage with Tigranes had been arranged by Cyrus), and love has triumphed over politics, but at a cost, so Cleora parlays with the birds seeking consolation, since her lover, Orontes, has been kidnapped and possibly killed. The prospect of return to Persia is for her, distressing. The effect of these pastoral interpolations is to modify the bloodthirsty aspects of the story.

Fig.16

Cleora: Act 2/i (p.20) a garden by a fountain

"A I R.
"LOnely Pleaſures ne'er relieve me,
" Lonely Pleaſures only grieve me.
"Streams are flowing,
"Flow'rs are growing,
"Birds are courting,
"Zephirs blowing;
"All is ſporting.
"But how can I ſhare
"Thoſe quiet Joys,
"While Love, with Care,
"In Abſence here,
"My Soul employs?
"Bring my Charmer near me!
"Oh! then you'll chear me.

ACT III. SCENE
SCENE *A Garden.*
Enter Cleora.
Cleo. LOVE in Abſence finds no Eaſe;
Crouds, diverting, but diſpleaſe:
This dark, this melancholick Grove
Suits my Sadneſs, and my Love.
Ye feather'd Songſters, round me flying,
Courting,
Sporting,
Care defying;
Oh! did you but feel my Anguiſh,
Soon you'd change your Notes, and langui
A I R.
PRetty Warblers, ceaſe to hover.
Pretty Warblers, help a Lover.
From your Joys a Moment borrow:
Tune your Muſick to my Sorrow.
Join, and anſwer, when I mourn.
Grief alone is too tormenting;
There's a Pleaſure in lamenting,
My Complaint when you return.
Pretty Warblers, *&c.*

[4/64] The queen's reaction to premature news from Baldo of the death of her son, 'Scythia's Brave Prince, our other Hope is slain', evokes what appears to be a pastoral lament, but 'Humble Shepherds' is a vigorous bravura display, bent on revenge on Cyrus (for music analysis, Ex.15):

Enter Thomyris.
Tho. Weep no more! or weep unſeen,
Hopeleſs Mother; mournful Queen!
Tho' deepeſt in a Royal Breſt,
Woe muſt be born, yet not expreſt.
Oh! thou, my only Hope, my Son,
While I retire to weep alone,
Nobler mourning *Scythia* owing,
Shall with her Tears ſee *Perſian* Blood o'erflowing.
A I R,
HUmble Shepherds, Grief may pain you:
But no Forms in Woe reſtrain you.
Your Complaint the Pain aſſwages.
Fate with greater Anguiſh tries me;
Yet the common Cure denies me.
Grief oppos'd, more fiercely rages.

Act 3/iii/p.47

News of Orontes's freedom and his final victory over the Persians, had not yet reached the court, but when it does, the mood is victorious. The pastoral episodes had been an effective vehicle for the anguish of the two women, but pastoral scenes are abandoned with the news of victory.

[4/65] The use of comic characters is typical of the London pastoral as employed in *Arsinoe*, *The Temple of Love*, *Camilla*, *Wonders in the Sun*, *Rosamond*, and *Love's Triumph*, but in *Thomyris*, the treatment of comic characters is more extensive with 333 lines against the closest rival, 216 in *Camilla*. In *Thomyris*, Baldo and Media occupy a series of progressive cameos, amounting to a pastoral within the opera, with their scenes positioned between more serious and dramatic episodes. Fig.17 shows that the relationship between Baldo and Media occupies a central role for much of the opera, mediating the tensions between Cleora's budding love for Orontes, and her duty to marry Tigranes; the dilemma of meeting Tigranes in the prison cell, and her fear for the life of Orontes with the prospect of being returned to Persia. *Thomyris*, on the face of it, deals with monarchical conflict and war, but these events are offstage, and pastoral elements, with specific scenes, the love triangle, and especially with the central role of the comic, has been foregrounded in the centre.

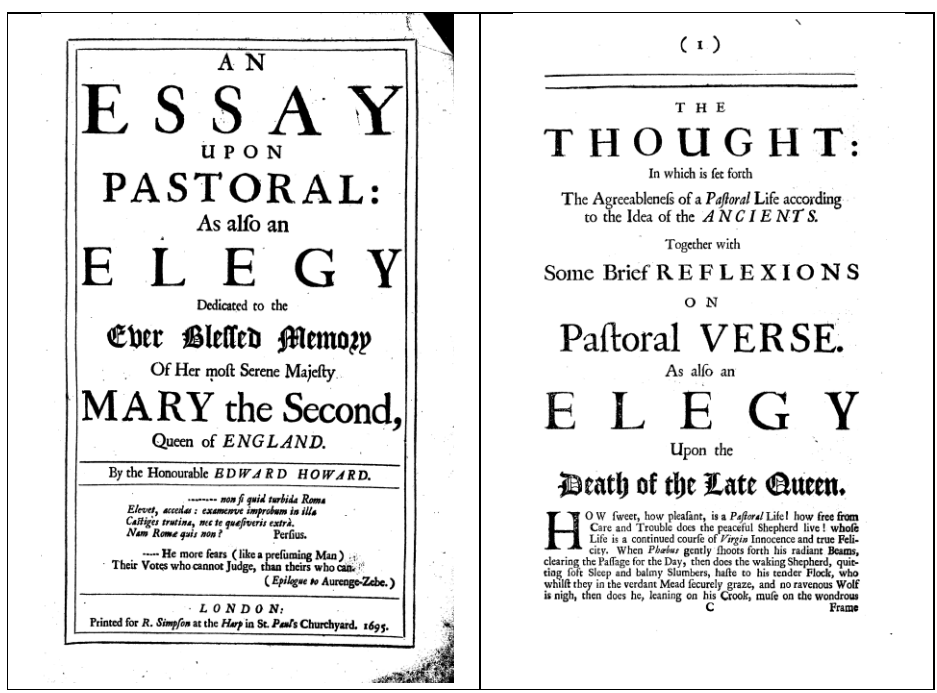
Fig.17

Previous scene	Baldo and Media scenes	Following scene
(Act 1/ii: pp.5-9) Orontes and Cleora meet – the tension of budding love between prince and prisoner that neither dare admit.	(Act 1/ii; pp.9-12) Baldo propositions Media with urgency: ‘My Delight, my Dear, my Princess’, and offers kisses, caresses, and a ring; exasperated she rejects him and leaves, but takes the ring.	Tigranes, King of Armenia, and ally of King Cyrus, who had arranged the marriage with Cleora, is in a Scythian prison cell. He yearns for Cleora, and writes her a letter.
(Act 2/iv; pp.29-30) Cleora is in a quandary about her feeling for Orontes, ‘I dare not love’, and ‘Duty and Fate allow no Return’. Exit Cleora; enter Queen to advise her son – subdue Tigranes	(Act 2/iv; pp.31-33) Baldo tries to impress, dressed like a fop, she responds, ‘Bless me ! what Monster do I spy!’ He threatens to kill himself with his sword. She is happy with this. He responds, preferring to die honourably in battle.	Act 2/iv; pp.33-36 Cleora still in a quandary, unable to choose between love and duty. Both Tigranes and Orontes leave the decision to her.
(Act 3/i; pp.37-39) Cleora and nature. Enter queen who says Orontes will defeat the foe, so Cleora should prepare for home.	(Act 3/i; pp.40-41) Baldo arrives in ‘a warlike habit’. Media is not impressed, and urges him to leave for war with the words, ‘Whining Love is out of Fashion’.	(Act 3/i; pp.42-45) Tigranes has kidnapped Orontes who is in chains. Orontes agrees to give up Cleora, and is freed.
(Act 3/iii; p.45) Orontes and Tigranes part as friends, but battle is decisive.	(Act 3/iii; p.460) Baldo returns from war reporting (falsely) that Orontes has been killed. Baldo and Media end as ‘friends’.	(Act 3/iii; pp.46-50) Thomyris mourns the death of her son; she saves Cleora from the mob. News of victory and her son’s return.

Pastoral Frame 1695-1708

[4/66] To emphasise this period of pastoral preoccupation, two hitherto unexamined texts bookend this period. The first is *An Essay upon Pastoral* including an *Elegy dedicated to the Ever Blessed Memory of Her Most Serene Majesty Mary the Second, Queen of England* (1695); see Fig.18.

Fig.18



AN
ESSAY
UPON
PASTORAL:
As alſo an
ELEGY
Dedicated to the
Ever Bleſſed Memory
Of Her moſt Serene Majeſty
MARY the Second,
Queen of *ENGLAND.*

By the Honourable *EDWARD HOWARD.*

-------- non ſi quid turbida Roma
Elevet, accedas : examenve improbum in illa
Caſtiges trutina, nec te quæſiveris extrà.
Nam Romæ quis non? Perſius.

----- He more fears (like a preſuming Man)
Their Votes who cannot Judge, than theirs who can.
(*Epilogue to* Aurenge-Zebe.)

LONDON:
Printed for *R. Simpſon* at the *Harp* in St. *Paul's* Churchyard. 1695.

(1)

THE
THOUGHT:
In which is ſet forth
The Agreeableneſs of a *Paſtoral* Life according to the Idea of the *ANCIENTS.*
Together with
Some Brief REFLEXIONS
ON
Paſtoral VERSE.
As alſo an
ELEGY
Upon the
Death of the Late Queen.

HOW ſweet, how pleaſant, is a *Paſtoral* Life! how free from Care and Trouble does the peaceful Shepherd live! whoſe Life is a continued courſe of *Virgin* Innocence and true Felicity. When *Phœbus* gently ſhoots forth his radiant Beams, clearing the Paſſage for the Day, then does the waking Shepherd, quitting ſoft Sleep and balmy Slumbers, haſte to his tender Flock, who whilſt they in the verdant Mead ſecurely graze, and no ravenous Wolf is nigh, then does he, leaning on his Crook, muſe on the wondrous
C Frame

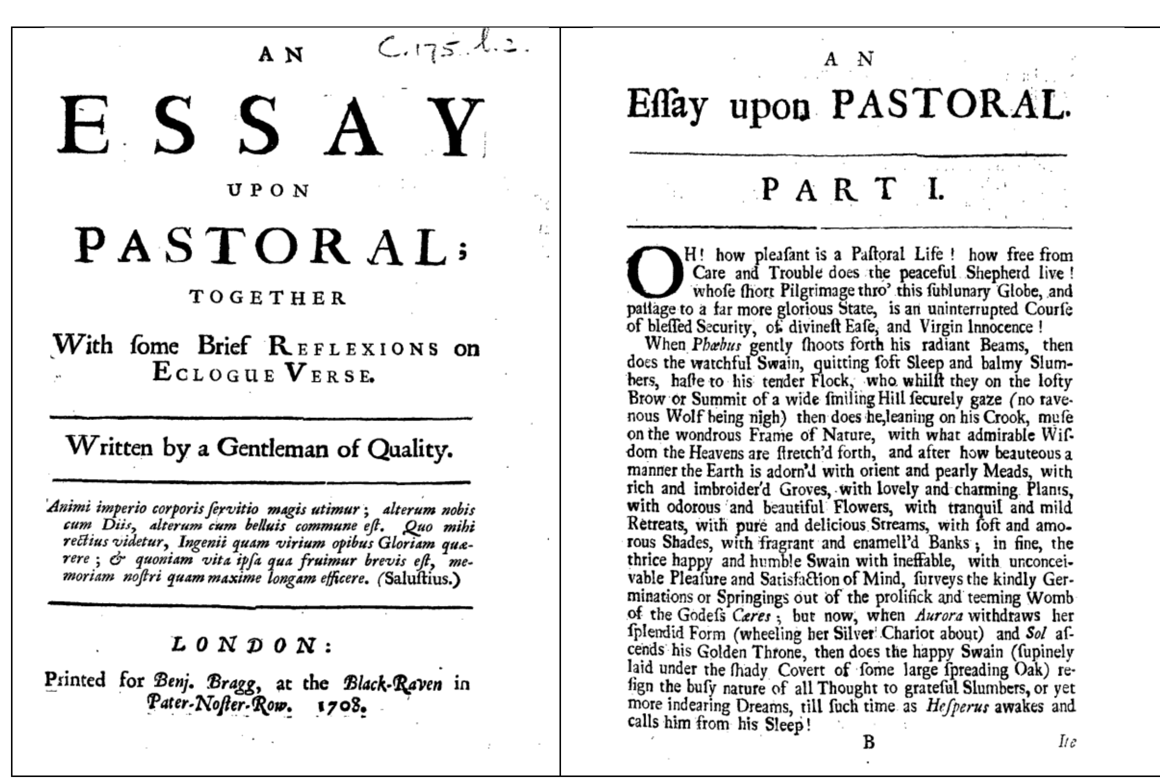
The death of Queen Mary in 1694 heralded a spate of semioperatic pastorals: *The Lover's Luck* (1695), *Cinthia and Endimion* (1696), *The World in the Moon* (1697), *Rinaldo and Armida* (1698), *The Virgin Prophetess* (1701), and *The Fickle Shepherdess* (1703), preceding the Italianate pastorals of 1705-08. But the more nationalistic among the Whigs rejected Italian pastorals, seeing them as an invasion, damaging traditional English morals and culture. Chief among the protesters was John Dennis who in 1706, when Italianate opera had hardly emerged, objected to it on the basis of being an all-sung, foreign, degenerate, a 'Barbarous and Gothick' import, and 'contrary to a true Taste'. Worse, it seduced women, and made men effeminate, quoting Boileau to strengthen his case. The power of drama, according to Dennis, has an influence greater than religion, and so has the power to corrupt when 'reasonable Diversions' are subverted by emotional display – 'Pleasure of the Sense being too much indulged, makes Reason cease to be a pleasure'. Dennis concludes, 'Opera in Italy is a Monster, .. but here in England 'tis an ugly howling one'.[111] However, not all Whigs agreed with this extreme position. Addison attempted to vie with Italian opera by producing an all-sung English opera, *Rosamond*, but which, with a mere three subscription

[111] Dennis, *An Essay on the Opera's After the Italian Manner, which are about to be establish'd on the English Stage: with some Reflections on the Damage which they may bring to the Publick* (1706) – the full title summarises the content of the Essay, Hooker, *Critical Works of John Dennis*, vol.1, pp.382–392.

performances, it closed, and for reasons which are still a puzzle. Devotees of English opera are only too ready to blame competition with Italian opera. Ironically, it had been Addison's purpose to create an all-sung English genre to stem the progress of the Italian brand in London. It failed. From 1708, a more heroic form of opera was on demand, and it was Italian opera that prevailed.

[4/67] A second bookend is *An Essay upon Pastoral* (Fig.19) that appeared at the same time as Philips' 1708 prediction 'I fear the Innocency of the Subject makes it so little inviting at the present' (parag.7 above).

Fig.19



AN

C.175.l.2.

ESSAY

UPON

PASTORAL;

TOGETHER

With ſome Brief REFLEXIONS on ECLOGUE VERSE.

Written by a Gentleman of Quality.

Animi imperio corporis ſervitio magis utimur; alterum nobis cum Diis, alterum cum belluis commune eſt. Quo mihi rectius videtur, Ingenii quam virium opibus Gloriam quærere; & quoniam vita ipſa qua fruimur brevis eſt, memoriam noſtri quam maxime longam efficere. (Saluſtius.)

LONDON:

Printed for *Benj. Bragg*, at the *Black-Raven* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*. 1708.

AN

Eſſay upon PASTORAL.

PART I.

OH! how pleaſant is a Paſtoral Life! how free from Care and Trouble does the peaceful Shepherd live! whoſe ſhort Pilgrimage thro' this ſublunary Globe, and paſſage to a far more glorious State, is an uninterrupted Courſe of bleſſed Security, of divineſt Eaſe, and Virgin Innocence!

When *Phœbus* gently ſhoots forth his radiant Beams, then does the watchful Swain, quitting ſoft Sleep and balmy Slumbers, haſte to his tender Flock, who whilſt they on the lofty Brow or Summit of a wide ſmiling Hill ſecurely gaze (no ravenous Wolf being nigh) then does he,leaning on his Crook, muſe on the wondrous Frame of Nature, with what admirable Wiſdom the Heavens are ſtretch'd forth, and after how beauteous a manner the Earth is adorn'd with orient and pearly Meads, with rich and imbroider'd Groves, with lovely and charming Plants, with odorous and beautiful Flowers, with tranquil and mild Retreats, with pure and delicious Streams, with ſoft and amorous Shades, with fragrant and enamell'd Banks; in fine, the thrice happy and humble Swain with ineffable, with unconceivable Pleaſure and Satisfaction of Mind, ſurveys the kindly Germinations or Springings out of the prolifick and teeming Womb of the Godeſs *Ceres*; but now, when *Aurora* withdraws her ſplendid Form (wheeling her Silver Chariot about) and *Sol* aſcends his Golden Throne, then does the happy Swain (ſupinely laid under the ſhady Covert of ſome large ſpreading Oak) reſign the buſy nature of all Thought to grateful Slumbers, or yet more indearing Dreams, till ſuch time as *Heſperus* awakes and calls him from his Sleep!

B Ite

The publication of different of two such different views of the pastoral in the same year underlines the clashing attitudes between the Ancients and the Moderns,[112] between the neoclassicists and the rationalists. The Gentleman of Quality, the anonymous author of the

[112] Dennis's attitude to the power of drama to influence the public, needs a detailed study beyond the scope of the present dissertation. Dennis in his 1701, *The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry*, makes a strong case for the Moderns against the Ancients, but rejects the modern aspect of Italian opera. He campaigns for morality on the stage, but rejects Jeremy Collier's arguments to abolish its corruption (1704, Hooker, pp.299–319). He is attracted by Tasso's *Rinaldo*, but for his own drama, he makes Rinaldo more rational and masculine (1699 'Preface to Rinaldo and Armida', Hooker, pp.194–196).

'Essay upon Pastoral', which extols the neoclassical view of Virgil, belongs to the camp of the Ancients along with Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, Swift, a Tory faction that looked to the future of the pastoral with optimism,[113] whereas the Whig and Modern rationalist, Philips, is in despair. This is best explained by the divisions among the Whigs, those, who like Philips and Purnell, attempted to modernise the pastoral, constructing a rationale derived from the Herodotus use of Doric dialect to justify Spenser's use of artificial, archaic English – an attempt demolished by Pope in *Guardian* 40. Moderate Whigs like Tickell, Addison, Steele, seemed to retreat from the Spenserian ideal (Fig.12 [4/19-23]). The power of the Italian Virgil over the English Spenser, helped to preserve the Italian pastoral genre, albeit in a reduced form, featuring episodically in otherwise non-pastoral Italianate operas.

Conclusion

[4/68] This chapter addresses the complicated shift from pastoral to the beginnings of tragicomedy. Many factors are involved: English and Italian traditions, French influence, and clashing interpretations between Whigs and Tories. Three Italianate pastorals, *The Loves of Ergasto*, *The Temple of Love*, and *Love's Triumph*, were produced in London at a time of different attitudes (1705-08). The controversies, Ancient versus Moderns, neoclassicists versus rationalists, advocates of Rapin versus Fontenelle, and Tories versus Whigs, raged as the Venetian inspired pastorals arrived in London, and continued when vestiges of the pastoral continued to appear in non-pastoral operas: *Arsinoe*, *The British Enchanters*, *Camilla*, *Wonders in the Sun*, *Rosamond*, and *Thomyris*. Therefore, a sharp division between pastoral and heroic (Harris) can be modified with closer inspection of the transition period. Influences in the transition, both Italian and English, from Guarini to Dryden, tended to blend with the adaptations of Motteux. But the lack of a united English front on pastoral seemed to create an opportunity for the Italian invasion, as Cibber referred to the influx of Italian opera.

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[113] Tory optimism needs some modification with Pope's 'Discourse on Pastoral Poetry' and 'Pastorals' (1704–17). The 'Discourse' emphasises the optimistic features of the shepherd's existence, 'exposing the best side only … concealing its miseries', albeit artificially, but his four 'Pastorals' present a different picture. 'Spring' starts optimistically with nature and happy shepherds, in 'Summer' man attempts to transcend nature with less happy shepherds, in 'Autumn' man attempts to deal with adversity in nature ('Go gentle Gales' and 'Resound ye Hills), and in 'Winter' nature dies ('Fair Daphne's dead), but man manages to survive. David Durant (1971) sees this as a demolition of the pastoral. The Whigs made no reference to this view. However, 20 years later Pope in 'An Essay on Man' was able to use nature as a model to explain the nature of human conduct and aspiration.

[4/69] Motteux's commitment to Italianate opera came to an end with the arrival of Nicolini in December 1708, adding another castrato alongside Valentini, and so an increased amount of Italian singing. An opera plot was still intelligible with one castrato singing in Italian, the meaning being clear from the responses in English, but with two castrati, Valentini and Nicolini, and Catherine Tofts and the Baroness often joining in with Italian, whole scenes in Italian would have been more difficult to follow. Unless the plot had been memorised in advance, the listening process would shift to the sensuous quality of the Italian voice and less so to the intricacy of the plot. This is what Dennis and Motteux had predicted in very different ways, Dennis in polemic, Motteux in libretto prefaces, and what Addison would review in *Spectator* 18: 'At length the Audience grew tired of understanding Half the Opera; and therefore to ease themselves entirely of the Fatigue of Thinking, have so ordered it at present, that the whole Opera is performed in an unknown Tongue' (21 March 1711).

[4/70] Addison's preoccupation with a uniquely, national English opera, blinded him to the Guarini model, which, in fact, had been adapted to English traditions and tastes in the Elizabethan period by Sidney, Lyly, and Spenser (Ch.1). By the turn of the seventeenth century Italian tragicomedy had influenced Shakespeare (*A Winter's Tale*, 1609), perhaps more directly by John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1607-09),[114] in which he argued in his note 'To the Reader':[115]

> But you are ever to remember Shepherds to be such as all the ancient Poets and modern of understanding have revealed them: that it, the owners of flockes and not hyerlings. A tragie-comedie is not so called in respect of mirth and killing but in respect it wants deaths, which is inough to make it no tragedie, yet brings some neere it, which is inough to make it no comedie.

The provenance of tragicomedy from the pastoral, comes from Guarini through Sidney to Fletcher, and adapted to English drama. In addition, publications in English of Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Il pastor fido* from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, continued to influence pastoral and tragicomedy so that both influences worked in tandem, the anglicised versions tending to have a more local type of comedy (e.g., Motteux, *Acis and Galatea*). In London, the pastoral controversies, Neoclassicists (Ancients) and Rationalists

[114] See Stanley Wells *Shakespeare & Co.* (2007), especially Ch.7, 'The Move to Tragicomedy' with explanations like, 'The genre of romantic tragicomedy which seems especially to have appealed to Fletcher is one that Shakespeare too found congenial in what turned out to be his last years' (pp.205–06).
[115] *The Faithfull Shepeardesse* (London, 1609).

(Moderns) had turned the pastoral into political confrontation, thus allowing an opportunity for another less politicised genre, the Italian pastoral to emerge. However, due to its limited dramatic potential, the Italian pastoral needed devices like *Affektarien*,[116] or the simile aria to expand the emotional range. Despite this handicap, pastoral scenes continued to be useful for moments of retreat, reflection, or introspection in tragicomic opera. The transition period, the focus of this chapter, was part of the process.

[4/71] Tory sources have less to say about pastoral opera and saw no need to use the Italian opera for political purposes.[117] The Whig attitude, being divisive and ambiguous, is more difficult to fathom. Those like Dennis loathed the prospect of Italian opera. Addison thought that an all-sung opera in English with an English setting and a well-constructed libretto, could be the answer to Italian opera, but with the perceived failure of his own all-sung *Rosamond*, he had changed his mind in the *Spectator* (1711-12) to an attitude of mockery. The moderate Whig, Vanbrugh, had built the Queen's Theatre, initially as a playhouse, but the reverberant acoustic made it ideal as an opera house, successful only after Vanbrugh relinquished his management in 1708. Tories like Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, Swift, being literary pundits at heart, showed no interest in Italian opera, but oddly it was during the Tory administration, 1710-14, that the introduction of Italian opera would reach its peak with *Rinaldo* in 1711.

[4/72] The transition period 1705-08, saw a shift in emphasis of opera genre, partly controlled by box office receipts, gentry demand for the exotic, theatre competition, manoeuvres of Vice-Chamberlain Coke, and the arrival of the castrati. What is certain is that the pastorals were not immediately followed by heroic operas as viewed by some scholars, which reinforces the argument for evolution. The arrival of Italian opera was an evolving process, one of trial and error, influenced by pastoral controversies. In retrospect, an inevitable drive towards the tragicomedy was sealed by the arrival of Handel.

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[116] Some of the quoted ones are *aria di cantabile*, *aria patetica*, *aria di portamento*, *aria di mezzo carattere*, *aria parlante*, *aria di bravura*, *aria brillante* (Robinson, 1972; p.88).
[117] Vice-Chamberlain Coke did not flaunt his Tory credentials, but he was enthusiastic about the arrival of Italian 1982), pp.xxix, 260. opera, given his attempts to get Vanbrugh to improve the administration of the Queen's Theatre (Coke biography, *The House of Commons 1690–1715*, ed. Cruickshanks *et al* (2002) vol.3 pp.640–651; *Coke Papers*, ed. M&H, (1982).

Chapter Five: Heroic Opera or Tragicomedy?

> Love and statecraft are the themes of heroic opera; they are exercised by means of copious intrigue. The characters are torn by a conflict between amorous and political motives, and they have a great deal to say about outraged honour. Indeed one could almost classify them according to their meaning of honour.
> (Winton Dean, *Handel and the Opera Seria*, 1970, 'Heroic Operas', p.54)

> The major dramatic genre of the baroque era, and especially opera, being tragicomedy, the student of baroque operatic traditions must remember……. the contrast is between various kinds of tragicomedy – the most important being pastoral and heroic drama ….
> (Ellen Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition*,1980, p.2)

[5/1] If a definition, or better understanding, of the pastoral genre can vary contextually from time and place, heroic opera can also defy easy description. Tragicomedy, on the other hand, as described by Guarini as a potential tragedy that ends happily is a genre easier to recognise. Nevertheless, 'heroic' is the genre more often associated with the later stages of pre-Handelian opera. It might seem odd to start with Winton Dean for a definition of heroic opera since the Handel operatic oeuvre postdates almost all of the discussion in this study, but *Rinaldo* belongs to the heroic group that Dean classifies as 'twenty-four of thirty-nine surviving operas', so Dean's longer term perspective can be useful. However, to compound matters, Dean includes a refinement of the heroic into 'Magic Operas' (Ch.6), and 'Antiheroic Operas' (Ch.7), subgenres, that might otherwise be classified as heroic, but many qualify as tragicomedy as well.

Difficulty in defining Heroic Opera

[5/2] Nevertheless, Dean provides a starting point, the tension between love and politics being sufficient to constitute heroic opera, but he also refers to the exclusion of 'common people'. Much depends on the interpretation of 'common people', but since 'non-aristocratic' is implied, the presence the magician and herald in *Rinaldo* may be an exception.[1] Ellen Harris on pastorals has little to say about the heroic, but she suggests a contrast with the pastoral – the heroic has a concern with political affairs against a backdrop of war.[2] Reinhard Strohm reminds us that the Aristotelian distinction between serious and

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[1] *Handel and the Opera Seria* (1970), Ch.5, 'Heroic Operas', p.54.

[2] Harris, pp.234–5.

comic drama had been abandoned in seventeenth-century opera, but was revived by the Accademia dell'Arcadia in Rome from 1690, so that 'serious' opera, as distinct from the comic, became 'heroic'.[3] Duncan Chisholm sees 'transition' operas – *Camilla*, *Thomyris*, *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* – in a category of 'limited heroic type', mainly because they do not have 'the boundless heroism of the castratos', thus making the quality of the Italian *primo uomo* a measure of the heroic.[4] This study takes an alternative view about the nature of transition, *Camilla* and *Thomyris* having elements of the pastoral rather than just 'limited heroic'. David Kimbell uses the experience of the Accademia dell'Arcadia to provide a reason for this study's view of transition from pastoral to heroic. The initial Arcadian reaction against extravagant display and virtuosity in favour of pastoral simplicity and idealism, was attractive, but its narrow range of emotions and artifice of content could not compete with the variety of passions and realistic dilemmas characteristic of heroic opera – the pastoral had to rely on simile arias for moments of tense emotion or tenderness, that might conjure up the desired effect.[5]

[5/3] For a more in-depth study of the heroic in the theatre generally, of which opera is a part, Robert Hume surveys a range of 'heroic' theories, but unlike Harris, makes a clear distinction between tragicomedy and the heroic.[6] He surveys a variety of authorities – Arthur Kirsch, Harold Brooks, Allardyce Nicholl, only to dismiss them. Eugene Waith is preferred – the heroic play has a 'titanic protagonist' whose abilities are stretched to the limit. The appearance of comedy undermines the heroism. Hume uses Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes*

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[3] *Dramma per Musica, Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (1997), p.2. Stampiglia abandoned the rigid distinction, by bringing comic characters into *Il trionfo di Camilla* (1696) and later Bononcini operas.

[4] *The Musical Times* (Aug. 1974) pp.650–54. *Pyrrhus* has two famous castratos, but whether 'boundless' is not so clear.

[5] *Italian Opera* (1991), p.184. The members of Accademia dell'Arcadia posed as shepherds, and so, initially, favoured the pastoral genre. The insertion of comic scenes in the London pastorals, suggests a traditional seventeenth century Venetian influence with limited link to the Arcadians. Kimbell alleges that Zeno took Arcadian principles to Venice with his first libretto featuring Arcadia, *Gli inganni felici*, set by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo in 1695. But closer inspection reveals that the opera is not a pastoral. The libretto specifies 'La Scena è in Elide' (Eleia or Elis, west of Arcadia in the Peloponnese), the traditional venue for the Olympic Games (dating back to 776 BC), in which King Clistene of Sicionia plans to offer his daughter in marriage to the winner of the games, the basic plot of Metastasio's later *Olimpiade*. Zeno's leading characters are princes and princesses, so hardly pastoral. Disguise and mistaken identities are key to the plot, and so in breach of Arcadian principles as well (Howard Mayer Brown collection, 1979, vol.6; also NGDO).

[6] *The Development of English Drama in the late Seventeenth Century* (1990); 'The terminological muddle is quite unresolvable. Happy-ending plays are usually tossed into the holdall of tragicomedy', pp.1812. However, this dismissive view of tragicomedy is contested by others, not least by Guarini who in his 1590 publication of *Pastor Fido*, designated his play as a 'pastoral tragicomedy'.

(1656, 1661), both play and opera, as examples of the heroic genre, emphasising greatness, virtue, valour, temperance, and natural justice, as expected ingredients. In particular, he highlights Christian-pagan conflict, love combined with heroism, and scenery exploited to reflect the purpose of the production. Hume cites Dryden's preference for action backed with trumpets and drums to emphasise the powerful, decisive, and triumphant hero.[7] This description applies only partially to *Rinaldo* in 1711; in terms of trumpets and drums to heighten the spectacular splendour and bombast of the occasion as conceived by Dryden in 1685, Rinaldo is a different sort of 'hero', more in line with the description provided by Curtis Price.[8] Handel's *Rinaldo* lies outside the parameters of Hume's book, but his description of *The Siege of Rhodes* does contain many of the ideals and dramatic material in Handel's opera. Add to that, the influence of the Dryden/Purcell *King Arthur*, and it seems that the seeds of English heroic were sown by Davenant and Dryden. Hume includes a section on semiopera, 'The Musical Spectacular: English Opera', but his account of the heroic relies completely on Dryden, in particular in the Preface to *Albion and Albanius* (1685), which includes an account of the heroic in English opera, very different from the Italian, which evolved from the pastoral, just as Guarini argued in 1602 – a transition from *favola pastorale* to tragicomedy, and reflected in the London transition from 1708 to 1711, the 'hero', a more sensitive, non-swashbuckling protagonist. There are therefore, two versions of the hero under consideration.

Pyrrhus and Demetrius (1708)[9]

[5/4] Merrill Knapp sees *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* as 'a turning point in the shift to Italian opera in London'.[10] The conflict between love and politics is the dominant theme and the conflict of war in the background is omnipresent. However, there is an ever greater linguistic conflict. The libretto is a mish-mash of Italian and English, not always printed in both languages.[11] Nicolini and Valentini sing in Italian, Mrs. Tofts in a mix of Italian and English, Joanna Maria Linchenham (Baroness) has one scene in Italian, and the others sing in English

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[7] Hume (1990), pp.192-196.

[8] 'Rinaldo is foolish, indecisive, vain, an incompetent lover and warrior, and never in fact heroic … '; 'English Traditions in Handel's Rinaldo', *Handel: Tercentenary Collection*, (1987), p.127.

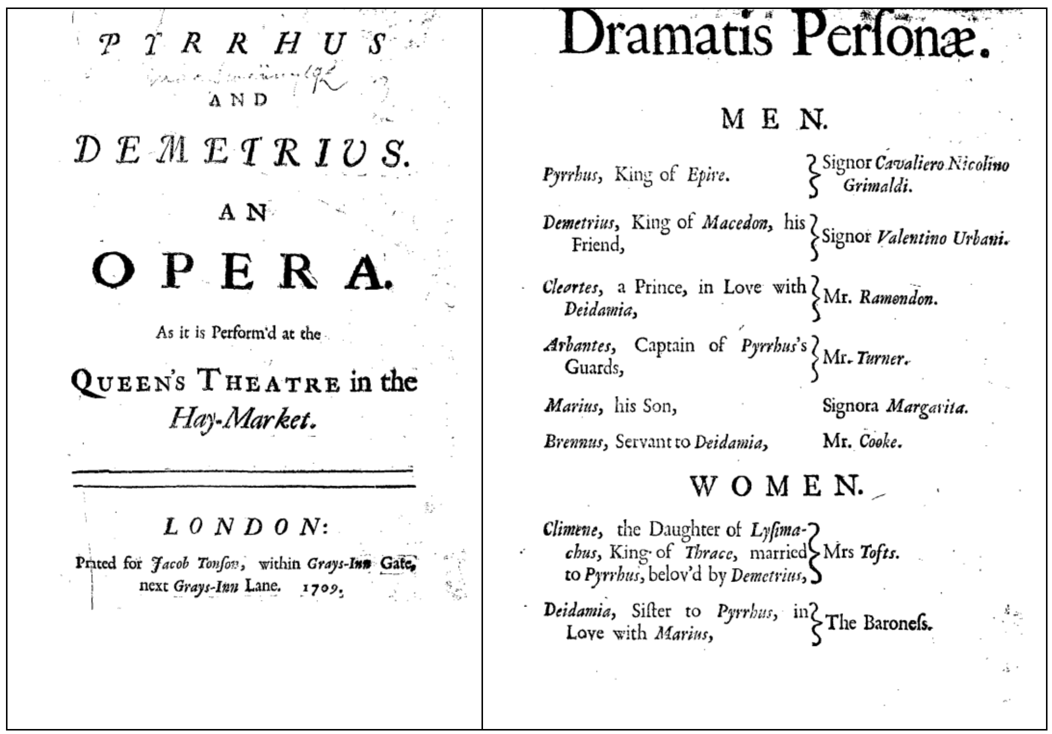
[9] Although first performed on 14 Dec.1708, with another four performances that month, the libretto reads 1709; see also Milhous & Hume 'Draft Calendar' (2001, pp.457-460). The opera notched up another 18 performances, Jan. to May 1709.

[10] Merrill Knapp in SS Kenny (1984, p.99). The libretto: *Pyrrhus and Demetrius. An Opera, as it is perform'd at the Queen's Theatre Royal in the Hay-market. London, Printed by Jacob Tonson, 1709*. British Library (Fig.20). But not significant enough for an entry in *NGDO*.

[11] Act 3, scene 8 appears only in Italian.

(Fig.20). But there was also the quality of the music. *Il Pirro e Demetrio* was one of Scarlatti's big successes in Naples in 1694. Owen Swiney provided the translation of Adriano Morselli's original libretto. Haym added refinements, perceived to be more attractive to the English stage in terms of extra arias, although Knapp sees these 'as competent but dull'.[12]

Fig.20



PYRRHUS
AND
DEMETRIUS.
AN
OPERA.
As it is Perform'd at the
QUEEN'S THEATRE in the
Hay-Market.

LONDON:
Printed for *Jacob Tonson*, within *Grays-Inn* Gate, next *Grays-Inn* Lane. 1709.

Dramatis Personæ.

MEN.

Pyrrhus, King of *Epire*.	Signor *Cavaliero Nicolino Grimaldi*.
Demetrius, King of *Macedon*, his Friend,	Signor *Valentino Urbani*.
Cleartes, a Prince, in Love with *Deidamia*,	Mr. *Ramondon*.
Arbantes, Captain of *Pyrrhus*'s Guards,	Mr. *Turner*.
Marius, his Son,	Signora *Margarita*.
Brennus, Servant to *Deidamia*,	Mr. *Cooke*.

WOMEN.

Climene, the Daughter of *Lysimachus*, King of *Thrace*, married to *Pyrrhus*, belov'd by *Demetrius*,	Mrs *Tofts*.
Deidamia, Sister to *Pyrrhus*, in Love with *Marius*,	The Baroness.

[5/5] Not much has been published about *Pyrrhus and Demetrius*, first performed in London on 14 December 1708, with 22 performances in the first season, and eventually running to 40 performances.[13] The *Muses Mercury*, having closed down early in 1708, the chief contemporary sources are the libretto and Raguenet's *Parallèle* (1702), translated anonymously as the *Comparison*, with its appended 'Critical Discourse' (1709). The *Comparison* focuses on the relative qualities of French and Italian opera to the praise of the latter, and detriment to the former, generating a controversy, but the additional authorial footnotes add another layer of debate. After *Camilla*, *Pyrrhus* is second in line for a glowing report. In the *Comparison* both operas are given attention in the footnotes, added by the

[12] S.S. Kenny, p.100.
[13] Figures calculated from the M&H *Calendar* (2001).There is no article on *Pyrrhus* in online Grove, just related articles.

author to make the *Comparison* more relevant to London.[14] There are three editions of the *Comparison*, the original 1709 print, the Oliver Strunk version in modern print with some cuts in the footnotes, appearing in the *Musical Quarterly* (1946), reprinted in *Source Readings* (1952), and the Cambridge Cudworth copy (1968) with copious comments by an unknown annotator shortly after publication in 1709. All three versions have their merits.

[5/6] The *Pyrrhus* libretto is dated 1709,[15] and the plot, like *Thomyris*, is preoccupied with the conflict between love and duty. There are two basic storylines, and both concern King Pyrrhus of Epire. The first arises out of a tension between Pyrrhus and his newly wedded wife Climene. Both are unhappy about the arrival of Demetrius who had a prior claim to the hand of Climene, thus rendering her marriage with Pyrrhus invalid. This tension is sustained to the beginning of Act 3 where it is revealed that in the war between Macedon and Thrace, Pyrrhus intervened for peace, part of the bargain being that King Demetrius of Macedon would marry the daughter of King Lysimachus of Thrace, the Princess Climene. The catch here is that she abhorred the deeds of Demetrius in the destruction of her people, 'My Father's subjects he destroyed'.[16] Climene's attitude is the decisive factor. Even when Pyrrhus is willing to yield her up to Demetrius to honour the pact she insists in remaining with Pyrrhus. Demetrius comes to terms with this, recognising Pyrrhus's integrity.

[5/7] The second aspect of the plot concerns Pyrrhus's sister Deidamia who had been ruling Epire in the king's absence and is reluctant to give it up.[17] She is also reluctant to enter an arranged marriage with Cleartes, and much prefers the lowly born Marius, son of Pyrrhus's

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[14] *Parallèle des italiens et des françois en ce que regarde la musique et les Opera* (Raguenet), translated as *A Comparison between French and Italian Musick and Opera's*. For Haym as the likely producer of the translation. In 'A Critical Discourse', the author praises the operas he produced. For the *Comparison* footnotes and the 'Discourse' his familiarity with opera in Italy was exceptional for London. Charles Gildon in his *Life of Thomas Betterton* (1710), refers to Haym as the author, but in the conventional evasive style, a 'Book with Notes by Seignior H--' (p.166), which could do with corroboration. Gildon ends the biography with a tirade against Italian opera, a genre he sees as a betrayal of Betterton's values, accusing it of destroying English drama and Purcellian semiopera. Nevertheless, it contains a rare reference to the author of 'A Critical Discourse'.

[15] This is not a bilingual wordbook; the Italian text precedes the English translation, and occasionally there is no translation (II/xiv). The English text is in iambic tetrameters. There was a late start to the season due to the mourning period (28 Oct.-14 Dec.) for Queen Anne's deceased husband, Prince George of Denmark. The libretto for the opera does not seem to have been published in advance of the first performance on 14 December 1708. There is no evidence of an earlier libretto; see Milhous & Hume (2001, p.457). Perhaps, the mourning period was unclear at the time, and that the first performance left the printers unprepared.

[16] Act 1 sc.3 p.6

[17] Whereas the first plot is full of raw emotions and despair, this one is based on calculation by the characters, and surprise for the audience.

captain of the guards, Arbantes. In frustration, but also in a surprise move, she gives Marius written instructions to kill her 'tyrant' brother so that she can regain the throne and marry the man of her choice.[18] Marius attempts to carry out the deed with little compunction and even less success. As he is about to kill Pyrrhus in his bed, Demetrius turns up there as well with the same intention, peeved that Pyrrhus is not willing enough to hand over his bride. The two assassination attempts seem to cancel one another out with each providing lame excuses for being in the king's bedroom with swords drawn. Arbantes, who has acquired Deidamia's written instruction to murder Pyrrhus, fools her into thinking that he has murdered Pyrrhus, and so taken in by this ruse, she mounts the throne convinced she is now queen. But then on cue, Pyrrhus enters the throne room 'with several Nobles .. and Guards' (p.47), declaring, 'Unnatural Sister!':

> Arbantes did to me unfold,
> For which thy forfeit Life must pay.

She knows her fate is sealed. Foiled in her plot, Deidamia makes several attempts to inflict self-punishment, not unlike Dorisbe in *Arsinoe*; falling on her sword, and failing that, jumping from a high tower in the final scene. She survives. Demetrius is so moved by this display of remorse, he offers marriage immediately, saving her from a punishment incompatible with a happy end. Pyrrhus is delighted that the four of them are now a more harmonious family. Of the two plots dealing with relationship difficulties, the former reaches for honour, the latter for foul play, but the outcome, although unpredictable, is resolved. One cannot help feeling that Demetrius's nuptial offer to a murderess would have poor prospects, but the essence of tragicomedy is forgiveness and a happy end.

[5/8] The myth of Pyrrhus stretches back to Virgil and in history to Plutarch. To a classically nurtured audience, the Pyrrhus myth from *The Aeneid* would be familiar, but the opera is adapted to audience expectation. The myth relates a genealogical line between the ancient Greek (Achaean) Pyrrhus and the historical subject of the opera. In Virgil, Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles and Deidamia,[19] at the end of the Trojan war, murdered King Priam and members of his family, kidnapped Andromache, widow of Hector, and allegedly migrated to Epirus (current Albania) where he became king, establishing a dynasty that led to the historical

[18] There is no indication anywhere else in the libretto that he is a tyrant, either in deed, word, or reputation.
[19] This is the subject of Handel's opera, *Deidamia* (1741), in which Achilles is disguised as the female Pyrrha, although there is no mention of the child Pyrrhus.

warrior king, Pyrrhus (318–272 BC).[20] This is where Plutarch in *Parallel Lives* takes over.[21] Pyrrhus had an inconsistent alliance with Demetrius of Macedonia, who had married his sister Deidamia, and had a family relationship to Alexander the Great (356 BC–323 BC), his model in war and empire expansion. This is far distant from the peace-loving Pyrrhus of the London opera, the only link being the names of the characters. The metamorphosis of myth to history and subsequent adaptation to opera, illustrates something of the expectations of seventeenth–eighteenth opera audiences to events in the past as in this case Alessandro Scarlatti's *Il Pirro e Demetrio* (Naples, 1694), adapted for a London audience.

[5/9] The *Pyrrhus* libretto has a dedication by Owen Swiney to Lady Ryalton, aka Lady Henrietta Churchill, the eldest daughter of The Duke of Marlborough, whose wife was a fanatical Whig eager to promote the war.[22] Henrietta had married Francis, Viscount Ryalton (1706–12), son of the Earl of Godolphin, the Lord High Treasurer, and *Thomyris* (April 1707) had been dedicated to him. Not only is war the backdrop to the plot of *Pyrrhus*, it is also the political context of the opera. Henrietta's father-in-law was the government minister financing Marlborough's campaigns. It is therefore no surprise to find in the Dedication:

> I hope Your Ladyship will continue to support these Entertainments, if it be only to relieve the Duke of Marlborough, after the long Fatigues of this wonderful Campaign.

References to Flanders and to Marlborough's prospects at Ghent are intertwined with the satisfactions of opera:

> And that too at a Season only fit for these Diversions. But indeed, he has at length made War it self a Diversion; for he takes, or recovers what Towns he pleases, Laughs at the vain Attempts of the French, and if ever he lets them gain a seeming Advantage, it is only that he may give them a surer Blow.

This show of sycophancy was an undisguised attempt to extract funding from the Whig propaganda machine.[23] In the May 1708 general election, the Whigs had won clear majority

[20] In Virgil, however, Pyrrhus soon tires of Andromache, and in an attempt to woo Hermione, the wife of Orestes, she stabs him 'to death at the altar of his home' (*The Aeneid*, Penguin, 1968, p.85).

[21] Editions used: Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Fagles (1990); *Plutarch, Lives of the Noble Grecian and Romans* (trans. Thomas North), pp.187–233.

[22] See Marlborough's letter to the Duchess, 3 Aug.1705 from Meldert, explaining the need to be above faction (Trevelyan, 1929).

[23] A 'machine' largely driven by the Kit-Cat Club; see, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture*, Abigail Williams. Whig power was reinvigorated by the forced resignation in February 1708 of Tory, Robert

in the House of Commons for the first time in Queen Anne's reign,[24] and with political power, they were intent on using culture to further their objectives – a continuation with the war with France, the total subjugation of the Catholic Louis XIV, the security of a Protestant Succession, but also, the consolidation of trading routes. The victory at Ramilles (1706) had driven the French out of Flanders, and Oudenaarde (July 1708) was still fresh in the public imagination. But the turning point had been reached. Oudenaarde 'was a victory but not a decisive one'.[25] The Battle of Malplaquet (1709), the year of success for *Pyrrhus* the opera, was less successful for Captain-General Marlborough and is appropriately described by Aaron Graham as a 'pyrrhic' victory.[26] This, the turning point in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), coincided with a similar operatic shift from pastoral to heroic as if a compensation for the turn of fortunes in war.

[5/10] Whether the political climate influenced the fortunes of opera is not clear, but 1709 was a profitable year for the Queen's Theatre. Under Swiney's management, and with Nicolini as the star attraction, attendance was so promising that the first six nights of both *Pyrrhus* and *Camilla* were by subscription only. Thereafter, Swiney had to issue notices that printed tickets would be limited to 460 per performance to avoid overcrowding, but although this suggests full attendance, it may have been a promotional device. The Queen's Theatre had a capacity of 900. The absence of financial summaries to Vice-Chamberlain Coke indicates that the profits were such as to sustain the company with comfort. The Lord Chamberlain's silencing of Drury Lane in June 1709 due to the tyrannical management of Christopher Rich, and the actors' rebellion, gave the Queen's Theatre a monopoly of opera and plays that boosted box office receipts. In these circumstances, Nicolini's agreed annual salary of 800 guineas, more than double ever paid to a singer or actor, did not seem to unbalance the books.[27] In addition, Swiney was able to pay actors 'lavish' salaries to

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Harley, whose good relations with the 'duumvirs', Godolphin and Marlborough, preserved a degree of moderation in politics. The passing of Harley saw a revival of the Whig Junto, and Whig extremism in politics (*History of Parliament, The House of Commons, 1690–1715*, Cruikshanks *et al* (2002),vol.4, p271 [extended biography of Harley (1661–1724), pp.244–283].

[24] Whigs 268, Tories 225, unclassified 20; *House of Commons, 1690–1715*, Hayton, vol.1, p.227.; Hoppit (2000), p.297.

[25] Brendan Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat* (2007) p.56.

[26] Aaron Graham, *Corruption, Party, and Government in Britain, 1702–1713* (2015), p.96; a reference to the Battle of Asculum (279 BC), after which Pyrrhus is said to have remarked, 'another victory like this against the Romans would ruin him.'

[27] *Coke Papers*, 1708–1709 season, introduction and documents (pp.117–122).

implement renovations to the theatre, and to provide new sceneries and costumes, something unheard of in the days of Vanbrugh.[28]

[5/11] However, good times did not last – by the end of 1709, Drury Lane opened again and the Queen's Theatre monopoly ended. In a letter to Coke, Swiney regrets the loss of the best actors to Drury Lane and he raises the prospect of having to make swingeing economies.[29] Whether the downturn of the year 1710 was in any way linked to the political climate, is a moot point. While it appears that the Whigs should gain credit for patronage of Italian opera through dedications, for opera producers, tying one's prospects to the coat-tails of Marlborough and Godolphin was not a good idea. The cost of the wars, Godolphin's role in the prosecution of Dr Sacheverell for his flagrantly anti-Whig sermons, the subsequent riots on Sacheverell's behalf,[30] the loss of support for the Whigs, the conduct of the Whig fanatic, Sarah Churchill towards the Queen,[31] the fall of the Godolphin ministry and the Whig government, all conspired to bring about a landslide victory of the Tories in the October general election.[32] The ease with which Swift could discredit Marlborough is evidence of his decline in the public imagination.[33]

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[28] Eric Walter White (1983, pp.147–8) provides elaborate detail of the scenery painted by Marco Ricci. The quality of the artistry was a big audience attraction, recognising that in opera, the appeal to the eye+ was as important as to the ear.

[29] Coke Papers, 1709–1710 Season, introduction and Doc.78, Nov.1709

[30] In Sacheverell's provocative sermon in Nov 1709, Godolphin was irritated by being referred to as 'Volpone'. William Weber (*Cambridge Companion to Handel*, Burrows, (2004, p.47) argues that Handel would have been affected by the Sacheverell affair. He refers to the March 1710 riots, but Donald Burrows assures us that Handel was still in Germany, Düsseldorf, in autumn 1710 (*Handel*, 1994, p.61). Best estimates suggest Handel did not get to London till November/December 1710, by which time even the stormy general election in October, was over (Geoffrey Holmes 'The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd and the Church in early Eighteenth Century London', *Past and Present*, no.72 (Aug 1976), p.55.

[31] Sarah Churchill had been Anne's confidante since the 1680s, and continued in official roles when Anne became Queen in 1702 at a salary of £6000. As the years passed she exerted more and more control over the Queen, pressing Whig appointments, and monitoring all access to the Queen. This process of domination came to a crunch when Sarah insulted the Queen in public outside St Paul's Cathedral in 1708. The Queen's new favourite, Abigail Masham, may have been a catalyst, but by 1710, Sarah had completely lost her power and influence (ODNB). Countries involved in the war, had either achieved their aims, or were exhausted. There was a belief in Britain that the expense of war was exorbitant, and that the Whigs were determined to continue for power and glory. Marlborough, no longer a hero, was dismissed in 1711 to prevent the war continuing, and an early peace was settled at Utrecht in 1713 (Hoppit, 2000, pp.120–121).

[32] Tories 329, Whigs168, unclassified 14; *House of Commons, 1690-1715*, Hayton, vol.1, (2000), p.230. The extent to which Tories paved the way for *Rinaldo* will be discussed later in this chapter.

[33] Simms, pp.58-9; Victoria Glendinning, *Jonathan Swift* (Pimlico 1999) pp.93–4; AL Rowse, *Jonathan Swift* (Thames and Hudson, 1975) pp,73–4.

[5/12] If the *Pyrrhus* Dedication takes us into the realm of politics, the *Comparison* footnotes provide reactions to the text. Some footnotes in the *Comparison* make specific references to *Pyrrhus*. Footnote 12 praises the choice of two songs from Scarlatti with 'great Harmony there is between the Instruments and the Vocal Part', and the clever use of modulation.[34] Footnote 14 deals with Nicolini's approach to *Pyrrhus*, how he added arias from another Scarlatti opera, but 'notwithstanding its Excellent Musick, wou'd have been esteem'd as nothing, had it not been perform'd by one so perfect in the Art of Acting, as Nicolini is'. Footnote 17 links *Pyrrhus* to *Camilla* to describe ideal aria types – 'Brisk lively Airs, Tender Airs, Impetuous Airs, Languishing Airs, and Airs that are Tender and Lively at the same time', providing examples from each opera (pp.22-25). The Cambridge Cudworth libretto copy with anonymous scribbled annotation is worth quoting as one person's reaction to the above footnotes shortly after publication:

> Fn.12 (reaction to Scarlatti's use of dissonance and resolution [suspensions]): 'This is no more than what all musicians doe and have done and will doe. No man is to be called a master who can doe it. Perhaps Scarlatti's greatest fault is doing it too often'.
> Fn.13-14: (difficult to read) – admits that Nicolini has talent but the annotator 'does not commend him like one that understood his value. A lady's footman who reads Romances or Lays would commend him just *** in the 12 penny Gallery' (i.e. Nicolini overrated?).
> Fn.17: (on the aria types): 'Some of these are good, some Indifferent, Some Bad' (no detail).

In footnotes 11-15 we learn from the annotator – he dislikes choruses, berates Nicolini, and 'Corelli is a conceited fellow half madd [sic]' (fn.15).[35]

[5/13] 'A Critical Discourse' gives some clues to the construction of the opera itself (1709; pp.75-9). We are reminded that the score of *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* had been prepared earlier in 1708 for Drury Lane, but was awaiting the arrival of Nicolini in December to perform the title role. The Scarlatti origin is confirmed as, 'the best that Author ever Compos'd, having met with an Universal Applause at *Naples*, *Rome*, and where-ever else it has been Perform'd'. In spite of this distinction, the 'Discourse' claims some airs are 'indifferent in

[34] London *Comparison* edition (1709), p.15.

[35] Although the marginal annotations described here are of indifferent value, Stanley Sadie in his 1969 *Musical Times* review, writes: 'Some of the notes are critical of the text, others enlarging on it, others approving; they are always apposite, often sardonic and witty'. The marginalia need closer inspection, currently beyond the scope of this study.

their kind', so had to be substituted for audience appeal (pp.75-76). Then, the prime piece of evidence that Haym must be the author of the Discourse:

> kind, the Director of this, who is the ſame that had the Direction of *Camilla*, thought himſelf obliged, that he might the better hit the Taſte of the *Engliſh*, to inſert almoſt half the Airs of his own Compoſition; many of which indeed ſucceeded even better than ſome of *Scarlatti*'s that remain'd in the Opera. And this he did,

Haym directed both operas, so there is little doubt that this modest piece of self-congratulation, confirms himself as the author. He justifies adapting the original opera by the tradition of audience appeal, but has no compunction about inserting his own arias. To enhance his authority on the subject, he refers to 'the Gentleman before' (Heidegger) as having no skill in selecting arias from another source, so *Thomyris* gets a bad report despite eight performances against ten for *Pyrrhus* in the 1709-10 season. Haym continues with reception of the opera – *Pyrrhus* was not so well received initially as his *Camilla*, 'probably because the Musick is more Melancholy', but with repeated performances the audiences were won over.[36]

[5/14] In the following paragraph (p.77), Haym declares for a more 'particular Examination of the Opera in Question'. He continues, 'I shall declare my Opinion of it', so the reader is exposed to an elaborate piece of self-review. He sets tremendous store by the reactions of the audience for whom the recitatives are better designed that hitherto. He quotes beautiful Airs, beginning with the opening of scene of Act 1, *under a rich Canopy*,[37] where Pyrrhus (Nicolini) rests with his sleeping wife, Climene (Catherine Tofts) – 'Vieni, ò Sonno' (Come, O Sleep) in which Pyrrhus struggles to find repose, concerned that his marriage to Climene is under threat (Ex.16). In retrospect, Haym thinks that 'tho' the Musick be Divine, yet the whole Air is too long', he recommends cutting the *da capo*. In fact, the recitative appears to be very long as well. The recitative in Italian does not have a complete translation in the

[36] The source for this paragraph is the London 1709 copy of the 'Discourse' appended to the *Comparison*. Haym is referring to Scarlatti's *Il Pirro e Demetrio* (1694) with the Morselli libretto (NGDO, vol.4. p.204). However, views will differ as to which is the 'best' Scarlatti opera. For the 'Rehearsal for *Pyrrhus & Demetrius* by Marco Ricci, see Illustration 9.
[37] This is the only stage direction in the libretto, but we learn from Pyrrhus in Act1/ii, that he and wife are spending the night *al fresco* under this canopy. *Arsinoe* Act 1/i, has a similar open air bed scene beginning.

libretto, so unless the audience know in advance about Demetrius, they will not understand the reason for Pyrrhus's insomnia. Haym's 'Examination' blames the Air where the libretto is at fault too. His examination could be more analytical, not to mention accurate. Compared with the detailed quality of, for example, Pope's literary analysis in *Guardian* 40 [4/23], Haym's response to his own product is thin.

[5/15] On Climene's Air (Act 1/ii), 'Tortorella che resta solo' ('Little dove that rests alone') with a languid oboe solo (Ex.18), Haym has noticed that the audience found this number 'exceedingly heavy', and so it needed to be cut for future performances along with the following recitative. However, before Climene (Mrs Tofts) sings this Air, Pyrrhus, in a gloomy mood, watches his wife sleep (Act 1/ii). Climene launches into a jolly minuet, 'Rise, O Sun' (Ex.17, in English), which appears to be a sleep aria in traditional pastoral style, since Pyrrhus (Nicolini) follows her 'A' section with 'See she awakes!', and he appears to do so in English since there is no Italian text in the libretto.[38] When Climene gradually awakes, she completes the *da capo* section of her Air (Pyrrhus's lyrical ruminations acting as a B section), and then, sings in Italian, perhaps to make more sense of her exchange with Pyrrhus who otherwise sings Italian throughout. Once fully awake, Climene finds her husband in distress, and renders her doleful simile aria, 'Tortorella' (above), which in Haym's view, 'cloys the audience too much'. Haym's remark that it took the audience longer to assimilate this opera compared to *Camilla*, can be explained in the action and the music. Bononcini's opera begins with action, lighter orchestration, thinner accompaniments, and fast-moving recitatives, whereas Scarlatti's opera is slow, introspective, has thicker orchestration, and pitches straight into Italian dialogue, which can leave the audience bemused. Haym considers Acts 2 and 3, pointing out Airs to be dropped, a better finale to Act 2, and the damaging Act 3, 'the worst of all' – his conclusion, 'this Opera begins Great and Masterly, it ends Low and Poorly' (p.78). As his discourse progresses, Haym becomes more and more self-critical. However, something must explain the opera's continuing success. The timbre of Nicolini's voice and his acting ability endorsed by Steele and Cibber, may have made the difference. The traditional love triangle of the pastoral, the tensions of the plot, and Swiney's willingness to update scenery and costumes, may have encouraged audiences to return again and again until increased familiarity made the experience more enjoyable.

[38] The libretto, of course, is not an accurate indicator of the performance.

Clotilda (1709)

[5/16] Two operas proved lucrative for the Queen's Theatre in 1709, *Pyrrhus and Demetrius*, and the revival of *Camilla*. *Clotilda* did not have the success of the other two operas, running for a mere seven performances in March 1709. Little is known about the provenance of the opera and what is known is mainly speculative. The original libretto is attributed to Giovanni Battista (Giambattista) Neri. Biographical information about this librettist is sparse. The NGDO tells us that he was born in Bologna, took a degree in medicine, but preferred writing librettos for Venice, and that his *Clotilde* ended the 1696 season at the Teatro S. Cassiano. It was revived under a new title in 1702 as *Amar* [sic] *per vendetta* for the reopening Teatro S. Moisè, but the composer is not mentioned. Milhous & Hume (2001) make good the omission, referring to Neri's collaboration with the composer, Francesco Bartolomeo Conti, but no date or location. Eleanor Selfridge-Field has a different account – *La Clotilde* has the same librettist, but a different composer, Giovanni Maria Ruggieri, dated 1696 and 1702, and a different plot from London.[39]

[5/17] Haym in 'A Critical Discourse' (1709, pp.79-80) describes the wrong plot, but his purpose is to undermine Heidegger's production by using his influence to have the stage sets by the Venetian painters, Marco Ricci (Illus.9) and Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini, transferred to his own opera *Pyrrhus & Demetrius* :

> Some time after *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*, **Clotilda.**
> another Opera call'd *Clotilda* appear'd on
> the Stage prepar'd by the ſame *Swiſs* Count
> that had the Management of *Thomyris*.
> This conſiſted of much ſuch a Medley of
> Airs, or rather worſe than the former :
> The Count took all imaginable Care to
> make it cut down *Pyrrhus* and *Demetri-*

[39] Sources: M&H (2001), pp.470–74 (Clotilda dates: 2,5,12,15,17,19, 24 March); Neri biography ODNB (1992), vol.3, p.571; Selfridge-Field (2007), pp.218–20, and 253, same dates, locations, but a plot very different from the London adaptation.

us. He engaged the *Venetian* Painters to make a new Scene ; he introduced the Novelty of *Spanish* Habits on the Stage, rarely or never seen in an Opera before, and I'm of Opinion they will never be seen again : He drew out a Guard of *Moors* to attend his *Spanish* Monarch, who with the Assistance of the famous *Iberian* Worthies, were to beat the poor *Epirots* out of the Field ; but, alas ! it was all in vain ; his Soldiers one and all deserted with their Cloaths and Accoutrements, and are now fighting under the Banners of *Pyrrhus* and *Camilla*.

The venom shown towards the Swiss immigrant impresario Heidegger for his compilation of arias in *Thomyris*, is here again in evidence. A number of sources have been identified by Milhous & Hume, referenced in Sartori – Scarlatti, Bononcini, Pollarolo, Fago, Conti, Gasparini, Albinoni, and Caldara, all of which suggests that Heidegger had access to a number of libretti or even scores. While Swiney and Haym busied themselves with *Pyrrhus* and the revival of *Camilla* adapted for Nicolini, *Clotilda* seems to have been left to freelance Heidegger with his hoard of attractive arias. Haym's contempt for this suggests he rejected a working partnership, or perhaps was envious of Heidegger's contacts. The Venetian painters, Marco Ricci and Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini, both persuaded by the Earl of Manchester in Venice to visit London, gave *Clotilda* the edge over the other two operas. But the haste with which their sets, including singers and soldiers, were transferred to *Pyrrhus* (with his army of Epirots) and *Camilla*, suggests a manoeuvre to oust Heidegger. Haym preferred an opera with a single composer, adapted for the occasion, and rejected the pasticcio approach, although he himself was not averse to substituting arias of his own to suit the audience.

[5/18] However, Haym's contempt for Heidegger may not have been shared by the public at large. The arias chosen by Heidegger for *Clotilda* were published in two separate volumes on 15 April 1709, almost a month after the last performance. The first collection, *Songs in the Opera call'd Clotilda*, contains 43 songs, and is labelled, 'London, Printed for & Sold by John Walsh, Servant to her Majesty at the Harp and Hautboy in Katherine Street near Somerset House in the Strand'. A handwritten addition to the title page under *Clotilda*, 'di

Francesco Conti', suggests a belief about the composer at the time. The publication of 'A Critical Discourse' later in the year, reinforces the view of a wider selection of composers:

> I'm obliged to confeſs I know not what Judgment to make of this Opera, there are ſeveral very good Airs compos'd by *Bononcini*, and other Maſters ; but they

Haym was obliged to admit the attractiveness of the Airs, and perhaps this is why a second volume appeared, *Songs in the New Opera, Call'd Clotilda: The songs done in Italian and English as they are Perform'd at ye Queens Theatre, The whole Carefully Corected* [sic]. This time the list of songs expanded to 67.[40] Walsh would not have risked such an outlay, had there not been a demand for the songs. On 29 November 1709, John Young, 'Musical Instrument Seller at the Dolphin & Crown', published a lavish edition of 43 songs from *Clotilda* with a title page featuring Apollo with a harp, and sundry putti-like players in the clouds with string and wind instruments The opera may have closed, but the songs lived on.[41]

[5/19] The plot for *Clotilda* is not the Neri libretto, which has been dropped. Amalaric, the Visigoth king, and his rival King Lothar of Aquitaine, both competing for the hand of Clotilde are removed, and replaced by King Fernando of Castile. He is betrothed to Clotilda, a French princess, but he much prefers the local Isabella, who, unknown to him is attached to Alphonso, a Castilian noble. Both plots feature a love triangle and the misplaced lovers much favoured by Guarini. The Clotilda plot has much in common with the patient Griselda, but instead of the shepherdess of pastoral fame, a princess takes her place; instead of being disliked by the people, in Castile they love her before seeing her (Fig.21).

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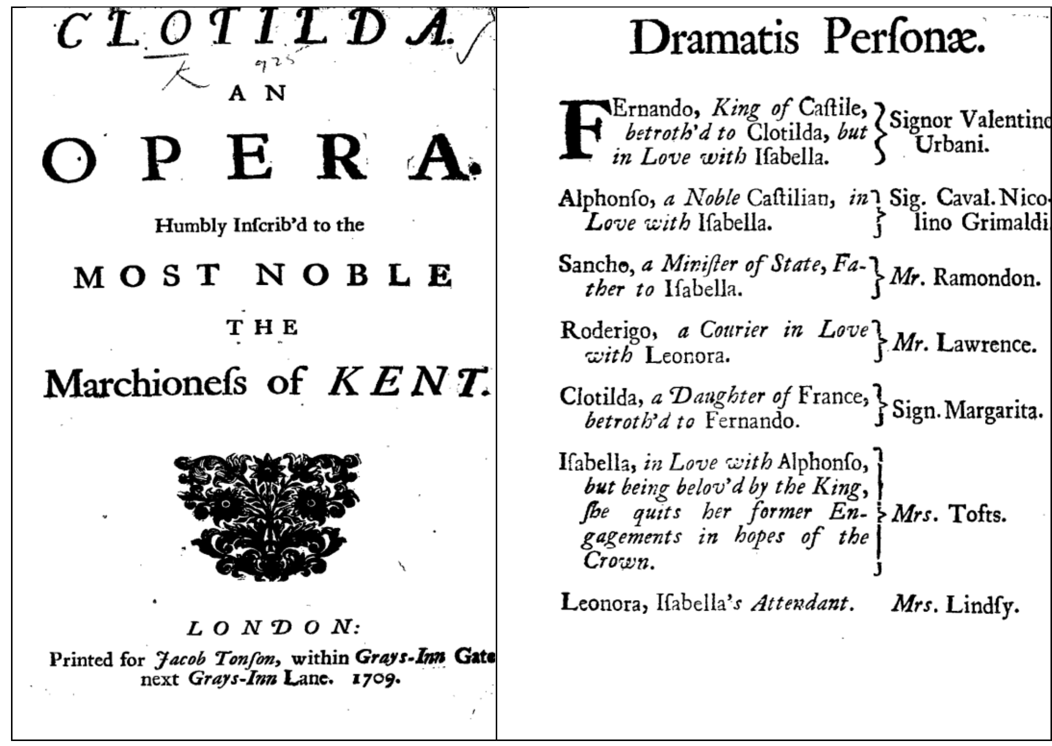
[40] David Hunter, *Opera & Song Books published in England, 1703–1726* (1997), pp.153–159. Hunter assumes a single composer, Conti.

[41] Hunter, pp.171–173. 'Conti' is still handwritten on the title page.

Fig.21



CLOTILDA.

AN

OPERA.

Humbly Inſcrib'd to the

MOST NOBLE

THE

Marchioneſs of *KENT*.

LONDON:

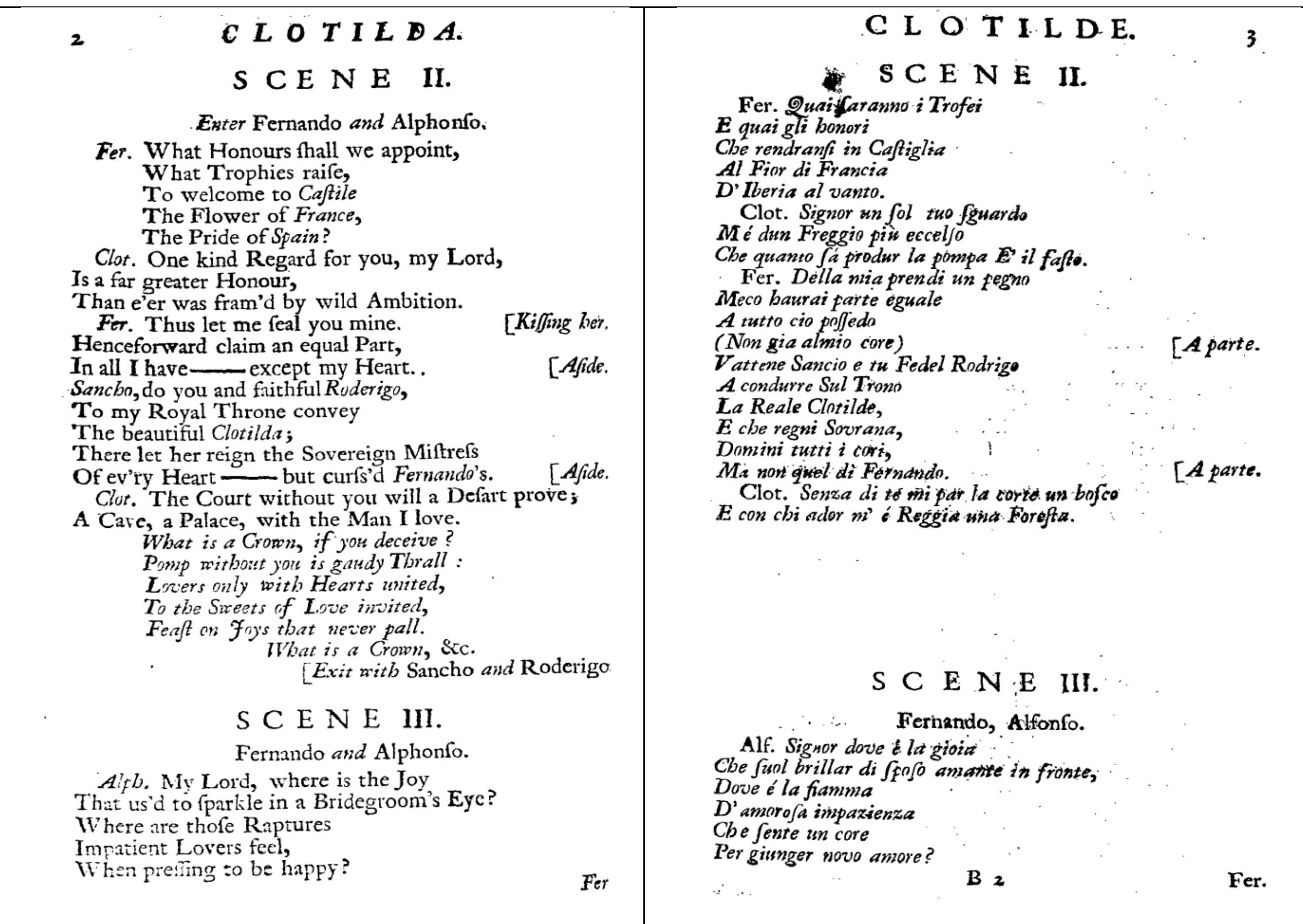
Printed for *Jacob Tonſon*, within *Grays-Inn* Gate next *Grays-Inn* Lane. 1709.

Dramatis Perſonæ.

Fernando, *King of* Caſtile, *betroth'd to* Clotilda, *but in Love with* Iſabella.	Signor Valentino Urbani.
Alphonſo, *a Noble* Caſtilian, *in Love with* Iſabella.	Sig. Caval. Nicolino Grimaldi
Sancho, *a Miniſter of State, Father to* Iſabella.	*Mr.* Ramondon.
Roderigo, *a Courier in Love with* Leonora.	*Mr.* Lawrence.
Clotilda, *a Daughter of* France, *betroth'd to* Fernando.	Sign. Margarita.
Iſabella, *in Love with* Alphonſo, *but being belov'd by the King, ſhe quits her former Engagements in hopes of the Crown.*	*Mrs.* Tofts.
Leonora, Iſabella's *Attendant.*	*Mrs.* Lindſy.

[5/20] The opera opens with the arrival of Clotilda in the royal palace in Castile, but she soon senses she has a rival, Isabella, who is determined to become Queen, and to achieve this, coerces the King to have Clotilda first imprisoned and then murdered, an act to be achieved by the familiar choice of dagger or poison as in *Camilla* and *Rosamond*. She is saved in the nick of time by Alphonso, a noble Castilian who has the backing of the people and the army, but whose aim is to prise Isabella from Fernando for himself. Why the hero of the opera would want to marry Isabella, a potential assassin and to save the virtuous Clotilda for the equally murderous King, is not a problem that concerns the opera. Forgiveness reigns as with tragicomedy, and the intended couples are united, except for couriers, Roderigo and Leonora, who are quietly forgotten about in the *lieto fine* (Fig.21/23).

[5/21] Fig.22



2 *CLOTILDA.*

SCENE II.

Enter Fernando *and* Alphonſo.

Fer. What Honours ſhall we appoint,
What Trophies raiſe,
To welcome to *Caſtile*
The Flower of *France*,
The Pride of *Spain*?
Clot. One kind Regard for you, my Lord,
Is a far greater Honour,
Than e'er was fram'd by wild Ambition.
Fer. Thus let me ſeal you mine. [*Kiſſing her.*
Henceforward claim an equal Part,
In all I have—— except my Heart.. [*Aſide.*
Sancho, do you and faithful *Roderigo*,
To my Royal Throne convey
The beautiful *Clotilda*;
There let her reign the Sovereign Miſtreſs
Of ev'ry Heart —— but curſs'd *Fernando*'s. [*Aſide.*
Clot. The Court without you will a Deſart prove;
A Cave, a Palace, with the Man I love.
What is a Crown, if you deceive?
Pomp without you is gaudy Thrall:
Lovers only with Hearts united,
To the Sweets of Love invited,
Feaſt on Joys that never pall.
What is a Crown, &c.
[*Exit with* Sancho *and* Roderigo

SCENE III.

Fernando *and* Alphonſo.

Alph. My Lord, where is the Joy
That us'd to ſparkle in a Bridegroom's Eye?
Where are thoſe Raptures
Impatient Lovers feel,
When preſſing to be happy?

Fer

CLOTILDE. 3

SCENE II.

Fer. *Quai ſaranno i Trofei*
E quai gli honori
Che rendranſi in Caſtiglia
Al Fior di Francia
D'Iberia al vanto.
Clot. *Signor un ſol tuo ſguardo*
M'é dun Freggio più eccelſo
Che quanto ſá produr la pompa E' il faſto.
Fer. *Della mia prendi un pegno*
Meco haurai parte eguale
A tutto cio poſſedo
(Non gia almio core) [*A parte.*
Vattene Sancio e tu Fedel Rodrigo
A condurre Sul Trono
La Reale Clotilde,
E che regni Sovrana,
Domini tutti i cori,
Ma non quel di Fernando. [*A parte.*
Clot. *Senza di te mi par la corte un boſco*
E con chi ador m' é Reggia una Foreſta.

SCENE III.

Fernando, Alfonſo.

Alf. *Signor dove è la gioia*
Che ſuol brillar di ſpoſo amante in fronte,
Dove é la fiamma
D'amoroſa impazienza
Che ſente un core
Per giunger novo amore?

B 2 Fer.

For the first time since *Gli amori di Ergasto* (1705), the Italian convention of *Argomento* was employed in *Clotilda*, a synopsis rather than the obsequious dedicatee prologue, or a preface arguing that the opera respects English traditions. The pretence was dropped – this was to be an Italian opera. To reinforce the message for the first time since *Ergasto* in 1705, the libretto featured the parallel text, English verso, and Italian recto, previous operas having the English translation below the castrato parts (Fig.22). The parallel text, however, could lead to confusion.[42]. The two castrati, Valentini and Nicolini, sing in Italian, which is confusing enough for the audience, and especially with the 'Aside' (*A parte*), which has to be understood to be effective, but the question arises as to whether Margarita (Clotilda) sang

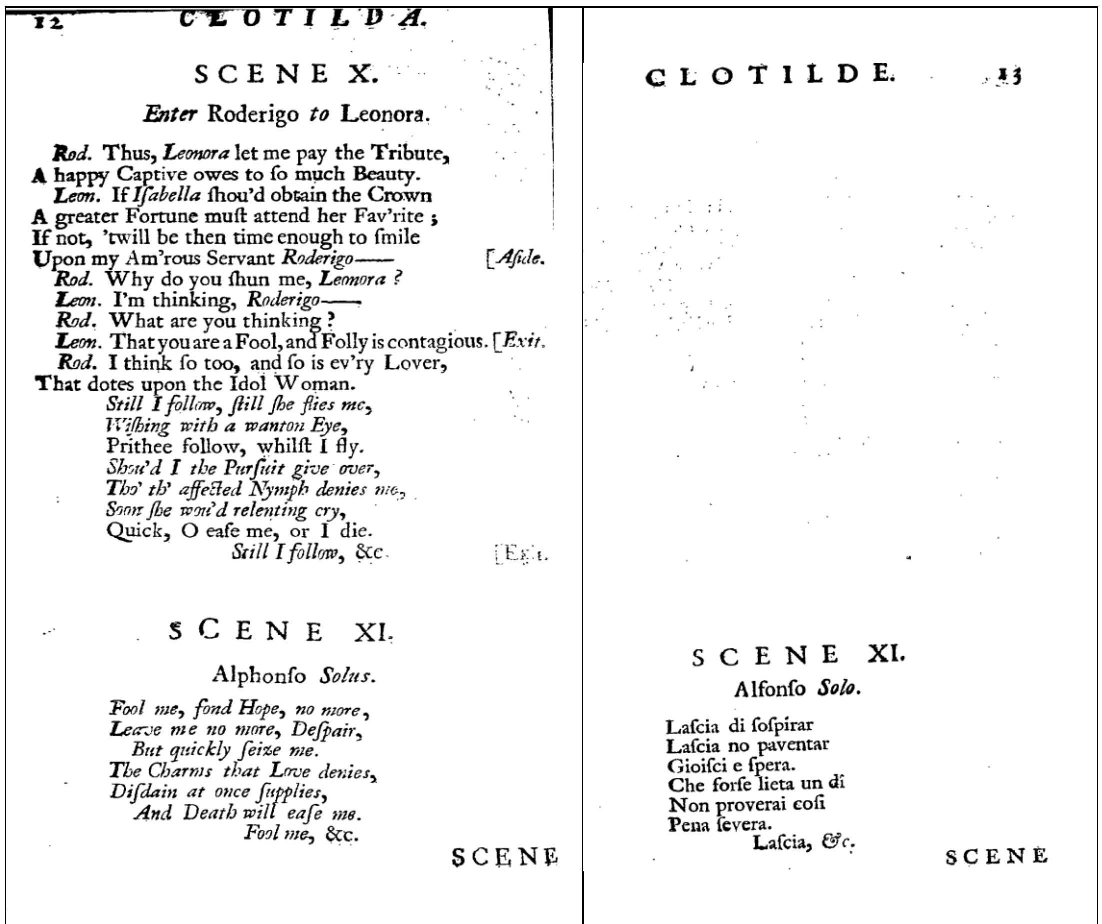
[42] Libretto, pp.10–11, scenes viii-ix, most of Isabella's part, and all of Leonora's, are cut in the Italian recto; pp.12–13, scenes x–xi; in the Italian recto, scene x is missing (Fig.23). There are many more examples. This may well represent teething troubles with the first printing attempt at a bilingual libretto since the short-lived *Ergasto* in 1705.

in Italian, or whether her lines in Italian were there of necessity for the parallel text. Her Air, 'What is a Crown, if you deceive?', does not appear in Italian, so may have been sung in English (Fig.22). Margarita was competent in both languages, so could well have followed the libretto pattern, singing the recitative in Italian and the Air in English. However, in Act 2/v, when she is visited in prison by Alphonso (Nicolini) who tries to persuade her of the villainy of the king, she blames the temptress, Isabella (English or Italian?) – 'let sudden Vengeance seize her', but as regards 'my King, my Husband, Tho' I am wrong'd, still I am bound to love him'. She sings her aria in Italian, 'Deh! Ritorna o sonno amato', badly translated into English as, 'Whilst Distrust my Soul's assailing'.

[5/22] In scenes with the two lesser characters, not quite the Dean 'common people', the Italian text is left blank (Fig.23). Act 1/x, is a good example in which the characters converse in English. Roderigo, sung by Mr Lawrence and Leonora by Mrs Lindsey, are not the traditional comic characters acting as a foil to the main plot, but are drawn into the central theme. The following text shows that Leonora is complicit in the murder plot and that with Isabella as queen her status in court would be enhanced, and that any love she had for Roderigo would become the victim of ambition. It may have occurred to the audience that Roderigo's loyalty 'Air' to the just departed homicidal Isabella has a parallel with Clotilda's commitment to Fernando. Parallels from the past, or second guessing the attitude of audiences on the basis of modern reception, are fraught with risk. An opera featuring France and Spain during the War of the Spanish Succession may have had allegorical implications, but with a villainous king of Spain willing to murder an innocent French princess, there is no clear parallel in the political arena.[43] Given the short run of the opera, there is sparse evidence of audience reception apart from an appetite for the songs.

[43] Marie Louise d'Orléans travelled to Spain in 1679 to marry Charles II. She was badly treated by Mariana, Charles's mother, and died ten years later.

Fig.23



12 CLOTILDA.

SCENE X.

Enter Roderigo *to* Leonora.

Rod. Thus, *Leonora* let me pay the Tribute,
A happy Captive owes to ſo much Beauty.
Leon. If *Iſabella* ſhou'd obtain the Crown
A greater Fortune muſt attend her Fav'rite;
If not, 'twill be then time enough to ſmile
Upon my Am'rous Servant *Roderigo*—— [*Aſide.*
Rod. Why do you ſhun me, *Leonora?*
Leon. I'm thinking, *Roderigo*——
Rod. What are you thinking?
Leon. That you are a Fool, and Folly is contagious. [*Exit.*
Rod. I think ſo too, and ſo is ev'ry Lover,
That dotes upon the Idol Woman.
Still I follow, ſtill ſhe flies me,
Wiſhing with a wanton Eye,
Prithee follow, whilſt I fly.
Shou'd I the Purſuit give over,
Tho' th' affected Nymph denies me,
Soon ſhe wou'd relenting cry,
Quick, O eaſe me, or I die.
Still I follow, &c. [Exit.

SCENE XI.

Alphonſo *Solus.*

Fool me, fond Hope, no more,
Leave me no more, Deſpair,
But quickly ſeize me.
The Charms that Love denies,
Diſdain at once ſupplies,
And Death will eaſe me.
Fool me, &c.

SCENE

CLOTILDE. 13

SCENE XI.

Alfonſo *Solo.*

Laſcia di ſoſpirar
Laſcia no paventar
Gioiſci e ſpera.
Che forſe lieta un di
Non proverai coſi
Pena ſevera.
Laſcia, *&c.*

SCENE

[5/23] The attempted murder of Clotilda suggests several dramatic inconsistencies. Fernando ignores the consequences of his murderous plan – the response of the King of France to news of his daughter's sudden death. An alternative plan to return Clotilda to France unharmed is not considered. The Guarini 'knot' has taken over, and the dagger-or-poison solution in a prison cell is a favourite (*Camilla*, *Rosamond*, or earlier Cavalli's *Ormindo*). The opera does not necessarily concern itself with realistic implications of the plot. Suffice that there is a death threat, a fulfilment of the Guarini knot, and the resolution – Clotilda is rescued in time, and her loyalty to the murderous husband Fernando, even when Alfonso threatens to kill him, brings about a happy solution. This is an opera about uxorial fidelity pushed to the limit, but it does not have the dramatic subtlety of Zeno's 1701 *Griselda* libretto.[44]

[44] Clotilda is not pushed to the extremes of Griselda in Antonio Maria Bononcini's opera, nor to the suffering in the original Boccaccio *Decameron* (X/10) in 1353. For Scarlatti's *Griselda*, see Reinhard Strohm, *Dramma per Musica* (1997), Ch.2. How this opera would have been interpreted in 1710 is not easy to calculate. Perhaps the short run was an indicator, but this view needs to take into account the animosity between Haym and Heidegger. The open affair between the Marlborough's daughter, Henrietta with Congreve, and the

Almahide (1710)

[5/24] *Almahide* (Jan. 1710-May 1711) ran for 24 performances and is a landmark in the arrival of Italian opera in London.[45] The title page, complete with the dedication, is in Italian only, perhaps to emphasise that this is an Italian opera with, apparently, none of the usual concessions to English tastes. To justify this, Heidegger who produced the opera, described the thinking involved (Fig.24). He picked up on the criticism of *Clotilda* which had a short run. 'People of Quality' who had encouraged the performance of Italian opera found the dialogue exchange in two different languages absurd, and since the sound of the castrato was in fashion, the solution was to have the complete opera sung in Italian. With this in mind three castratos were used, Nicolini and Valentini who would draw an audience, and Cassani who was making a comeback with a minor role in *Almahide*, his reputation apparently recovering after being hissed off the stage for his Latinus in *Camilla* in 1708.[46] Margarita de L'Epine and a new soprano, Isabella Girardeau, an Italian about whom little is known, and who appears to have supplanted Catherine Tofts, both sang in Italian.[47] The castratos could not sing intelligibly in English and so singing in their own language was ideal for Italian opera.

[5/25] One aspect from Heidegger's notice to the reader is that judging by his tone of authority, he seems to have acquired an important post, speaking for the Queen's Theatre. This is odd because nowhere on the Queen's Theatre roster for the season 1709-10 does he appear.[48] So far, scholars of the period have not seen his sudden appearance in the theatre world as an event worth explanation. Heidegger just seems to have arrived from Switzerland and imperceptibly slipped into business of theatre management, becoming assistant manager in the Queen's Theatre in 1711, and chief manager in 1713, when Swiney absconded to Italy to avoid debt following the collapse of the Queen's Theatre finances. Thereafter, Heidegger established himself as a producer of Italian opera at the Queen's Theatre (from 1714 the King's Theatre), helped to found the Royal Academy in the 1720s, and worked well with

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indifference shown by Henrietta's husband Francis Godolphin, suggest that in certain social circles, the extreme submission shown by a Griselda or Clotilda was too incredible even for an opera.

[45] M&H Calendar (2001).

[46] See [3/32] esp. Fig.6, esp. fn.116]; *Coke Papers* (pp.xxii–iii), also, the Cassani biography, Winton Dean (NGDO, vol.1, p.754).

[47] For Isabella Girardeau, see NGDO entry by Winton Dean. For Catherine Tofts, 'The Harmonious Unfortunate: New Light on Catherine Tofts', Baldwin & Wilson, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 2011. For *dramatis personae*, see Fig.21.

[48] M&H Calendar (2001), pp.508–09.

Handel with intervals until 1740. However, Haym despised Heidegger, referring to him in the 'Critical Discourse' (1709) on the first production of *Thomyris* as 'a Swiss Count (whose Earldom lies in the Land of the Moon) upon Cooking up an Opera' (1709; p.69), using him as the *bête noire* of his Discourse, a producer of 'Swiss Opera's' (p.83), medley operas, which Haym detested. In spite of this bad publicity, Heidegger thrived on notoriety, ignored frequent references to his 'ugly' appearance, grew in wealth, and made a considerable contribution to the arrival of Italian opera in London.[49]

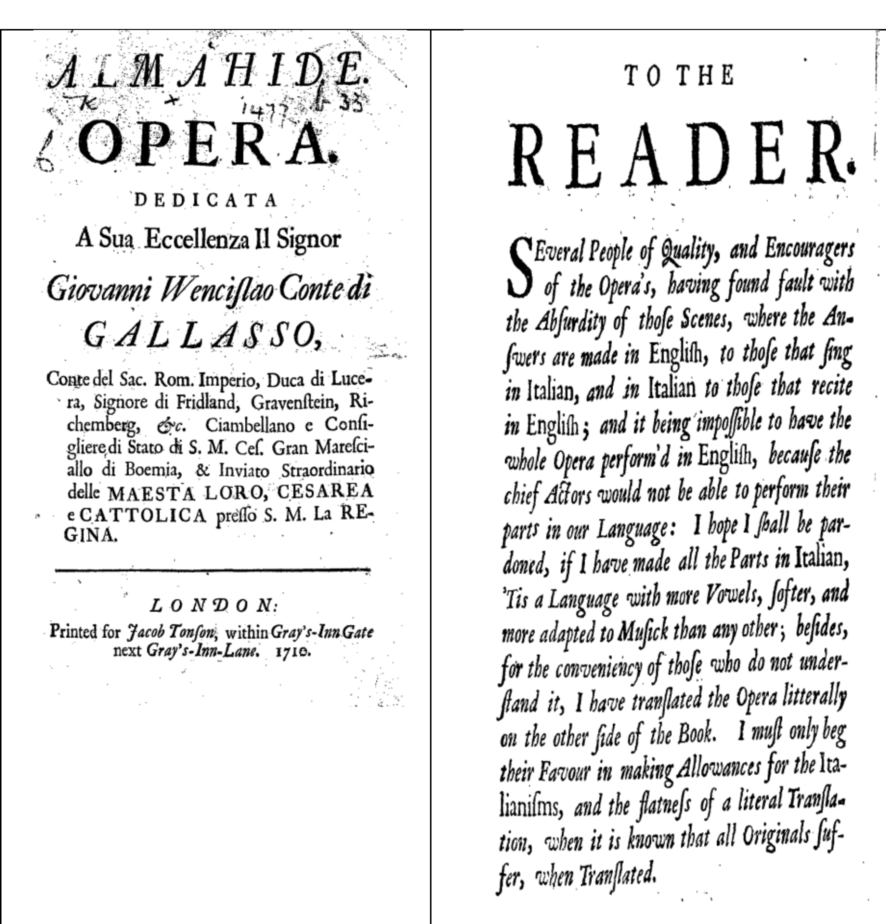
[5/26] However, the question remains – how Heidegger managed to produce *Almahide*, or indeed *Thomyris* and *Clotilda*, without having an official position in the Queen's Theatre (1707-10). The answer may be that any composer (or producer) with an attractive offering, was grist to the operatic mill (e.g., D. Purcell, Eccles, Clayton, Greber), but an examination of developing events in the 1709-10 season may provide a more specific result. Just as Vanbrugh had his distractions in the years 1705-1708, in his case with architecture, Swiney in the 1709-10 season, had concerns which diverted focus from productions. Just as Vanbrugh had to resort to the freelance Jacob Greber to fill a gap in 1705 with *The Loves of Ergasto*, so also Swiney seems to have resorted to Jacob Heidegger in 1709 to fill a gap with *Clotilda*, which had a similar short run to *Ergasto* – although a much better opera, the difference being that Heidegger, however mocked by 'A Critical Discourse' in 1709, stayed on to produce *Almahide* in 1710, whereas the humiliated Greber packed his score, and immediately left for Europe.

[5/27] The best source for these events is *Coke's Theatrical Papers* for the two seasons, 1708-09 and 1709-10. Heidegger is not mentioned, but the troubles at the Queen's Theatre and Drury Lane occupy a lot of attention. This is where the explanation lies. Although a theatre 'union', all that Vanbrugh had worked for (1705-08), had been achieved by Swiney by 1709, viz., a monopoly of opera twice a week for the Queen's Theatre with plays filling in the other four evenings. Drury Lane was confined to plays, thus creating a 'union' (i.e., no rivalry), but the solution spawned more problems. The rivalry shifted from theatre competition to personnel grievances. Actors who earned a salary of £150, resented the Italian singers who earned exorbitant sums. The extreme example was Nicolini. His annual salary of £800, contracted him to sing only two days a week at most, and for a maximum of six

[49] Sources: 'A Critical Discourse' (1709); the Lindgren 'Heidegger' entry in the NGDO, vol.2, pp.684–05; the *Pope Encyclopedia* (2004) entry, Pat Rogers, who makes a plea for a scholarly biography of Heidegger.

months in the season (*Coke* doc.74). With the rumour of a benefit payment on 19 January 1709 of another £800 (*Coke*, p.116), actors had an understandable grievance, that a foreigner could earn in one night a sum that would take them over five years to equal. Swiney was already paying actors more than the standard rate, and as troubles accrued in Drury Lane with the final 'silencing' of Christopher Rich on 6 June 1709, Drury Lane closed, and the best actors flocked to the Queen's Theatre with the endorsement of the Lord Chamberlain.[50] Swiney's receipts could no longer cope with this influx of actors for which a programme of plays at four days a week was insufficient to employ them all.[51]

Fig.24



ALMAHIDE.
OPERA.
DEDICATA
A Sua Eccellenza Il Signor
Giovanni Wenciſlao Conte di
GALLASSO,
Conte del Sac. Rom. Imperio, Duca di Lucera, Signore di Fridland, Gravenſtein, Richemberg, *&c.* Ciambellano e Conſigliere di Stato di S. M. Ceſ. Gran Mareſciallo di Boemia, & Inviato Straordinario delle MAESTA LORO, CESAREA e CATTOLICA preſſo S. M. La REGINA.

LONDON:
Printed for *Jacob Tonſon*, within *Gray's-Inn Gate* next *Gray's-Inn-Lane.* 1710.

TO THE
READER.

SEveral People of Quality, and Encouragers of the Opera's, having found fault with the Abſurdity of thoſe Scenes, where the Anſwers are made in Engliſh, *to thoſe that ſing in* Italian, *and in* Italian *to thoſe that recite in* Engliſh; *and it being impoſſible to have the whole Opera perform'd in* Engliſh, *becauſe the chief Actors would not be able to perform their parts in our Language: I hope I ſhall be pardoned, if I have made all the Parts in* Italian, *'Tis a Language with more Vowels, ſofter, and more adapted to Muſick than any other; beſides, for the conveniency of thoſe who do not underſtand it, I have tranſlated the Opera litterally on the other ſide of the Book. I muſt only beg their Favour in making Allowances for the* Italianiſms, *and the flatneſs of a literal* Tranſlation, *when it is known that all* Originals *ſuffer, when Tranſlated.*

[50] Christopher Rich at Drury Lane had been traditionally niggardly with payments to actors, who felt undervalued, and who rebelled from time to time. However, the crisis was reached in 1709 when Rich interfered with benefit payments, and with the popular Anne Oldfield leading a protest, Lord Chamberlain Kent issued an order to Rich to reimburse the actors with 'full receipts', an order that Rich regarded as no more than a formality. However, he was mistaken, and received and official Order '.. that in contempt of the Said Order you still refuse to pay and detain from the Said Comedians ye profits of ye Said benefit plays I do therefore for the Said Contempt hereby Silence you from further Acting' (quoted from *Coke*, p.117; PRO LC 5/154, p.437).

[51] See Coke Doc.79, Swiney's memorandum to Coke: 'My Lord Chamberlain's late order to him [Swiney], to Receive all her Majesty's Sworn Comedians', seemed to oblige to take on more actors than he needed, thus forcing him to pay actors for whom there was no work.

[5/28] More restrictions followed from Lord Chamberlain Kent. On 24 December 1709, an Order exacted lists of personnel restricted their freedom of movement and presented plans to monitor the content of plays including prologues and epilogues. On 9 January this Order recognised the names of 70 personnel with the admonition, 'I do strictly Order and Require You the said Performers to remain under ye direction of you the Manager or Managers of the Queens Theatre'.[52] This at least, strengthened Swiney's position as manager, but it did not help to balance the books. In London Heidegger had acquired the original score of Ariosti's *Amor tra nemici* (Vienna, 1708) from the Viennese ambassador, Johann Wenzel (figs.24/26). He realised this promising opera could bring in substantial profits.

[5/29] There is no clear date if or when Heidegger received the score of *Amor tra nemici*, or why Haym did not include this opera in his *Critical Discourse*, which of course ended conveniently for his medley argument with *Clotilda*. There is evidence that Haym had retreated from his position in the Queen's Theatre. A revival of the 1701 Motteux-Eccles *Acis and Galatea* had three performances as an afterpiece (19/22 Oct.; 31 Dec.1709), which would have been unlikely had Haym retained any influence, his contempt for Motteux being almost as great as that for Heidegger. Haym may have had his own concerns, since both he and his 'scholar' the Baroness, receded from operatic activity – the birth of Jack d'Haym in 1709 and the obvious concern for his growing offspring, may have taken priority, thus creating an opportunity for Heidegger to take control of the production of *Almahide*.

[5/30] Heidegger already had expertise in pasticcio opera with *Thomyris* and *Clotilda*. Perhaps it was his predilection for female titles that persuaded him to change the title from *Amor tra nemici* to *Almahide*, although there had been previous female titles that may have reflected homage to Queen Anne – *Arsinoe*, as well as *Camilla* and *Thomyris*. Otherwise, *Amor tra nemici* was a poor title for an opera featuring a love triangle with a king and a general in love with a princess who loves a transvestite. Instead of preserving the complete Ariosti opera, Heidegger preserved only 11 of Ariosti's 43 original arias. Lindgren in the NGDO biographical entry blames anonymous 'editors and singers' for the cuts, although in his Haym *Accomplishments* (1987), he claims that Count Gallas simply supplied scores by Bononcini and Ariosti (p.297). Lindgren's 1972 dissertation (p.147) identifies aria replacements, 6 from Bononcini's *Turno Aricino* (1707) and 11 from his *Mario fuggitivo*

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[52] Milhous & Hume *Online Calendar* (2001), pp.533–4; 538.

(1708). In addition to this there are character cuts as well (see Illus.7). Given Heidegger's resources it would not be difficult for him to make up for any shortfall in arias. With three castrati involved there would be no shortage of suitcase arias.

[5/31] However, not all characters sang in Italian. The main plot was in Italian, but there were concessions to audience expectations. Fig.25 below shows the need for a plot synopsis, a requisite for understanding the action in a foreign language, although it was already common in all-Italian librettos. The addition of comic characters singing in English was there entirely to please the audience, and for relief should the pressure of non-stop Italian become overwhelming. The all-Italian evening in *Almahide* was moderated by these comic interludes between the acts provided by Thomas Doggett, Mary Lindsey, and Letitia Cross. The first interlude is built into the 1710 libretto at the end of Act I. It is about Floro, a corporal sung by Doggett with a group of soldiers in pursuit of female companionship, but Blesa, an elderly woman sung by Mrs Lindsey, interposes with amorous proposals for Floro to which he simulates interest, but his comrades turn up with his armour and off they go to war. This slapstick interlude has much in common with English pastoral, but it has nothing to do with the plot. The 'second' interlude is not included in the libretto.

Fig.25

THE

ARGUMENT.

ALmanzor, King of *Granada*, having given the Command of his Army to *Almiro*, Head of the Faction of the *Abencerrages*, made *Orcane* (Head of the *Zegris*) his firſt Miniſter of State. Now *Orcane* was a young Princeſs, whoſe real Name was *Almahide*, the only remaining Perſon of her noble Family, brought up in Man's Habit by her Father, to oppoſe (after his Death) the Faction of the *Abencerrages*; but *Orcane* having ſeen *Almiro* return in Triumph from the War, fell paſſionately in Love with him. The King falls in Love with *Celinda*, a Princeſs of the Royal Blood, whom he had Betroth'd to *Almiro*. *Celinda* refuſes him, and falls in Love with *Orcane*, believing him a Man; but the King, imagining her Coldneſs to proceed from her Inclination to *Almiro*, reſolves to put *Almiro* to Death, under the pretence of having left the Army: But *Orcane*, to preſerve her Lover, confeſſes to the King that ſhe is the more proper Object of his Anger, as being the unfortunate Perſon whom the Princeſs really lov'd. The King inrag'd at this Diſcovery, turns his Reſentment againſt *Orcane*, and orders him to death. But *Ruſteno*, who was intruſted with the Secret, diſcovers *Orcane*'s being a Woman; on which *Celinda* yields to the King's deſire. *Almiro*, touch'd with *Almahide*'s Generoſity, who wou'd have died to preſerve his Life, marries her, and unites the two Families.

Dramatis Perſonæ.

MEN.

Almanzor, *King of* Granada.	*Signior* Valentino Urbani.
Almiro, *Prince of the Race of the* Abencerrages, *and Commander of* Almanzor*'s Army.*	*Sig. Caval.* Nicolino Grimaldi.
Gemir, Almiro*'s Confident.*	*Sig.* Caſſani.
Ruſteno, *Captain of the Royal Guard.*	*Mr.* Lawrence.
Floro, *a Corporal*	*Mr.* Dogget.

WOMEN.

Almahide, *Princeſs of the Race of the* Zegris, *under the Name of* Orcanes.	*Sig.* Margarita de l'Eſpine.
Celinda, *Princeſs of the Royal Blood.*	*Sig.* Iſabella Girardau.
Bleſa, *An old Woman.*	*Mrs.* Lindſey.

[5/32] Given that the Whigs and especially the Kit-Cat Club constantly meddled in drama for propaganda purposes,[53] proponents of allegory theory may see this gesture of duty-before-pleasure as a recruitment promotion following the September 1709 battle at Malplaquet in which the Allies lost 20,000 men, twice as many as the French. But this view of recruitment was unlikely: first, it is doubtful if target recruits attended an opera, and secondly, because by 1710 the war was deadlocked, and outright victory against the French, unlikely. The pro-peace Tories won the general election in November 1710. No more major battles would be fought, and peace negotiations began in 1712.

[5/33] Few scholars give attention to *Almahide*, but even fewer to the significance of the intermezzos.[54] The presence of well-known English actors, Doggett, Lindsay, and Cross, was an audience attraction in an all-Italian production, an enterprise otherwise fraught with risk. Apart from the intermezzos, the only other non-Italian national in the opera was Mr Lawrence who sang the part of Rusteno, a 'captain of the royal guard', but more like a confidante to *Almahide* (Orcanes). Lawrence sang in Italian, but he had only twelve lines in the complete opera, mostly one-liners, at one point three continuous lines, all in the first scene. He appears in the final scene without lines. It is difficult to estimate just how much audience appeal Mr Lawrence could have contributed. Historians have not been kind to him. The NGDO (vol.2, p.1112) records 'first name unknown', but that he was popular in stage works in English. His fame was not immediately eclipsed by all-Italian opera. Having sung significant parts in Italian in *Almahide* and *L'Idaspe fedele*, he was deemed good enough to appear in as the herald in *Rinaldo* (1711).[55] He was involved in other Italian operas for the next few years until 1716.[56] *Spectator* 31 (5 April 1711) has a possible passing reference to both Heidegger and Lawrence. Addison tells us he visited a coffee house near the Queen's Theatre where an opera 'projector' described a bizarre opera plan for Alexander the Great featuring fierce dogs being cut to pieces, monkeys dancing on ropes, the hero falling in love with a wax model of Statira, King Porus on an elephant, and the hero on a dromedary. The

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[53] Williams (2009), Ch.4.

[54] Lindgren (1972) pp.230–2; Fiske (1973), p.51; Merrill Knapp (ed. Strum Kenny, 1984), p.101; NGDO (1992), vol.1, p.95.

[55] NGDO above, Addison below; references throughout the thesis show his adaptability. See fn.56.

[56] Apart from *Rinaldo*, he appeared as Thyrsis (*Temple of Love*, 1706), (?*Wonders in the Sun*, 1706), Messenger (*Rosamond*, 1707), Tigranes (*Thomyris*, 1707), Roderigo (*Clotilda*, 1709), Rusteno (*Almahide*, 1710), Arbaces (*Hydaspes*, 1710), Delbo (*Etearco*, 1711); see M&H, (2001), p.40. A tenor, he tended to alternate with Richard Leveridge (bass), although in *Thomyris*, both had a part; it was Leveridge who took the comic part, his speciality, and Lawrence the more serious part of the antagonist, Tigranes. Lawrence's ability to adapt made him attractive to audiences and producers alike.

battle commences, and at the end the adversaries shake hands and view a puppet show. This mockery concludes with the prospect of the opera being sung in Greek, whereupon the projector announced, 'Lawrence can learn to speak Greek, as well as he does Italian, in a Fortnight's time'. Addison escapes from the coffee house as an argument rages, 'Is our Musick then to receive further Improvements from Switzerland!', a reference to Heidegger, whom Addison saw in terms of contempt.

[5/34] In Ariosti's original opera the Princess of the Zegris was named Asteria, but Heidegger changed the name to Almahide (Illus.6). The theme of *Almahide* was not new in 1710. Part Two of Dryden's play *The Conquest of Granada:* was performed at Drury Lane on Saturday 5 March 1709. The subject of the play is Almanzor's long pursuit of Almahide and her virtuous resistance, all played out over ten Acts divided into two plays, parts One and Two, and like the 1710 opera, involves two Moorish warring families or factions, the Abencerrages and the Zegrys.[57] Part Two sees the realisation of Dryden's Essay, *Of Heroick Plays*, which appears in the Preface of the printed play, portraying his arguments for a particular brand of heroism, noble restraint, leadership, strength, and in heroic couplets, a style above the commonplace of everyday speech, an argument that would endorse the artifice of Italian opera.

[5/35] On 5 March 1709, when Drury Lane staged Part Two of Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada: with the Love of Almanzor and Almahide*, it was advertised by the *Daily Courant* of 4 March, simply, 'at the desire of several Persons of Quality'.[58] Why Drury Lane would want to mount an isolated performance needs some investigation. Whether the intention was to promote the English view of the 'heroic', or to anticipate Heidegger's plan for *Almahide*, is not clear. If the latter, the plan was misconceived – Ariosti's *Amor tra nemici* (1708) has a slightly different plot, and an even more different plot from Cicognini's opera (1662). The libretto in German, noting the celebration of the Emperor's birthday, was printed in 1708 with a literal translation of the Italian title, *Love among Enemies*, but in 1710 with characters renamed or dropped (Illus.6/7). Since the 30th birthday of Joseph I was 26 July 1708, the libretto would have been available from about that time. Which libretto or score Heidegger

[57] Dryden's play went through a number of editions, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1678, 1687, 1695, 1704, with a gap until 1717. The play was popular despite hostile reaction in the burlesque play, *The Rehearsal* (1670), which mocked Dryden's heroic theories.

[58] Milhous & Hume (2001) *Calendar*, p.472. *Tatler 45* (23.July,1709) suggests that the term 'Almanzor' was in common parlance for a hero with excessive antics (ed. Bond, vol.1, p323).

received from Count Gallas is uncertain, but the plot in German and the characters are closer to *Almahide* – a libretto plot dating from 1662 would be unlikely. Whether Christopher Rich at Drury Lane had any knowledge of the Italian or Austrian origins is unclear, but the English title, *Almahide* from Dryden may have anticipated the opera, or perhaps even influenced it.[59]

[5/36] Two issues are involved with *Almahide*, the 'heroic' debate and plot variations. First, the views of the heroic in drama, a debate reignited in the years 1709-1710. From the first performance of *The Conquest of Granada* in 1670, and the Essay 'Of Heroick Plays' in the Preface of the first edition in 1672, Dryden had his enemies. The play *The Rehearsal*, first performed in 1671, and published the following year, lampooned Dryden on many counts: his promotion of a new brand of heroic drama based on a high-minded ethos expressed in equally high-minded heroic couplets, his accusations of immoral, licentious drama degrading the theatre, and not least, his adaptation of Madeleine de Scudéry's original *Almahide*. But Dryden argued noble sentiments were needed. His attempted reformation of drama with heroic characters was regarded as pompous. His detractors included other dramatists – the Duke of Buckingham, Martin Clifford, Thomas Sprat, and possibly Samuel Butler. Although *The Rehearsal*, initially an anonymous play, was the work of Buckingham, the others were collaborators. The play lampooned the concept of 'heroic' drama by including extracts from heroic plays, especially Dryden's, and mocking them. *The Rehearsal* ran to many more editions and performances than *The Conquest of Granada*, a possible indication of the appetite for satire, but ironically, it also kept in public view, Dryden's concept of the heroic.[60] An edition of *The Rehearsal* appeared in 1709 with a 'Key' to the references, which may have prompted the revival of Dryden's play in March. *The Rehearsal* had two performances in 1709 – Tuesday 18 January, and Friday 18 November. Heidegger's production of *Almahide* would therefore, be of interest.

[59] Ariosti's original Italian libretto would be a better source, but the edition in German has been the only one available for this study. Lindgren writes that the librettist is 'unidentified' (1972, p.231), but the libretto in German (1708) provides the name in the Dedication, Pietro Antonio Bernardoni, not referred to by Lindgren. On the same page Lindgren is adamant that the opera *Almahide* bears 'no relation' to Dryden's play [*Almanzor and Almahide* or *The Conquest of Granada*] but see Fig.27 and Illus.7. Later, however, by 1992, Lindgren discovered Bernardini as the librettist of *Amor tra nemici*, 1708, but without reference to the German libretto (NGDO, vol.1, p.443).

[60] Publications of *The Rehearsal*: 1671, 1672, 1673, 1675, 1683, 1687, 1692, 1702, 1705 (x2), 1707 (x2), 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711 (x2), 1714 (x2), 1715, 1717, etc. (Historical Texts). One or two performances each year, 1707–1712, Milhous & Hume (2001).

[5/37] The dedication in the German language libretto (Appendix, Illus.6) to the Holy Roman Empress Wilhelmine Amalia of Brunswick-Lüneburg, prompts another question, the extent to which the portrayal of Almahide may have been interpreted as some sort of role model.

Fig.27.

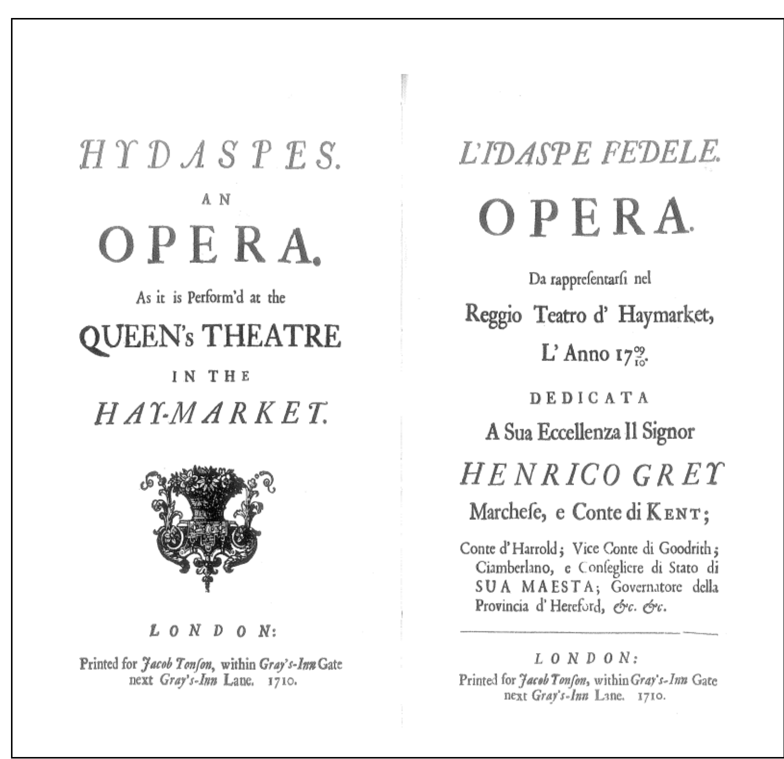
Dryden *Conquest of Granada*, 1670	Characters and items to compare	(Ariosti, 1708); Heidegger (1710)
The hero, who is on a learning curve from impulsive to restrained heroic.	Almanzor	Vindictive king of Granada.
Innocent princess buffeted by events, much prefers to marry Almanzor, drawn to his heroism, than Mahomet Boabdelin to whom she has been betrothed, arranged by her father.	Almahide	Named Asteria in Ariosti, Almahide in Heidegger, disguised as the male Orcanes, and inexplicably first minister of state in the Almanzor government. The female hero?
Internecine warfare with the Zegris eventually siding with the Spaniards	Factions: Abencerrages and Zegris	Insignificant and purely nominal dramatic role
Abelmelech, leader the Abencerrages is involved in a love triangle with the king's brother Abdalla for Lyndaraxa the daughter of Zulema, chief of the Zegrys, but is sidelined in a planned coup to supplant King Boabdelin for his brother. In the final scene he stabs Lyndaraxa, both for disloyalty to him, and to the Moors, and then stabs himself. The Zulema, who tried to frame Almahide in revenge for rejection, is killed in combat by Almanzor.	Faction leaders	Prince Almiro belongs to the Abencerrages, and Almahide to the Zegris, but faction plays no significant role. Stabbing to death was not fashionable in pastoral or tragicomedy. See stabbing failures in Cavalli *Ormindo*, Motteux *Acis & Galatea* , *Arsinoe*, *Rosamond*, *Love's Triumph*, *Clotilda*.
The conquest of Granada by the Spaniards has a key role in the outcome. Disloyalty plays a major part in Zegrys tactics.	War	The war with the Spaniards is hardly mentioned. This opera is about love and loyalty.
Minor characters: lovers from rival factions succeed.	Secondary plots	Minor characters have no significant role.
Almanzor the Moor is really a Christian, kidnapped as a baby.	Hidden identity	Almahide a female, disguised as Orcanes, a male.
The generous, forgiving, loyal, and heroic are saved; the others are punished. Justice is seen to been done.	Lessons	Misplaced lovers united in the end in spite of death threats by Almanzor, and final forgiveness for the guilty.

The Ariosti plot, acknowledged in the wordbook in German from Pietro Antonio Bernardoni, has no apparent influence from Dryden's English view of the hero, whereas Ariosti is more in the vein of Guarini, heroism played down.[61] There are similarities with the plots: the context of war, factions, misplaced lovers, the threat of death, the emphasis on generosity, hidden identity, much of which is reminiscent of Guarini, but there are differences (Fig.27 above). For Emperor Joseph I's spouse, Holy Roman Empress Wilhelmine Amalia, the choice of *Amor tra nemici* could have been the representation of a princess with virtue, loyalty, and courage; for the London audience, a view of heroism in which the female is triumphant, would be an accolade for Queen Anne.[62]

Hydaspes (1710)

[5/38]

Fig.28



HYDASPES.
AN
OPERA.
As it is Perform'd at the
QUEEN's THEATRE
IN THE
HAY-MARKET.

LONDON:
Printed for *Jacob Tonson*, within *Gray's-Inn* Gate next *Gray's-Inn* Lane. 1710.

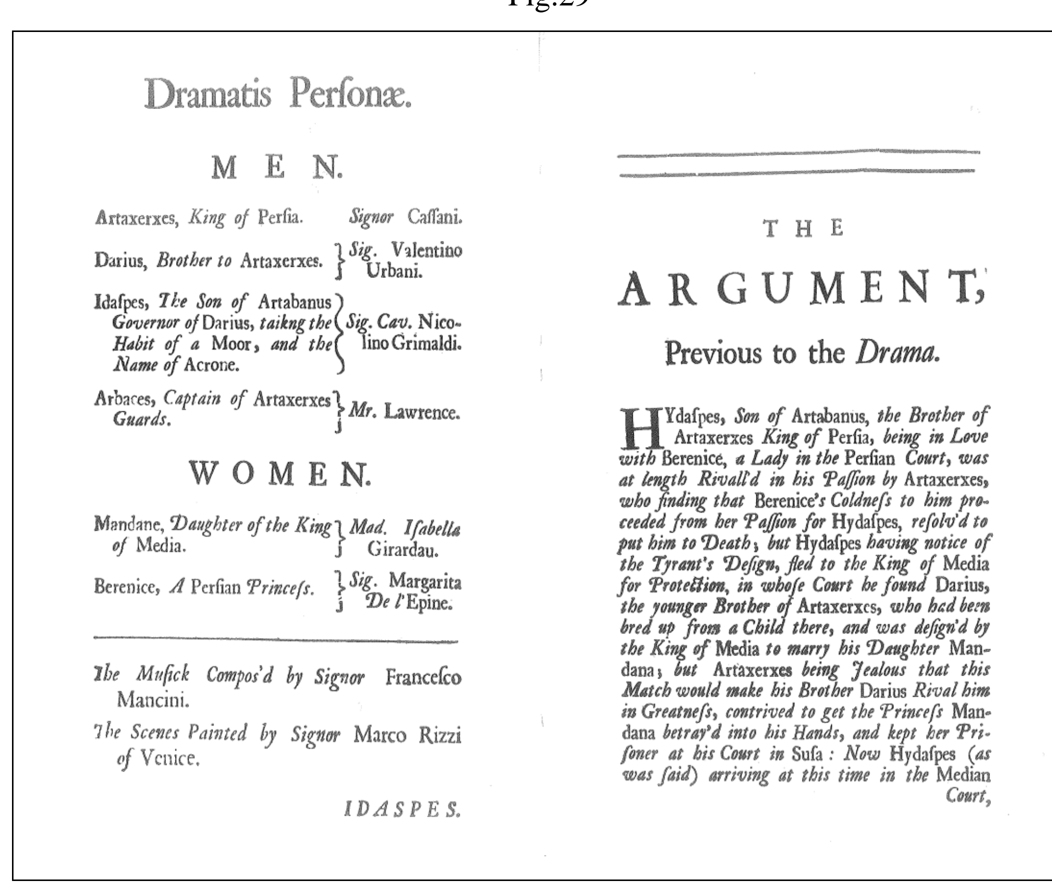
L'IDASPE FEDELE.
OPERA.
Da rappresentarsi nel
Reggio Teatro d' Haymarket,
L' Anno 17 09/10.
DEDICATA
A Sua Eccellenza Il Signor
HENRICO GREY
Marchese, e Conte di KENT;
Conte d'Harrold; Vice Conte di Goodrith; Ciamberlano, e Consegliere di Stato di SUA MAESTA; Governatore della Provincia d' Hereford, &c. &c.

LONDON:
Printed for *Jacob Tonson*, within *Gray's-Inn* Gate next *Gray's-Inn* Lane. 1710.

[61] The influential Romance by Madeleine de Scudéry, *Almahide, ou l'esclave reine* (1663) may have been a common source.
[62] For English developments from Guarini, see [5/65] below.

Grove online music continues its disregard for much of pre-Handel opera by providing only a brief account of the original Francesco Mancini opera *Gl'amanti generosi* with a libretto by Giovanni Pietro Candi, revisions by Ginlio Convò, more revisions with comic episodes by Silvio Stampiglia, and performed in Naples in 1705.[63] Where Grove falls short, Milhous and Hume (2001), provide some detail in their Calendar of events. *Hydaspes*, first performed in London on 23 March, had 12 performances by the end of the season on 30 May 1710. *Almahide* had 13 performances, although it had the advantage of starting earlier on 10 January. Other operas in repertory for the 1709–10 season, continued to attract audiences – *Pyrrhus* (10pfs), *Thomyris* (8), and *Camilla* (5).

Fig.29



Dramatis Perfonæ.

MEN.

Artaxerxes, *King of* Perfia. — *Signor* Caffani.

Darius, *Brother to* Artaxerxes. — *Sig.* Valentino Urbani.

Idafpes, *The Son of* Artabanus *Governor of* Darius, *taikng the Habit of a* Moor, *and the Name of* Acrone. — *Sig. Cav.* Nicolino Grimaldi.

Arbaces, *Captain of* Artaxerxes *Guards.* — *Mr.* Lawrence.

WOMEN.

Mandane, *Daughter of the King of* Media. — *Mad. Ifabella* Girardau.

Berenice, *A* Perfian *Princefs.* — *Sig.* Margarita *De l'*Epine.

The Mufick Compos'd by Signor Francefco Mancini.

The Scenes Painted by Signor Marco Rizzi *of* Venice.

IDASPES.

THE

ARGUMENT,

Previous to the *Drama.*

HYdafpes, *Son of* Artabanus, *the Brother of* Artaxerxes *King of* Perfia, *being in Love with* Berenice, *a Lady in the* Perfian *Court, was at length Rivall'd in his Paffion by* Artaxerxes, *who finding that* Berenice's *Coldnefs to him proceeded from her Paffion for* Hydafpes, *refolv'd to put him to Death; but* Hydafpes *having notice of the Tyrant's Defign, fled to the King of* Media *for Protection, in whofe Court he found* Darius, *the younger Brother of* Artaxerxes, *who had been bred up from a Child there, and was defign'd by the King of* Media *to marry his Daughter* Mandana; *but* Artaxerxes *being Jealous that this Match would make his Brother* Darius *Rival him in Greatnefs, contrived to get the Princefs* Mandana *betray'd into his Hands, and kept her Prifoner at his Court in* Sufa: *Now* Hydafpes *(as was faid) arriving at this time in the* Median *Court,*

The *Hydaspes* libretto appeared in bilingual format (Fig.28ff). Nicolini had played the part of the eponymous hero in Naples in 1705, and following the example of *Almahide*, judged the moment opportune for an all-Italian opera in the Queen's Theatre, again taking the title

[63] Eight of the 14 operas leading to Handel, including two semioperas, discussed in this study, have no independent entry in Grove, and another two are mentioned only as an extension to the Italian original. Only *The Loves of Ergasto*, *Rosamond*, and *Almahide*, all submitted by the happy duo, Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, get specific articles.

role. Apart from Mr Lawrence, no longer in a comic role (the Stampiglia comic scenes with Ircano and Drosilla were cut), singers were Italian (Fig.29). With Haym's absence, Nicolini was able to take control and signed the dedication to Lord Chamberlain Kent in Italian (without translation) on 6 March, 17 days before the first performance.[64] Pepusch arranged the music and directed the performance (see parag.44 below).

[5/39] Although Herodotus deals extensively with the Medes and the Persians, the origin of the opera is not recounted in *The Histories*, but Hydaspes may be a variant of Hystaspes.[65] Other familiar names are used (Artaxerxes, Darius) to give the tale the aura of Persian mythology, but the story as with so many others in Herodotus, and as he himself admits, could be entirely fictional.[66] The plot in the opera concerns a tyrant, the Persian King Artaxerxes, with a particularly psychopathic streak. He develops a passion for Berenice, paramour of his nephew, Hydaspes. Accused of treason, and knowing that his life is in danger, Hydaspes flees the court to take refuge with the King of the Medes, who has a similar grouse against Artaxerxes. His daughter, Mandana, has been kidnapped by Artaxerxes to prevent her marriage to Darius (the long lost brother of Artaxerxes), in the erratic belief that such union would make the Medes more powerful than the Persians and so a serious rival. To counter this tyranny, the King of Media sends an army, led by Darius and Hydaspes, both disguised, the latter as a Moor (Acrone), presumably for safety from the tyrant's revenge, to besiege the city of Susa and to rescue the two women prisoners.

[5/40] At this point the opera begins. As the Medes are about to invade, Artaxerxes has the winning hand – he threatens to kill the two hostages Berenice and Mandana if the siege is not lifted. The Medes capitulate on the offer of safe conduct for Darius and Acrone the Moor, but this leaves Darius and Hydaspes (in disguise) at the mercy of a reckless tyrant. Hydaspes's cover as Acrone is soon blown, and once identified, is condemned to death, but on the pleading of Berenice, the sentence is unexpectedly suspended with Artaxerxes seeming to relent, and even agreeing to the wedding of Berenice and Hydaspes. The venue for the nuptials is a huge arena, where Hydaspes has to confront 'a hungry lion', an act of homicidal revenge on the part of Artaxerxes that the participants should have anticipated.

[64] Kent had closed down Drury Lane on 6 June 1709, giving the Queen's Theatre a complete monopoly of opera and plays.

[65] *The Histories*, Penguin (1972), p.423.

[66] 'My business is to record what people say, but I am not bound to believe it – and that may be taken to apply to this book as a whole', *The Histories*, Penguin, p.494.

Unexpectedly, Hydaspes strangles the lion, and there is great rejoicing, but the revenge of Artaxerxes is not quite satisfied. It is not until the court rebels against him, that Artaxerxes begins to give way. Meantime, Darius has spent time quarrelling with his fiancé Mandana, who teasingly, suggested that her motive for marriage was power, not love, but reconciliation here was an easier Guarinian knot to unravel than the difficulty experienced by Hydaspes and Berenice. The revelation that Darius is his younger brother has a sudden effect on Artaxerxes, one of immediate transformation from arch-tyrant to repentant sinner. In keeping with the tradition of tragicomedy, the opera ends with the happy nuptials of the two main couples, and forgiveness for Artaxerxes.

The Pastoral in *Hydaspes*

[5/41]

Fig.30

IDASPE. 29

ATTO II. SCENA I.

Delizioſo Boſchetto che confina col Giardino, e Palazzo Reale.

Berenice.

Ber. *Selve ombroſe, io vo cercando*
Qui tra voi ſe poſſa mai
Dar riposo alle mie pene
Ma di ſi lunghi affanni
Stanca gia l'alma al peſo
Piu reggerſi non puo, qual che riſtoro
Viene a cercar tra queſti grati orrori,
Per donar qual che tregua a ſuoi dolori.
[Si aſſide a pie d'un fonte.
Vieni o ſonno, e fa ch'io poſi
Mentre ſogno l'Idol mio:
Sia caggion de i miei riposi
Per momenti il cieco Dio. [S' adormenta.

ACT II. SCENE I.

A Pleasant Grove near the Palace.

Berenice *alone.*

Ber. THESE ſhady Groves I range,
Sighing in vain my Woes,
To give my tortur'd Heart repoſe.
But by repeated Griefs,
My Mind's ſo hard oppreſs'd
That I no longer can ſupport the Weight
This grateful Gloom alone can ſooth my Thoughts,
Or give a ſhort-liv'd Truce
To ſure returning Pain.
[*She ſits down at the Foot of a Fountain.*
Come, gentle Sleep, and cloſe my Eyes
In Dreams at leaſt of real Joys :
And thou, by whom my Soul's diſtreſs'd,
Now grant, blind God, one Moment's Reſt.
[*Sleeps.*

Usually classified as heroic opera, *Hydaspes* has not only the characteristics of tragicomedy, but also retained vestiges of the pastoral (Fig.30). The context for Berenice's pastoral scene at the beginning of Act 2 is her belief that her lover, Hydaspes, is dead, killed in the siege of Susa. This subterfuge came about as a condition for sparing the lives of Mandana and Berenice stipulated by the King Artaxerxes for the delivery of Hydaspes as his prisoner, and inevitably to be killed. Darius, posing as a general of the besieging army, feigns the facts by declaring Hydaspes already dead, news that seems to delight the suspicious Artaxerxes, who implies he wants evidence pending further developments. The Guarini knot, therefore, blocking the conjoining of the lovers is established from the outset and reinforced by the use of disguise, Darius posing as a general to hide his identity, and Hydaspes impersonating Acrone the Moor to preserve his life. Ingredients of tragicomedy have been established. Although Mandana recognises her lover Darius, 'Acrone' maintains his disguise with Berenice describing in vivid detail the last moments of 'Idaspes', presumably to test her reactions, but with deadly consequences. The use of the pastoral may be ideal for Berenice to bewail the loss of her lover. She sighs in vain in a 'pleasant grove', and takes refuge in sleep. Her *da capo* aria in pastoral style, 'Viene ò Sonno',[67] in G minor with a lilting violin accompaniment, expresses her sorrow (Mus. Ex.19). Acrone finds Berenice asleep in the grove, and as she awakes, he confesses that he is Hydaspes, but their joy is short-lived – Artaxerxes is hiding in the bushes, in pastoral terms, a satyr, and on hearing the revelation,

[67] With the 'viene-o-cara' solo incipit, cf., Argante, Act I/iv in *Rinaldo*, 1711.

has Hydaspes arrested, an additional Guarini knot leading to the fight with the lion, but also to the final resolution including that other almost inexplicable tragicomic trope, in this case, forgiveness for a psychopathic tyrant.

Hydaspes Reception – Cibber, Steele, Addison, Uffenbach

[5/42] By 1716, *Hydaspes* had achieved 46 performances and therefore contributed significantly to the arrival of Italian opera in London. Much of the credit can go to Nicolini. There was so much praise for this singer from friend and foe alike that it would be tempting to suggest that the chief attraction in the advance of Italian opera in these years was Nicolini. In *The Tatler* (3 January 1710), despite his opposition to Italian culture swamping English drama, Richard Steele is particularly impressed by Nicolini's acting ability:

> For my own Part, I was fully satisfied with the Sight of an Actor, who, by the Grace and Propriety of his Action and Gesture, does Honour to the human Figure …Nicolini sets off the Character he bears in an Opera by his Action as much as he does the Words of it by his Voice'. Every Limb, and every Finger, contributes to the Part he acts, insomuch that a deaf Man may go along with him in the Sense of it.[68]

Burney records that Colley Cibber, 'was an enemy of Italian operas and Italian singers', so any positive remark is worthy of note.[69] Cibber did not recognise Italian opera as 'a Plant of our Native Growth', and had quibbles about Valentini, but on Nicolini he had to admit that 'no singer since his Time has so justly and gracefully acquitted himself in whatever Character he appear'd'. He continued, '*Nicolini* (by pleasing the Eye, as well as the Ear) fill'd us with a more various, and *rational* Delight'.[70] Similarly, Addison in *Spectator 13*, had to admit to Nicolini's outstanding acting ability even if the encounter with the lion was the main attraction.

[5/43] A more perceptive observer was Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach who was on a five month visit to London with his brother Johann Friedrich in 1710. His journal is so full of vivid detail, it is worth following his trip to London, which reveals a perception that informs his account of *Hydaspes*. He describes how they arrived in Harwich, the standard destination

[68] *The Tatler* (115), 3 January 1709/10 (Donald Bond, ed.), Vol.2, p.186.
[69] Burney (Mercer ed.), vol.2, p.667.
[70] Cibber, *An Apology*, (ed. Fone, 1968) pp.210–11.

from the Netherlands, not from Rotterdam as with Cousser in December 1704,[71] but from 'Helvoet-Sluys' (Hellevoetsluis) further south, where they were allocated a place in the packet boat, the Dolphin, by a rather officious bureaucrat.[72] Captain Hondt of the Dolphin had a reputation for a fast crossing in nine or ten hours, as opposed to the usual 24 hours, but only with a good wind. As it transpired, the wind was ferocious, the crossing so stormy, it took the travellers from 6.30pm on Sunday to midday on Monday to reach Harwich, by which time they were exhausted.[73] As they travelled dutifully through towns on the way to London, Conrad took brief notes. On arrival in London, he utters 'Gott sei Dank', a familiar German utterance expressing relief.[74] All dates in the journal are New Style which leads to some confusion on reaching England.[75] Uffenbach uses New Style dating for his journal, but Old Style for days, so that when he that he arrives in Harwich on Monday, 5 June 1710 (NS), in London, it is Thursday 25 May. The problem arises in London on Whitsunday, their first full day, when Uffenbach has to recognise the holiday Sunday, but sticks to the date, 8 June.

[5/44] Each day in London has a detailed sight-seeing entry, St James Park, Chelsea Hospital, Whitehall in the wake of the April 1698 fire, the execution spot of Charles I in 1649, but Haymarket had a special visit on Tuesday 30 May (OS), dated 'Tuesday' 10 June in Uffenbach. After a busy day inspecting the Royal Exchange to converse with merchants, visiting bookshops to add to their book collection, taking a boat trip along the Thames, and after lunch, to Westminster and Haymarket. They spend the evening in the Queen's Theatre, for which Uffenbach provides a unique account of *Hydaspes*, remarkable, given the trials and tribulations of his journey in getting to London:[76]

> 30 May 1710 (OS): [10 June, NS] In the afternoon, since we do not get up from table until half past three and therefore cannot undertake anything special as everything is some distance off, we walked about a little in Westminster and looked at some fine streets and houses, especially round

[71] Cousser's Commonplace Book.
[72] See Illus.7. Uffenbach's journal, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, has a section on 'Reisen durch Engelland', here specifically, the months spent in London. See Illustration 10.
[73] *Merkwürdige Reisen*, pp.428 ff.
[74] This *Stoßgebet*, derives from Catholic and Lutheran liturgy, and is still in common parlance among Germans. It is translated by Quarrel & Mare as, 'thanks be to Heaven! (p.11)', whereas 'Thank God', would have captured the mood.
[75] The Uffenbach translators, *London in 1710*, take no account of the difference in dating styles. The Quarrel-Mare translation begins with the arrival in London, overlooking the exhausting troubles in getting there.
[76] *London in 1710*, Quarrel & Mare translation (1934), p.17. The following day Uffenbach attended the play, *The Yeoman of Kent*, in the Queen's Theatre, and provided an equally analytical account, more detailed than any review by Addison of Steele.

> about the Haymarket. In the evening we went to the opera 'Hidaspis [Hydaspes], which was being given for the last time, because it was summer, when the Lords for the most part reside in the Country. The opera house is in Haymarket, which is a large square. It is not at all large but is certainly very massive and handsomely built. The opera was very lovely in all respects, in composition, music and representation. I am sure that, as far as the first two items are concerned, nothing could be better, even in Italy. The singers were few in number, but all were excellent, especially the principal and the Director Nicolai [Nicolini], who has already been much admired in Venice but has greatly advanced himself here, because he earns prodigiously large sums of money. The best of the females is Margarite de l'Epine, who has also done very well for herself. The orchestra is so well composed that it could not be better. They are all foreigners, mostly Germans and then French, for the English are not much better musicians than the Dutch, and they are fairly bad. The conductor is Pepusch from Brandenburg, who is known everywhere for his amazingly elegant compositions. The scenery and properties had all been made expressly for the opera and were very fine, though not as costly as those in Italy; but the costumes were of the finest and the performances were in all things most natural and uncommonly elegant. In especial the representation of the lion with which Hidaspes [sic] has to fight was incomparably fine. The fellow who played him was not only wrapped in a lion-skin, but, moreover, nothing could be seen of his feet, which usually betray the fact that a man is hidden within. We were filled with surprise at the way in which the fellow could spring about so nimbly on the ground on all fours as well as on his hind legs. The singers expressed so well the emotions they must represent that I have never seen the like, above all Nicolini, who excels all actors in the world in this respect.

Quite apart from the unexpected puff for Pepusch, this review is worth quoting in full since it provides essential clues as to the point that Italian opera had reached by 1710. True, it is the view of a German, but later in the year another German would arrive in London, and be similarly impressed by the quality of the opera house, the orchestra, and singers, particularly Nicolini and Margherita. The arrival of Handel would change the character of English music drama. *Hydaspes*, and the quality of its production created a basis for Handel's *Rinaldo*.[77]

A Whig View of *Hydaspes* - Addison

[5/45] Comparing Uffenbach's account, particularly after a strenuous journey to London, a city entirely new to him, with what appears in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, the two leading

[77] This 'basis' was in serious jeopardy in the course of 1710. A contractual and financial quarrel between Swiney and Nicolini threatened to sabotage Italian opera. Nicolini claimed that Swiney's actors were out to 'destroy the operas' (see below).

journals of the period (April 1709 to Dec. 1712), demonstrates the inferior quality of Whig theatre reaction to an Italian opera.[78] There may have been admiration for Nicolini's acting ability and voice production, but there is little assessment of an operatic performance. Addison, who had experience of Italian opera during his Italian Tour (1701-03),[79] had more exposure to the genre than Steele, but for Addison opera was low entertainment and did not qualify as drama. Rather than the broad critical assessment of Uffenbach, Addison dwells on one scene that he thinks will afford more amusement than the rest of the opera:

> There is nothing that of late Years has afforded Matter of greater Amusement to the Town than Signior Nicolini's Combat with a Lion in the Hay-Market, which has been very often exhibited to the general Satisfaction of most of the Nobility and Gentry in the Kingdom of Great Britain. Upon the first Rumour of this intended Combat, it was confidently affirmed, and is still believed by many in both Galleries, that there would be a tame Lion sent from the Tower every Opera Night, in order to be killed by Hydaspes ……and that the Stage would be supplied with Lions at the public Expence, during the whole Session.

Spectator 13 (15 March 1711) appeared a year after the first performance of *Hydaspes*, so was hardly news, therefore, the fight with the lion was already well known, but Addison chose it belatedly to create amusement in a sort of rhapsodic retrospective.[80]

[5/46] After speculating on the number of live lions needed for performances to that point, and how the lions might react to the 'virgin' hero,[81] he finally dispenses with his litany of rumours, and goes backstage where he finds more diversion than at the front. He meets three gentlemen who acted the part of the lion, which he painstakingly explains why:

> .. the Lion has changed his manner of Acting twice or thrice since his first Appearance; which will not seem strange, when I acquaint my Reader that the Lion has been changed upon the Audience three several times.

Not having found anything of merit frontstage, Addison strives for interest backstage by explaining that the first lion was 'a Candle-snuffer, who being a Fellow of a testy, cholerick

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[78] Given the aim of the Whigs to control the media in this period, and the more active participation of the Kit-Cat Club with the Whig Junto from 1710, their attitude to Italian opera, hitherto confused, but now more focused, will need more investigation, here explored but in more details with *Rinaldo*, Ch.6 – did the Whigs promote Italian opera?

[79] Ch.4, parags.33–34.

[80] Henry Morley (1891) http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12030/12030-h/12030-h/SV1/Spectator1.html#fra21

[81] This jibe counters the view that the arrival of the castrati represented a shift to 'heroic' opera.

Temper over-did his Part, and would not suffer himself to be killed so easily as he ought to have done'. The second was 'a Taylor by Trade, who belonged to the Play-House, and had the Character of a mild and peaceable Man in his Profession', and the third, 'a Country Gentleman, who does it for his Diversion, but desires his Name may be concealed', and confesses he does it as a diversion, 'a better to pass away an Evening in this manner, than in Gaming and Drinking'.[82] Each actor receives a lot of attention with Addison striving to be humorous, but this reinforces the view that Addison found Italian opera a mere amusement, not a genuine drama. He feigns astonishment that, 'Signior Nicolini and the Lion have been seen sitting peaceably by one another, and smoking a Pipe together, behind the Scenes; by which their common Enemies would insinuate, it is but a sham Combat which they represent upon the Stage', but then he recalls witnessing at Westminster Hall, 'a Couple of Lawyers, who have been tearing each other to pieces in the Court, embracing one another as soon as they are out of it'. For Addison the amusement offstage, was more interesting to report than the performance itself. When it comes to the reception of Italian opera, there is a yawning gulf between Uffenbach and Addison. Oddly, Burney found Addison's account amusing.

A Whig View of Italian Opera - Steele

[5/47] *The Tatler* ran throughout 1710, the year of success for *Almahide* and *Hydaspes*, but Steele in *Tatler 145* (14 March 1710) seizes on a performance of *Camilla* which had been running for four years, not due to its famous plot and singers, but because it provided an example for his essay on men leering at women. The opera was so 'tedious', wrote Steele, that the occasion was used for gentlemen 'to ogle' the ladies:

> I remember well when I was last at an Opera, I could perceive the Eyes of the whole Audience cast into particular cross Angles one upon another, without any Manner of Regard for the Stage, tho' King *Latinus* was himself present when I made that Observation.[83]

All five performances of *Camilla* in the 1709-10 season, took place between 20 October and 13 December 1709, the star crowd-puller being Nicolini as Prenesto, so Steele is not writing about a recent performance.[84] When he reflects, 'I remember well when I was last at an

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[82] The tale of three lion actors has the structure and tone of a fairy tale in Goldilocks vein, and may well have been invented.

[83] *The Tatler* No.145 Tues 14 March 1710, ed. Bond, vol.2, p.323.

[84] That Steele seems to have no interest in reporting *Hydaspes*, the finest Italian opera to that point, is significant. Forced to choose, he would have preferred opera in English. He was on friendly terms with Thomas

opera', it is entirely possible that he is relaying the event when Cassani's role as Latinus had a legendary poor performance in 1708.[85] But his lesson seems to be, that the opera is responsible for the tedium that provokes men in the audience to leer at the ladies; Steele continues, the 'Ogler' is like a 'Rattlesnake' about to quarry a 'Squirrel'. There is no suggestion that this could happen at plays – opera is the victim.

The Fate of Italian opera in the balance

[5/48] Whether the *Tatler* or *Spectator*, damaged opera attendance, or made a potential audience more curious, is difficult to estimate, but one development in the course of 1710 could have sabotaged Italian opera completely – an altercation between Swiney and Nicolini, which brought the castrato to the brink of resignation, and return to Italy where he was in great demand. Had this happened the fate of Italian opera would have been weighed in the balance with an uncertain future. The problem derived from the internal politics of the Queen's Theatre, and the downside of a theatrical monopoly since the closure of Drury Lane in June 1709. Nicolini's complaints were twofold. He claimed that his salary was in arrears, and that there was a conspiracy by the actors to discredit him.

[5/49] Despite a full season of Italian operas and plays (1709-10), Swiney, due to generous payment to actors, the purchase of expensive stage sets, and the cost of Italian singers, had stretched his budget to the limit, but Nicolini was demanding immediate payment. The confrontation began innocently enough. To balance the books by boosting attendance at plays, Swiney advertised in the *Daily Courant* that on Saturday 18 March, between the acts of *The Scornful Lady*, 'Select Scenes of Musick' would be sung by Nicolini, Valentini, and Margarita de l'Epine. It would have been folly had Swiney not consulted singers in advance, but Nicolini stubbornly refused to engage in an activity, which he said was outside the terms of his opera contract, and that such an engagement be demeaning – it would 'Vilifie and Prejudice the Opera'.[86] By 10 May (1710) Nicolini, having flexed his contractual muscle

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Clayton on whom the future of English opera rested following the success of *Arsinoe*. *Tatler* 166, 2 May 1710, tells us how he had a visit from 'Mr Clayton, *Author of* Arsinoe' (not *Rosamond*), requesting an advertisement of his 'Pastoral Masque' to be performed in York Buildings on 3 May. The meeting was friendly, even jocular, as Steele joked about tuning the instruments before the appearance of the audience, in case they mistook the sound for the composition, and no foot-tapping resembling, 'Stamping Dances of the West Indians or Hottentots.' (From my own Apartment, May 1, 'As I was looking out of my parlour window this Morning …', ed. Bond, vol.2, pp.4.20–1). The event is corroborated verbatim in the *Daily Courant* (3 May), adding, 'To begin at exactly at 8 of the Clock' (Milhous & Hume, 2001, p.569).

[85] See Ch.3, parag.32, Fig.6.

[86] *Coke Papers* (1982 ed.), pp.136-7. How Valentini and Margarita responded, is not recorded.

over the *entr'acte* issue, sent Swiney a peremptory demand in the continental *lingua franca* for business formalities:[87]

> Monsieur, Après qu'on eut recite trois fois l'opera d Hidaspes, je vous demanday les cent cinquante livres, qui m'etoient deuës en virtu du contract passé entre nous, et m'ayant repondu que vous ne me voulier payer sans avoir premierment en mains The fair score, and all the parts of the Opera, ce qui ne reflechissoit pas bien sur moy, Je vous le donnay dans les forms il y a environ quinze Jours, depuis quel tems J'ay attendu Jusques à Mercredy passé, que vous ne m'aviez pas encore payé ……

Feeling insulted by Swiney's withholding payment pending the delivery of the score, Nicolini, a week later demanded, not only the fee for *Hydaspes*, but also arrears for his 800 guinea salary, claiming that in the words of his scribe, 'the disgraces, discomforts, mortifications, and insults that he was subjected to, to the point of even making him ill for almost the whole duration of the last season, caused solely by the resentment by the comedians'. This was due, no doubt, to dissatisfaction over Nicolini's excessive salary, compared with the meagre earnings of actors.[88]

[5/50] *Hydaspes* may have been an operatic triumph, but its very success marked a point of potential disaster for Italian opera, highlighting the growing tensions between English actors and Italian singers. At the beginning of the 1709-10 season, Swiney had reached an agreement with the Lord Chamberlain to co-opt in a partnership the leading actors, Robert Wilks (£250), Colley Cibber, and Thomas Doggett (£200 each). Swiney (£300) would retain 50% of the profits, and the other three would share the rest. However, by November 1709, economies reduced the salaries of the Swiney's partners by £50. Nicolini, on the other hand retained his full salary as stipulated by his contract. Resentment grew among the actors, first because they worked a 4-day week, compared to the opera singers, twice a week, and only during the opera season. Nicolini felt this resentment, and complained bitterly about it on 18 May (1710):[89]

> Il y a au Theatre trois autres Maîtres, tous trois Comediens, qui se sont associez depuis L'hyver passé avec Swiny, comme compagnons,

[87] *Coke Papers*, p.137 (doc.83).

[88] *Coke Papers*, p.141; actors salaries are listed in doc.81, pp.132–3: men range from £200 (Wilks), £150 (Doggett, Cibber), £100 (Betterton), at the top, and £25 (Thurmond Jr) at the bottom. The women start at £100 (Mrs Barry, Mrs Oldfield), £25 (Mrs Betterton), and at the bottom (£10) Miss Younger.

[89] *Coke Papers*, doc.85, p.140.

> Directeurs, et arbitres tant des comedies que des Operas, et des Musiciens; leur interest, et leur but est detruire les Operas.

Nicolini was convinced that there was a conspiracy among the partners in particular, and actors in general, to sabotage Italian opera, and to force him to leave England ('qu'il se resoude [à] quitter l'Angleterre'). On 22 May, exasperated with Nicolini's conduct and his apparent refusal to sing the title role in *Hydaspes* on 12 May, Swiney resorted to legal action in the Court of Chancery. The outcome is not recorded. It is thought the Lord Chamberlain may have intervened and an out-of-court settlement may have been reached. Whatever the case, Nicolini remained to fulfil his contract.[90]

Etearco (1711)

[5/51] As Handel was preparing the music for *Rinaldo* for 24 February in the Queen's Theatre, *Etearco* had its premiere on 10 January. Haym returned to active service after a paternity break,[91] no doubt to prevent Heidegger or Nicolini assuming control, but prompted more by the score of Giovanni Bononcini's opera provided by Lord Halifax, who is showered with gratitude in Haym's libretto dedication.[92] Fig.31 (below) shows the bilingual title pages, and the Italian cast, apart for Mr Lawrence who takes a minor role. The Herodotus plot (Fig.32) has been modified and developed to a variant of the lost-and-found theme. In Herodotus, the Princess Fronima has been made the victim of calumny, character assassination, and false accusations of fornication by her wicked stepmother. King Etearco of Crete's response is to have his daughter drowned at sea as punishment, but the hired merchant of Thera (the original Greek island of Santorini), is reluctant to have murder on his conscience, so takes Fronima to Thera where she is 'belov'd by Polinnestus'. In the opera Fronima was initially affianced to Polinnestus (Polinnesto), King of Thera. Confusion arises in the opera as to why the daughter should be disposed of in the way described, since marriage would have allowed her to become the Queen of Thera, and so removed from Crete in a more convenient fashion. This is overlooked in the opera and she is abandoned on a lonely island. This is where the opera begins. The Herodotus synopsis merely gives a clue to how she got there. But as luck would have it, the princess's fiancé, Polinnesto, on his way to claim his bride in Crete, is shipwrecked on the same island. Amazed to find his beloved in this desolate spot, he hears her story. They hatch a plan to punish the perpetrators, first by

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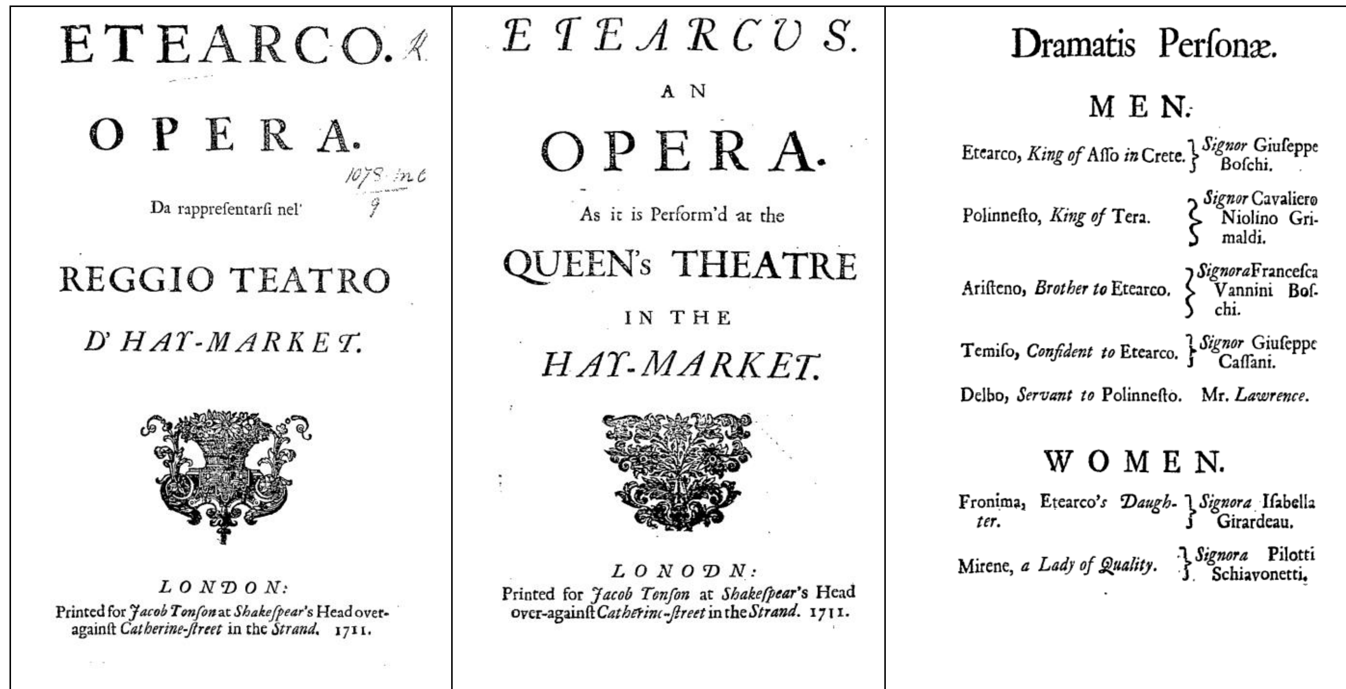
[90] Interpretation based on the *Coke Papers*, pp.138–142.

[91] See parag.26.

[92] Lindgren (1972) claims that Halifax was in touch with Bononcini, who sent him opera scores. *Etearco* was first performed in Vienna in 1707 (NGDO, vol.1, p.543.

taking the princess back home in disguise, then by badgering the king for 'losing' his daughter, and finally the daughter's appearing disguised as a ghost, to terrorise the guilty by inducing states of compunction, despair, depression, and paranoia. In the end, the king, who is on the verge of suicide, is more than relieved to have his daughter back and happily married to her prince.

Fig.31



ETEARCO.

OPERA.

Da rappreſentarſi nel'

REGGIO TEATRO

D' HAY-MARKET.

LONDON:

Printed for *Jacob Tonſon* at *Shakeſpear's* Head over-againſt *Catherine-ſtreet* in the *Strand*. 1711.

ETEARCUS.

AN

OPERA.

As it is Perform'd at the

QUEEN's THEATRE

IN THE

HAY-MARKET.

LONODN:

Printed for *Jacob Tonſon* at *Shakeſpear's* Head over-againſt *Catherine-ſtreet* in the *Strand*. 1711.

Dramatis Perſonæ.

MEN.

Etearco, *King of* Aſſo *in* Crete.	*Signor* Giuſeppe Boſchi.
Polinneſto, *King of* Tera.	*Signor* Cavaliero Niolino Grimaldi.
Ariſteno, *Brother to* Etearco.	*Signora* Franceſca Vannini Boſchi.
Temiſo, *Confident to* Etearco.	*Signor* Giuſeppe Caſſani.
Delbo, *Servant to* Polinneſto.	Mr. *Lawrence*.

WOMEN.

Fronima, Etearco's *Daughter*.	*Signora* Iſabella Girardeau.
Mirene, *a Lady of Quality*.	*Signora* Pilotti Schiavonetti.

[5/52] There are other modifications to Herodotus taken from *The Histories* (Book 4). The 'Argument' (the Italian *Argomento*, not included in the 1711 edition), refers to 'another woman', the king's second wife, but there is no indication in the libretto that there is a second wife, or that the woman is married to Etearchus, in fact, Mirene spends most of the opera trying to escape from him, and into the welcoming arms of her lover, the king's brother, Aristeno. There is no 'Themiston a Merchant' who takes Fronima to Thera, where she falls for the blandishments of another merchant, Polinnestus, living happily with him, never to return home.[93] Instead 'Temiso, a Confident to Etearco', who kept his promise to the king

[93] The Etearcus narrative in Herodotus is but a prelude to the early history of Libya with its warring tribes, and their conflicts with the empires of Egypt and Persia (*The Histories*, (trans. Burn, 1972), pp.322–339). The function of Fronima was to bear a child, who would become the first king of Libya, founding a dynasty, but in the *Etearco* opera, Libya is dropped, and the theme of lost-and-found explored.

to throw Fronima into the sea, but then pulled her out again, left the princess on the island, where her betrothed, Polinnestus, the King of Thera, comes to the rescue.

Fig.32

The Argument.

ETearchus *King of* Oaxus, *a City of* Crete, *after the Death of his first Wife, marry'd another Woman, who with an inveterate Malice Persecuted his Daughter* Fronima; *and besides an infinite number of other Contrivances, accus'd her at last of Unchastity, and prevail'd with her Husband to believe the Calumny.* Etearchus *hereupon sent for* Themison *a Merchant of* Thera, *who was then at* Oaxus, *and having compell'd him to take an Oath to serve him in any thing he should desire, he deliver'd his Daughter to him, with a command to Drown her in the Sea during his Voyage.* Themison, *that he might perform his Oath, and at the same time preserve the Lady, let her down into the Water, and after he had drawn her up again pursued his Voyage to* Thera, *where she was belov'd by* Polinnestus, *an eminent Man in that Island. Upon this account, which we find in the fourth Book of* Herodotus, *the following Drama is founded.*

ETEARCUS.

ACT I. SCENE I.

A Wood, and a tempestuous Sea.

Fronima *in a Shepherd's Habit.*

FRONIMA.

UNhappy *Fronima*,
Unnatural Father, impious *Mirene*.
My dearest *Polinesto*! (Woods,
Behold her wand'ring through the desart
For whom you sigh, and with impatient
Wishes
Long to receive at *Hymen's* holy Hands,
E'er Death confines her to the silent Grave.
I am th' unhappy Off-spring
Of ad inhuman Prince;
What Friend will guide my Steps
To an obscure Retreat?
O who at length will show me
Some hospitable Cottage,
Or peaceful silent Cave?
I am, &c.
SCENE

The *Argument* specifies a 'Voyage to Thera' (Fig.32), but in Act 1, scene ii, Fronima insists on a return to the Court to embarrass King Etearco over a cancelled wedding, while she looks on in disguise at her father's increasing discomfiture and guilt. Her father's guilt is not in dispute, but Mirene does not fulfil the role of the wicked stepmother. Mirene maintains that to keep the king at a distance, she taunted him with the jibe that his first love was his daughter, but on hearing from her lover Aristeno that Fronima is dead, she enquires, 'what dire mischance has deprived us of the lovely Maid' (Act I/iv), hardly the words of someone who had accused Fronima of adulterous conduct as in the Herodotus *Argument*. Mirene needed Fronima to keep Etearco at arm's length. With Fronima gone, so also has her temporising excuse, and she becomes victim to the king's anger, but challenges Etearco, that if an innocent daughter is not safe, what security would there be for a redundant lover. This objection carries no weight, and Etearco, convinced that there is a rival lover, ironically allocates his brother, Aristeno, the task of finding the culprit.

[5/53] Act 1, scene i (Fig.32), shows Fronima in a pastoral set, dressed in shepherd's clothing, and lamenting her condition. She grieves that her father is 'unnatural', condemning

her to a watery grave, but Mirene, billed in *Dramatis Personae* as a 'Lady of Quality', is not the wicked stepmother, and is simply described by Fronima as 'impious' – there is no specific allegation of malicious treatment. The choice of a pastoral scene is not unlike that of Cleora in *Thomyris*, 'this melancholick Grove Suits my Sadness' (Act 3/i), a scene, ideal for heartache and despair. In Act 1, scene ii, as Polinnesto and Delbo reach the shore and spot the bedraggled figure, Delbo utters words of astonishment:

Delbo. My Lord, come near,
And ſee how much this Nymph reſembles
The Royal *Etearco*'s beauteous Daughter:
She is ſo like! ſhe is the very *Fronima*.

Polinnesto recognises her, amazed that far from being in the garbs of a princess in the palace, she is 'Clad in these rustic Weeds!' in a wood. When Fronima explains the attempted drowning and her desire to return home for revenge, Polinnesto responds, 'To the Royal Court where the beauteous Nymph was born. Let us repair.' As they leave the island and journey to the Court, the pastoral episode is over. It has served its purpose. Outside the Court pastoral scenes can be appropriate, but as the rest of the opera takes place in the Royal Palace, the pastoral no longer has a role to play. In *Rinaldo*, performed a month later, another princess in a pastoral scene soliloquises her feelings (Act 1/vi). In operatic tragicomedy, a pastoral scene allows a princess to explore her feelings in isolation, close to nature with birdsong and the sound of rippling water. There are, however, two scenes in this opera where Mirene, is in isolation to ponder her pain, but both are prison cells. In both she has a visitation by a ghost to interrupt her thoughts.

[5/54] Fronima makes three ghostly appearances which confuse the plot. Two of these apparitions are to Mirene and one to her father. This seems to go beyond the bounds of operatic verisimilitude, but both Etearco and Mirene are so ridden with guilt, the king for having engineered the death of his daughter, and Mirene by association (and by putting her lover in danger of death), that the vision and voice take on an aspect of eerie reality. On seeing the first vision, Mirene declares, 'I've lost my senses'. The ghost accuses Mirene, 'You are the Cause of my Destruction', but there are no specifics, only the relationship with Etearco, her father, which Fronima is determined to prevent and in spiteful fashion (Act 2/iv, p.38):

Go, and with open Arms receive
My impious Father.
Go, and rejoice him with your soft Caresses.
You are the cruel Author of my Death.

The ghostly Fronima has taken her cue from Herodotus, and has not learned that Mirene in the opera wants to escape from Etearco. The audience is aware of this, but it is not until the end of the opera that Fronima learns the truth about Mirene. Her misapprehension continues into the second apparition in which the ghostly Fronima threatens Mirene with 'ghostly spectres' if she pursues the plan to marry her father, and repeats, 'You are the cruel Author of my Death'. Mirene could have intimated to the ghost that she has been misinformed, but Mirene, quaking with fear, wants to be released from her dungeon or to die (Act 3/i, pp.48-50). Fronima's third visitation is to her father, tormented by 'hideous spectres', including Alecto and Cerebus. As he exclaims:

Who can express the Anguish of my Mind,
The Tortures, and the Sorrows I endure?
Ye Gods, instruct me what to do.

– a voice instructs 'Open a Vein and die'. Etearco recognises the voice of Fronima, and taking his sword, attempts to dispatch himself, but the ghostly Fronima appears, and with the words, 'Be more a Man, and live', so relieved, he removes the sword (Act 3/v, pp.54-58). In a fit of compunction, Etearco orders the release of Mirene in an apparent step towards the expiation of his crimes. Aristeno offers hope with a comforting aria:

Arist Take Comfort, Sir; who knows
But one day Fate will be
With Persecution tir'd.
Whene'er the Heart repents,
Jove looks in pity down,
And stays th' avenging Bolt.

Hoping for forgiveness, Etearco cries out, admitting his guilt (p.68):

A barbarous Father, and a cruel King.
Appear, O *Fronima*, and ſee
The Sorrows of my Heart.
Dear *Fronima* my Child, where art thou?

Fronima appears in her royal regalia. Etearco is overcome, his 'Heart transported from the excess of Grief to Joy' (p.70). Both Aristeno and Mirene, who had not been privy to the survival of Fronima, join in the rejoicing, and even more so when Etearco announces his abdication in favour of his brother. Mirene, therefore, becomes queen. This may explain why she has been depicted as a relatively innocent party, and certainly not the Herodotus wicked stepmother. Even in tragicomedy wicked stepmothers do not become queens in the denouement. Wicked kings can earn forgiveness, but the line is drawn with wicked women, so they do not appear in tragicomedy. The opera conforms to the requirements of tragicomedy, contrition and forgiveness for Etearco on the one hand, and the happy outcome for the beleaguered Mirene and Aristeno, and the justice-seeking Fronima and Polinnesto, on the other.

[5/55] Haym who produced the opera, dedicated the libretto to Lord Halifax who provided the score of the Stampiglia-Bononcini opera, *Etearco*, performed in Vienna in the 1707 carnival season, then in January 1708 in Naples, and in London in January 1711.

Fig.33

ETEARCO
DRAMA PER MUSICA
DI SILVIO STAMPIGLIA
Trà gli Arcadi Palemone Licurio
Da rappreſentarſi nel Teatro
de' Fiorentini
DEDICATO
All' Illuſtriſs. ed Eccellentiſs. Signora
D. GIOVANNA
PIGNATELLI,
Aragona, y Cortes, Pymentel, Mendoza,
y Benavides, Ducheſſa di Monteleone, di
Terra-Nova, Marcheſa del Vaglio
di Oaxaca, &c.

IN NAPOLI, MDCCVIII.
Nella Stampa di Michele-Luigi Mutio.
Con licenza de' Superiori.
Si vende nella ſua Libraria ſotto l' Infermaria
di Santa Maria la Nova.

ARGOMENTO.

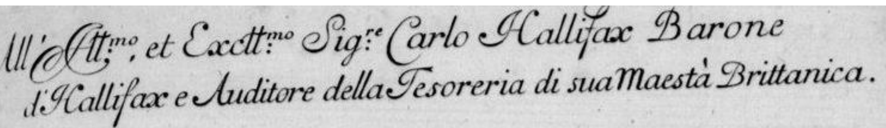
Etearco Rè d' Aſſo in Creta ebbe colle prime nozze una Figliuola nominata Fronima, la quale fù dalla ſeconda Moglie così malignamente perſeguitata, & incolpata, che il Padre rimaſone ingãnato deliberò di farla morire: coſtretto per tanto Temiſo suo familiare à promettergli con giuramento, che averebbe eſeguito il ſuo volere in ciò, che richieſto l' aveſſe, gli ordinò che ſommergeſſe Fronima in Mare: Temiſo per oſſervare inſieme il giuramento, e per iſchivare tale ſceleraggine, gittolla in Mare ligata ad una fune, colla quale immediatamente viva la traſſe fuori, e così laſciolla nell' Iſola di Tera, dove poi fù ſoccorſa, & amata da Polinneſto. Sopra queſto fatto che racconta Erodoto nel quarto Libro delle ſue Storie è fondato il preſente Drama, con quanto in eſſo ſi finge.

MU-

The Naples libretto includes the *Argomento* taken from Herodotus (Erodoto, Fig.33), but not included in Italian by Haym in the London libretto. In both the Vienna and Naples versions Delbo is provided with a partner, Zelta in Vienna, and Nisa in Naples. This allows for three sets of partners rejoicing in the finale.[94] In London the Delbo companion was cut. Mr Lawrence remains a lonely figure at the end of opera, but nevertheless, tragicomedy.

Lord Halifax

[5/56] Lord Halifax (Charles Montagu) has had little attention in this study so far – his contribution to the introduction of Italian opera is not clear.[95] The only other opera dedication to Lord Halifax is in *Songs in the Opera Call'd the Temple of Love*, but without a translation, suggesting perhaps that Halifax had a smattering of Italian,[96] or that Giuseppe Fedelli Saggione had no access to a translator. It is claimed, however, that Saggione composed the music, although evidence is slim. He seems, nevertheless, to have compiled the song collection. In his dedication, Lord Halifax's title is included, Auditor of the Exchequer, perhaps in the hope of a subsidy, which was a standard expectation in such dedications:[97]


All'Ill:mo, et Excell:mo Sig:re Carlo Hallifax Barone
di Hallifax e Auditore della Tesoreria di sua Maestà Brittanica.

Lord Halifax was related to Lord Manchester, who did have an interest in Italian opera.[98] Halifax had a background in finance: he was involved with the creation of the Bank of

[94] See Sartori, vol.1, p.70

[95] Lindgren (1972, pp.228-

[96] In 1701, Addison dedicated a poem in heroic couplets to Halifax, and sent it from Italy, entitled simply, 'A Letter from Italy', and had it translated 'e tradotta in versi toscani', signing himself Signore Giuseppe Addison, an indication perhaps, that Halifax had a competence in Italian (*Addison's Works*, ed. Bohn, 1865, vol.1, pp.28-37). The best study of Halifax is in Cruickshank *et al*, *The House of Commons 1690-1715*, vol.4, (Members G-N), pp.850-880. This entry by Mark Knights, the anonymous *Life of Halifax* (1715), and a flimsy biography in ODNB, are all that is available.

[97] Ch.3 [10], quizzes the ability of Saggione to have composed the music for *The Temple of Love*. There is no trace of composition experience. For dedications with monetary motive anticipated, see Pat Rogers 'Book Dedications, 1700-1799' (1993).

[98] Lord Halifax (1661-1715) and the Earl of Manchester (1662-1722) shared the same name, Charles Montagu, in a family tree that stemmed back to Henry Montagu, First Earl of Manchester (1564-1642). The Manchester title derived from the first son, Edward Montagu (1602-71), who inherited the title, but Halifax hailed from a much later son George (1622-81), which created a generation gap, so that instead of the Earl of Manchester and Lord Halifax being cousins, the latter became the uncle of the former. To compound matters, Halifax

England (1694), was elected to the Royal Society (1695), dealt with recoinage (1695-6), and was First Lord of the Treasury (1697-98) during which he raised large sums of money for the government, but lost the position as chancellor due to unacceptable powers of patronage. He managed to remain in the treasury, was created Baron Halifax in 1700, but was impeached for procurement of grants in 1701, and again in 1703 for shady accounting procedures, although he had sufficient support in the House of Lords to survive.[99] Thereafter, his influence was minimal, so that financing Saggione, was unlikely.[100] Nevertheless, Halifax survived by being a member of the Whig Junto, and the Kit-Cat Club, both of which were active, both in protecting their members, and in promoting Whig values through propaganda.

[5/57] Halifax distinguished himself in poetry and oratory at Cambridge, famous for his improvised epigrams, and his *Poems on Several Occasions*. At the age of twenty-two he was elected a fellow of Trinity College, earned the patronage of the Earl of Dorset,[101] and became numbered among the Whig wits,[102] obtaining an LL.D at Cambridge in 1705, and being recognised as a patron of letters, whose protégés included Congreve, Pope, Swift, Steele, Prior, Stepney, and Addison, although all admitted there was no financial benefit in the privilege. It is worth noting that none of the protégés, had any interest in Italian opera, so

married the widowed mother of Manchester, so that he became the latter's father-in-law. Manchester did have an interest in Italian opera having had a correspondence with Vanbrugh while acting as ambassador in Venice. See Ch.3, fn.135/141. Manchester, while in Venice, received the dedication of the Gasparini opera, *Flavio Anicio Olibrio*, on 30 January 1708 (Selfridge-Field, *Calendar*, 2007, p.284). According to B&J Glixon in *Inventing the Business of Opera* (pp.131-2), dedications had to be earned with an emolument.

[99] Basic information in ODNB, but much more so from Mark Knights in *The House of Commons* (2002), vol.4, pp.850-880.

[100] Saggione's understanding of English patronage was probably on a par with his understanding of the English language.

[101] See Ch.4 [7], especially fn.15.

[102] Halifax's magnum opus was *The Hind and the Panther, Transvers'd to the Story of the Country-Mouse and the City-Mouse*, reprinted in 1709. It appeared originally 1687 as a parody of Dryden's lengthy poem, *The Hind and the Panther* published earlier in the same year. Halifax's work comprised a short discourse and a dialogue, not quite matching the power of Dryden's 2600 lines of heroic verse. There is also some dispute about the extent of the Halifax's authorship since Matthew Prior was involved in the writing, but the eulogistic *Life* of 1715 gives Halifax full credit. Dryden's *Conquest of Granada* was also in the news in 1709, with its possible influence on the opera *Almahide* (see parags.31-34). The satirical response to Dryden's play, *The Rehearsal*, did much to prompt an attack on Dryden in 1709, featuring a more elegant anonymous work in heroic couplets than the Halifax-Prior parody, *A Poem in Defence of the Church of England in Opposition to the Hind and the Panther Written by Mr. John Dryden* (1709). The year 1709 is worth a more serious study re the attempts to downgrade Dryden for his Catholic religion, and since Catholicism was perceived to be at the root of Italian opera (Dennis, 1706), the progress of introduction could have been blocked, but as with the reputation of Dryden as a genius irrespective of religious belief, so also, Italian opera would triumph irrespective of religious links.

that if Halifax had such an interest, he was loathe to pass it on. Colley Cibber in his autobiography of 1740 could recall that Halifax was 'a Patron of the Muses' and a friend of Betterton and Vanbrugh, and 'had a generous Concern for the Reputation, and Prosperity of the Theatre',[103] but there is no reference to Italian opera.[104]

The Lindgren Dissertation on Halifax and Gallas

[5/58] The Lindgren dissertation (1972) devotes some attention to Halifax, not only as 'a great patron of the arts', but also as 'a principle figure' in persuading Bononcini to come to London. Three letters are adduced as proof for this, but each of them has flawed pieces of evidence (pp.228-9). All three letters are sourced from the Kimbolton Papers in the *Court and Society*, volume II collection, edited by the 7th Duke of Manchester in 1864. The first letter quoted is dated May 1707, in which Henry Boyle replied to the Earl of Manchester, then in Vienna, with a letter essentially about defeat in Spain, but commiserating on Manchester's failed attempt to persuade Bononcini to come to London.[105] There is no mention of Halifax instigating the plan (*Court & Society*, p.223). In March 1708, Lord Manchester wrote to the Duchess of Marlborough from Venice, 'Mr Boyle did mention that my Lord Treasurer [Halifax] was once thinking of getting from Vienna, Buononcini', but Lindgren's square brackets have the wrong person – Halifax was not Lord Treasurer, but the Auditor, and even if Manchester got the title wrong, the letter specifies 'once thinking' with no sign of proactive initiative. The final letter, going back to July 1707, has Halifax from London, thanking Manchester in Venice for an unnamed opera, but the Lindgren quote (p.229) refers only to a cantata. The footnote citation (266) refers to *Court & Society*, pp.231-2, and the exact quote is as follows:

> I return your Lordship a thousand thanks for the songs and fine opera which you have sent me. The cantata of the Emperor's own making is so good we suppose Buononcini had a hand in it, and I'm afraid he will excel his predecessor in music more than in politics … I have not yet tried the opera, but it promises well.

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[103] M&H (2001) provide a useful example of Halifax's incompetent patronage in the 1706-07 season: 'At Queen's 400 guineas were reportedly raised under the patronage of Lord Halifax … Each subscriber was to have three tickets at a guinea apiece (more than five times the normal price) for each of the three first nights. *Julius Caesar* was given on 14 January, *A King and no King* on 21 January, and *The Comical Lovers* on 4 February. This was an experiment not repeated, perhaps because the audience could see such productions virtually any night' (p.313). Abigail Williams confirms that Halifax did not have wealth or status, but was influential at court – his influence was limited to appointments, *Cultures of Whiggism* ed. Womersley (2005), p.157.

[104] Cibber, *An Apology for the Life*, ed. BRS Fone (Michigan, 1968), pp.121, 183.

[105] Lindgren explains that Henry Boyle was Secretary of State, but in 1707, he was Chancellor of the Exchequer (1701-1708).

The flaw is that Lindgren does not know the title of the opera, but guesses it might be *Etearco*, on the basis that three years later he passed the score to Haym. The reference to 'songs' suggests the arias only, and 'not yet tried' suggests working on the harpsichord, but there is no indication in any biography of Halifax that he had any keyboard proficiency.[106]

[5/59] There is no full-length biography of Halifax. The longest account of his life by Mark Knights in *The House of Commons 1690-1715*, volume 4 (see fn.99/102 above), but the biography is entirely political with no mention of Italian opera. The anonymous author of the eulogistic *Life*,[107] which appeared immediately after Halifax's death in 1715, has nothing to say about an interest in Italian opera either. However, there is peripheral information in a letter, dated 27 May 1707, sent to the Earl of Manchester by Henry Boyle, Lord Treasurer of Ireland and Northern Secretary, from London to Vienna, which suggests the Earl had attempted to persuade Bononcini to take up a post in London:

> My Lord, I was not a little proud of the honour of your Lordship's letter from Vienna, but I am sorry it is so difficult to get Buononcini over here. I don't find that there is like to be any further steps made towards it; so we must content ourselves with his music, and particularly I long to hear his new opera, which my Lord Halifax has not yet received.

It is possible that Halifax may have attempted to contact Bononcini in Vienna, but more likely that Manchester on a diplomatic mission to Vienna, as the letter indicates, had procured a score from Bononcini to send to Halifax. The letter does not mention the title of the opera, but it is likely to be *L'Etearco* which had been performed in Vienna *nel carnival dell'anno 1707* (Sartori, vol.1, p.70). It is fair to infer that this is the score, and when it arrived, that Halifax passed it to Haym, a task referred to in the dedication of the libretto.[108]

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[106] The mention of politics may refer to Joseph I's reliance on Marlborough's victories in preventing French advance on Vienna.

[107] *The Life and Works of Charles, Late Earl of Halifax, including a History of His Lordship's Times* (1715). The poems including the parody of *The Hind and the Panther* are included, but for an LL.D, his opus is poor. Although an anonymous biography, there is a clue about the author. In a letter to Dr Henry Newton (November 1708), Addison writes, 'I am very glad that my Lord Halifax's character will be drawn by so great a Master' (*The Letters of Joseph Addison*, ed. Graham, 138A, p.122).

[108] *Kimbolton Papers, Court & Society*, ed. 7th Duke of Manchester, full text, vol.2, p.223. From the same source, Lindgren (1972) interprets the Lord Treasurer as Halifax in connection with Bononcini (Manchester to the Duchess of Marlborough, Mar,1708, p.322). Halifax was a mere auditor at this point – the Treasurer would be Henry Boyle himself or Godolphin.

[5/60] The purpose of Lindgren's 1972 thesis was to demonstrate Giovanni Bononcini's influence on the operas leading to *Rinaldo*, itemising every aria utilised in the pasticcios.[109] This scholarly work has received due recognition, and its subject matter, has not been improved on since its completion.[110] However, as shown, it has its flaws beyond the Bononcini identifications, not only with an inflated view of Halifax's contribution to Italian opera, but also with his view of Johann Wenzel, Count Gallas, who served in London as the ambassador from Vienna from 1705-11, precisely the central period of this study, so the presence of Gallas should be of interest. Lindgren's view is that since Gallas was in London for the complete period of Emperor Joseph I's reign (1705-11), he must have had an interest in promoting Italian opera. Lindgren asserts, plausibly, that since, 'England and Vienna were allied in the war against France during these years, so Gallas' post was of great importance'. However, his thesis has no detail of diplomatic activity, instead, speculation that Gallas had an opportunity to organise performances of Bononcini's music with Halifax on private occasions. Dates or locations would have been helpful, but in terms of diplomacy, a study of the Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence, shows no consultation with Gallas during the War of the Spanish Succession. The only reference to diplomacy in Lindgren is the donation of Bononcini arias for *Almahide* in 1710, regarded as a 'diplomatic gesture' (p.230), but nothing on political diplomacy.

[5/61] This does not mean that Gallas was inactive diplomatically – he had a network of contacts with whom he communicated in enciphered messages. There is an unintentional reference in Lindgren's thesis that explains why Gallas was distrusted in diplomacy. In a paragraph about Bononcini's lost employment in Vienna (p.146), Lindgren reminisces about Bononcini's patron – "Gallas' posthumous fame has rested primarily on his opposition to Queen Anne's treacherous desertion of the allied cause" – in the war against France, and provides a citation in Churchill, *Marlborough*, IV, 398-401, using the Harrap Sphere 1967 paperback edition.[111] Lindgren's use of the word 'treacherous' reflects a Austrian imperial view, revealing a determination to use British resources to destroy Louis XIV, and to place the Austrian claimant, Charles, on the throne of Spain. It does, however, also reflect the

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[109] Giovanni Bononcini in the thesis is referred to as GB to distinguish him from his brother AMB, abbreviated throughout.

[110] Although Lindgren's lists on arias taken from Bononcini and adapted without illustration, can be irritating.

[111] There are many editions of Churchill's *Marlborough, his Life and Times* with varying paginations: initially the Harrap London edition was released as four separate volumes, 1933-38; the New York edition, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933-35; the Harrap two volume unabridged edition (1947), and the Harrap Sphere unabridged paperback edition, four volumes, used by Lindgren (1967).

Whig view that the war should be continued, 'no peace without Spain', but by 1711, the more pacifist Tories were back in power, which meant Gallas's tenure as ambassador was in jeopardy. Lindgren misses the Churchill text (p.400), that Gallas had been caught spying, and, as a dangerous alien, ministers wanted rid of him. Chief ministers, Robert Harley and Henry St John, through bribery of an embassy official, were able to decode and read Gallas's enciphered messages, many mocking the ministers, but one on 31 July 1711, "Ministers of the dominant party are enemies rather than friends of the Alliance", sealed the fate of Gallas. Although Gallas had been recalled to Vienna, St John was determined to humiliate him (Sphere, 399). On 26 October 1711, the Master of Ceremonies declared Gallas was no longer welcome at Court. *The Post Boy* vilified him to the point where he retired, but 'remained for many weeks in England as a private person' (pp.389-402, 1967 Sphere edition). The degree to which Lindgren could misrepresent these pages, suggests that historical evidence played a minor part in his account of events. Compared with Vanbrugh, Rich, Motteux, Haym, Swiney, Manchester, Heidegger, neither Halifax nor Gallas had a significant contribution to the arrival of Italian opera in London.

English and Italian Tragicomedy considered

[5/62] In the opera, *Etearco*, the king attempts to have his daughter drowned at sea, but she returns safely so it is tempting to see parallels with late Shakespeare, Fletcher-influenced Romances, which Stanley Wells sees as tragicomedies, especially *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale*.[112] All three are lost-and-found tragicomedies. The trouble with this line of argument is that despite of Nicholas Rowe's edition of the *Complete Works* in 1709, the choice of Shakespeare plays for performance in the years 1700-1711 was highly selective.[113] With the exception of a single performance of *Cymbeline*, 7 Oct. 1702 (Lincoln's Inn Fields), Shakespeare tragicomedies rarely appeared either in Drury Lane or in the Queen's Theatre in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Indeed, not a single Shakespeare comedy was performed in these years. However, *Henry IV with the Humours of Sir John Falstaff* was published in 1710 as a 'Tragi-Comedy written by Mr. William Shakespear', a sign that the genre was becoming fashionable. The tragicomedy, *A King and no King* by Beaumont &

[112] Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare & Co.* (2007), Ch.7, 'The Move to Tragicomedy: John Fletcher and Others'.

[113] 1700–1710: *Hamlet* (36 pfs), *Macbeth* (34), *Othello* (19), *Julius Caesar* (9), *Measure for Measure* (1), *Cymbeline* (1). History plays are hardly relevant to the theme of tragicomedy, but if history plays give a clue to audience taste, then *Henry IV* (part 1) was performed 19 times, and *Henry VIII*, 6 times. Calculations made from Milhous & Hume *Calendar* (2001).

Fletcher (originally perf.,1611; printed,1619) had five performances in the years, 1704-1707, the point when *Camilla* and *Thomyris*, tragicomic Italian operas, were showing signs of success.[114]

[5/63] It would be too speculative to suggest that in terms of tragicomedy, Italian opera supplanted the spoken drama genre, the all-sung variety being a more effective means of exploring the emotions inherent in tragicomedy. It is interesting to note that in Shakespeare's *Pericles*, the king, who had lost his wife at sea, and who subsequently fell into a state of psychotic depression, is cured by music, and as it happens, by the singing of his long-lost daughter.[115] The lost-and-found trope with its biblical precedent, carries strong emotions, which Italian opera could express more effectively than the spoken word. It may be that opera has a greater potential in dealing with the emotions involved in the denouement of tragicomedy than spoken drama, even when that drama is enhanced with supplementary music.[116]

[5/64] But in England tragicomedy did not begin with Shakespeare. Sir Philip Sidney considered tragicomedy, although did not necessarily approve of it, unlike Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists, who experimented with the genre and were much revered by Restoration and early eighteenth-century London playwrights.[117] On his Grand Tour through Europe with his friend and mentor, Hubert Languet, Sidney included Italy from November 1573 to August 1574. During the trip he was on a book-buying spree, and certainly acquired Sannazaro's verse-prose romance, *Arcadia* in the 1571 edition, a work that influenced his own *Arcadia* and Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* (1579). The bulk of the Italian trip was spent in Venice and Padua, relatively safe locations for English Protestants. In Padua on 20

[114] App.1, Illustration 17. In the plot of *A King and No King*, a love triangle, as in *Thomyris*, is central to the plot, and it has hidden identity as well. In the play the Guarini knot has a sharper edge, exploring the tensions of potential incest, a king falling in love with his sister after long separation, and attempting to control his feelings, but the denouement reveals that the supposed 'king' is in fact the son of the Lord Protector, secretly donated at birth to the royal couple in need of a male heir – the lovers unite – happy end. The five performances were: 15 June 1704, 14 April 1705, 10 Oct.1705 (all at DL), and 28 Mar.1706, 21 Jan.1707 (both at QT). See the text of *A King and no King* (London, 1619). *The Oxford Companion* (ed. Drabble, 1989), and the *Cambridge Guide* (ed. Ousby, 1996), both agree about the play as a fine example of tragicomedy.

[115] Pericles's queen had apparently died in childbirth, but at sea – the tradition was burial in the ocean. She was placed in a water-tight coffin which then came ashore – it transpired she had merely been in a coma, and revived. Pericles is unaware of this till the end of the play.

[116] I have found no study of tragicomedy among opera historians, so this may be an angle worth pursuing to an even greater extent than is possible in this study.

[117] This includes Dryden, whose plays continued to be performed after his death in 1700.

June 1574 Sidney bought a copy of Guicciardini's *La Historia d'Italia*.[118] Since the Gelosi Company had been performing Tasso's *Aminta* in Venice, it is argued that since Sidney was there at the time, and may have been attracted to this unique event.[119] Whether true or not, in his *Defence of Poesie* Sidney showed that he understood the genre of tragicomedy:[120]

> Some Poesies have coupled together two or three kinds, as Tragicall and Comicall, where-upon is risen, the Tragi-comicall. Some in like manner have mingled Prose and Verse, as *Sannazar* and *Boetius*. Some have mingled matters Heroicall & Pastorall.

Sannazaro's pastoral *Arcadia* is a combination of prose and verse. It was the model for Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, an extended pastoral in five acts interspersed with eclogues, but dissatisfied with the result, Sidney began a radical revision, now known as the *New Arcadia*. It went through several transformations,[121] starting as a pastoral, then a combination of pastorals, the revision metamorphosing into an epic of heroic dimensions, a work of chivalry, heavily influenced as much by Arthurian legend as by Ariosto, so hardly the model for future pastorals, but a foundation for the more anglicised version of Italian heroic opera, a variant of tragicomedy, which would evolve in the years 1705-1711, and culminate in *Rinaldo* (1711).[122]

[5/65] The question therefore arises, how tragicomedy survived from the period of Shakespeare and Fletcher in its evolution throughout the seventeenth century. It would take a study of many plays and music dramas to sort this out. However, Robert Hume (1976/90) goes some way towards achieving this. He attempts to identify dramatic attitudes to tragicomedy in the Restoration period when theatrical productions were freed from Commonwealth restrictions. He posits categories of tragicomedy for plays, letting them

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[118] Now in the Widener Library, Harvard.

[119] *Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. Jean Robertson, p.xxi (fn.2)

[120] *The Defence of Poesie by Sir Phillip Sidney, Knight* (London, 1595), pp.35–36. The book has no pagination, so the page references are my calculation. The book remained in manuscript from 1582–83, and was published posthumously after Sidney's death at the Battle of Zutpfen in 1586. Sidney refers to tragicomedy as a 'mongrel' genre, preferring the Sannazaro pastoral.

[121] The history of Sidney's *Arcadia,* is the history of transformation from pastoral to epic. In the years 1577–82 Sidney had produced a manuscript, 'Arcadia', but by 1584, he was dissatisfied with the text, and began a rewrite. Sir William Alexander published an edition with an added a bridging passage, a completion of the swordfight, and the final epic.

[122] Details in this paragraph have been adapted from the Sidney biography, Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, *Courtier Poet* (1991), Ch.4, '1572–5 Sidney's Grand Tour', especially pp.76–80; also, *Sir Philip Sidney Arcadia* (ed. Maurice Evans, especially the Introduction, Penguin English Library, London, 1977).

evolve in discussion, rather than enumerating them. A digest of Hume's discussion could be summarised thus:[123]

> 1. Split plot: in which the sub-plots have little to do with the main action, of which the Dryden-Lee adaptation of *Oedipus* is an example.
> 2. Mixed plot: in which a comic action is integrated into the action, or devised as a foil to the main plot as in Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage* (1694), or Mrs Behn, *The Widow Ranter* (1689).
> 3. Pattern tragicomedy: noble characters brought near to death, but survive. Hume includes *The Conquest of Granada* featuring Almahide, the princess whose name was adapted for the opera *Amor tra nemici* (1710). Durfey's *The Injured Princess*, an adaptation of *Cymbeline* (1682), could qualify as a mixed plot, but since the comedy is slight, and catastrophe overwhelming, the final 'happy end', is a resolution, but not happiness for all (Illustration 13).
> 4. Virtue rewarded includes John Fountain's *The Rewards of Virtue* ((1661). Congreve's *The Mourning Bride* (1697) and Edward Howard's *The Usurper* are both labelled tragedies, but far from being catastrophe plays, have happy endings. Shadwell's *The Royal Shepherdess* (1669) has clearly stated on the title page, a tragicomedy (see Illus.11).[124]

Hume distinguishes between 'classical' tragicomedy where the balance between near tragedy and happy-ending is even, and multi-plot tragicomedy in which the heavy emphasis on catastrophe is such, that it is barely resolved by the 'happy' ending.

[5/66] English plays have multi-layered plots, but the initial Italian pastoral operas of 1705–1708 have simple ones, misplaced lovers, who eventually sort themselves out for a happy ending. Michael Robinson puts is succinctly:[125]

> The librettist, in fact, simply took him [the character] from one bizarre situation to the next; then, at a time when it was convenient for the opera to close, stopped all the intrigues short and arranged a happy conclusion.

This may be a slight exaggeration, but it is not far short of the view expressed 'A Critical Discourse' (1709). Such a situation gave the pastoral opera a bleak future. The pastoral

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[123] Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the late Seventeenth Century* (1990) pp.209–220.

[124] One wonders if the Shadwell-Locke collaboration in the 'English' opera *Psyche* (1675) could be regarded as a tragicomedy. It has much in common with Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590). Both plots see a retreat to the pastoral, but with the invasion of princely suitors, and then disasters imposed either by oracle or deities. Whether Psyche's final apotheosis would qualify as a happy ending is a moot point. However, the Dryden-Purcell *King Arthur* (1691) has a better claim to tragicomedy.

[125] *Opera before Mozart*, (2nd edition, 1972), p.74.

needed an extra ingredient to sustain interest in the plot. Guarini in 1602 showed the way with tragicomedy:[126]

> … the mingling of tragic and comic pleasure, which does not allow hearers to fall into tragic melancholy or comic relaxation.

The most successful Italian opera in the period 1705-1711 in terms of productions, was *Camilla* which ran for 53 performances, 1706-1709.[127] Bononcini was popular for his melodic gifts, but it is the plot that determines the dramatic genre, and for that the librettist can take the credit.[128] Silvio Stampiglia (1664-1725) was a founder member of the *Accademia degli Arcadi* in Rome in 1690 (pen name, Palemone Licurio), but in Naples, he adapted their precepts to suit the audience. He used the libretto to heighten the dramatic action, kept the comic characters, happy endings, and preserved the role of music over poetry. He refashioned the *eroicomico* libretto in favour of tragicomedy, which in the view of Grout, 'kept alive the libretto that was to remain in vogue for several decades in the eighteenth century'.[129]

[5/67]

Fig.34

London opera	1st performance	GB arias adapted	Sources: (GB) Bononcini operas
Thomyris	1707	8/56 + overture	*Xerse*,1694; *Camilla*,1698; *Cefalo*,1702; *Polifemo*,1702; *Fiore*,1704; *Endimione*,1706.
Love's Triumph	1708	9/69	*Conversione*,1701; *Cefalo*,1702; *Pastorella*, 1705.
Pyrrhus & Demetrius	1708	1/53	*Muzio*,1695.
Clotilda	1709	4/43	*Cefalo*,1702; *Regina* (a cantata) 1706.
Almahide	1710	19/44 + overture	*Polifemo*,1702; *Regina*,1706; *Turno*,1707; *Mario fuggitivo*,1708.
Hydaspes	1710	2/37	*Regina*,1706.
Etearco	1711	16/39	*Etearco*,1707; *Turno Aricino*,1707.

[126] 'Compendium of Tragicomic Poetry' (1602), *Literary Criticism* (ed. Gilbert, 1962 reprint), p.512.
[127] Figure calculated from M&H (2001); Lindgren claims 64 pfs in his thesis (1972) for the same period, Mar.1706–Dec.1709.
[128] *A Short History of Opera* (4th edition, 2003), p.211.
[129] Ibid., pp.206–7.

The influence of *Camilla*, Bononcini and Stampiglia in the years 1707-1711, has been charted by Lindgren (1972, p.232, adapted, Fig.34).[130] Lindgren's purpose is to show the influence Bononcini, but the availability of the scores for quarry purposes suggests a Stampiglia influence as well (libretti in italics). With the arias came the operas and with the operas, a new operatic genre, and these were tragicomedies. *Hydaspes* (1710-11), a tragicomic opera with 28 performances as popular as *Camilla* with 53 (1706-09), was based on a revised libretto by Stampiglia from Mancini's opera *Gl'amanti generosi* (Naples, 1705); the original libretto was by Giovanni Pietro Candi, revised by Ginlio Convò, and finally by Stampiglia.

[5/68] With English tragicomedy, although there are happy endings, murder gets due retribution, villains and perpetrators of crime are punished, or are otherwise disposed of – the Italian theme of total forgiveness in English tragicomedy has less importance. With multi-plot dramas tragicomedy is more difficult to control compared with the simple plots of Italian opera. Hume admits that his categories are not rigid, but he does make an attempt to find patterns. This analytical approach has not been explored with the Italian operas in this period, perhaps because being dismissed as pasticcios, further examination goes by default; in fact, as shown in this study, even a Grove reference, let alone a plot synopsis, is difficult to find, and so the content and plot structures are seldom considered. This study attempts to compare Hume's approach with the Italian operas leading to *Rinaldo*.

Tragicomedy – Resumé and Comparison

[5/69] Of the three Italian pastorals that began this study (Chapters 2/3), the most basic is *Gli amori di Ergasto* (1705), in which the Guarini knot of a single love triangle is resolved with a sibling solution. *The Temple of Love* (1706) has two contrasting love triangles to disentangle, and this is achieved with the lost-and-found theme, resolved with a subplot involving a comic satyr. The satyr is integrated into the plot by providing clues to the solution of a riddle which reveal the hidden identity of the long-lost love. *Love's Triumph* (1708) has similar ingredients in which the two love triangles are used to explore and contrast the theme of virtue over vice, a loyal couple and a fickle one, but each of virtuous ones loves a fickle counterpart. The Guarini knot is resolved through compassion arising from a fit of delirium

[130] Any attempt to check all these sources is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but it does demonstrate the scope of Lindgren's thesis.

on the part of the virtuous female, and the threat of self-harm with a dagger by the virtuous male, although the context suggests this is no more than a gesture. This is reflected with the comic characters – a lusty male in pursuit of a wary female, but the threat to end his life with a noose, not unlike Papageno in *The Magic Flute*, is a comic routine rather than near-tragic event. Both *The Temple of Love* and *Love's Triumph* are comic pastorals, but are they tragicomedies? They do not quite fit the Guarini, the Stampiglia, nor the Hume models of tragicomedy, but they suggest the beginnings of a transition from pastoral to tragicomedy.

[5/70] The use of comic characters and the extent of the tragedy, can affect the nature of the tragicomedy. All three 'Queen' operas, *Arsinoe* (1705-07), *Camilla* (1706-09), and *Thomyris* (1707-10), have comic characters, but their functions differ. The 'tragic' or near-death event in *Arsinoe*, is the imminent execution of Ormondo, but he is saved by a sleep aria which reveals his innocence and his identity as a prince. This pseudo-confessional aria and the antics of Delbo, described by the libretto as a 'buffoon', exaggerate the comedy and enervate the edge of the tragedy. The imbalance weakens the tragicomedy.[131] However, here too, there is a transition to tragicomedy, identified by Hume as a 'mixed' plot, so it might pass the English test for tragicomedy.

[5/71] The *Camilla* plot, despite Stampiglia's commitment to tragicomedy, is similarly weakened. A tyrannical king's determination to liquidate his two royal enemies becomes comic when these enemies are found disguised in his palace, one as his slave confidant, but secretly in love with his daughter, and the other the secret lover of his son. The comedy increases as the king plans to have his recalcitrant daughter murdered for rejecting an arranged marriage in favour of one of his enemies, and that enemy, the disguised confidant is ordered to do the deed, the choice, poison or dagger.[132] At the critical moment the confidant refuses and risks arrest and execution, revealing himself to be the sworn enemy to the now stupefied king, but in an unexpected royal *volte face*, is encouraged to marry the daughter on the guarantee that her 'honour' is still intact. As the king recovers, he realises that his future son-in-law could be used as an ally to hunt down and destroy the other enemy, the daughter of his deceased enemy, who unknown to him is lurking in the place, a princess

[131] Had the Venetian libretto with the original Act 1/i/ii been used, the death threat to Ormondo would have been viewed more seriously, and the opera would have qualified as a tragicomedy (see Ch.4, parag.51).
[132] Suspiciously like the choice for Rosamond the following year in the Addison-Clayton opera (also Clotilda in 1709).

disguised as a shepherdess, but her cover is partially blown, and she is imprisoned. At this point a true tragicomedy is about to emerge (prison scenes are a favourite), but her rescue is too sudden, and a coup d'état takes place within two short scenes. The tyrannical king is overthrown, but forgiven, and the three set of lovers, including the comic pair, an elderly couple who enjoyed an easy courtship compared with the royal counterparts, prepare their nuptials. Much of the tragicomedy depends on Camilla's growing isolation in her disguise, her frenzied reaction to the scenes of her deceased father, her temporary acts of madness, and accidentally divulging her identity, but many of the scenes border on farce, and comedy overwhelms the tragic aspects. Nevertheless, the imbalance in Hume's criteria for English tragicomedy, *Camilla* would qualify as 'mixed' and 'pattern' tragicomedy. *Camilla* was still being performed in 1709 with other tragicomic operas.

[5/72] *Thomyris* has a better claim to tragicomedy, since the hero is subjected to a genuine near-death experience. A love triangle involving the claim of mutual love over a diplomatic arrangement for the hand of a princess, leads to the potential death of the loving hero, who is kidnapped and threatened with death by his politically minded rival, but who is so moved by the willingness of Orontes to relinquish his claim on Princess that he capitulates and retires. In Hume's terms this is the triumph of virtue over vice, but what could have been a close to tragic event ends rather limply, and undermines the anguish of the princess in her dilemma over this love triangle. The plot qualifies as English tragicomedy; the potential tragedy slips into comedy. The role of the hero Orontes was sung by the castrato Valentini, 'at the request of the nobility' [3/8], so the bilingual dialogue, may have sabotaged the effect of tragicomedy. The role of the comic couple is an almost separate plot with little relationship to the main drama. It involves the repeatedly unsuccessful attempts by Baldo to woo Media, in which he appears more and more ridiculous in his devices to win her over. She, on the other hand, is full of homespun, but effective manoeuvres to keep him at arm's length. In Hume's terms this would qualify a 'split' plot, but lacks the Guarini balance for tragicomedy.

[5/73] The best influence for Italian tragicomedy is Guarini's *Pastor fido*, which had come to eighteenth-century London through repeated publications since its first edition in Venice in 1590. Translations of *Pastor fido* appeared in London: 1602, 1633, 1647, 1648, 1664, 1676, 1677, 1689, 1692, 1694, 1712 with Fanshawe's edition (1647), and semioperatic productions by Elkanah Settle in 1676 and 1689, which appeared again in 1706, 1707, and

1711.[133] The remaining pre-Handel Italian operas follow this model with varying degrees of structural imitation. Guarini's *Pastor fido* comprises recognisable features of Italian tragicomedy: a blight or tragic threat in a community, mismatched couples, Guarini knot, an evil plot, the threat of execution or death, and final resolution, often involving hidden identity. The operas for Italian tragicomedy consideration are – *Camilla*, *Thomyris*, *Pyrrhus*, *Clotilda*, *Almahide*, *Hydaspes*, *Etearco*. In *Pastor fido* there are no comic characters. The pseudo-comic characters in *Camilla* are integrated into the plot. In *Almahide* they are *entr'acte* add-ons as an audience safety net in an all-Italian opera, but having nothing to do with the plot, they could easily be removed in production without damage to diegetic structure.

[5/74] *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* (Dec.1708-May 1711) had 40 performances and was rated a successful opera. King Pyrrhus has just returned from the wars, and is spending the night with his recently married wife, Climene. The Guarini's 'blight' is on his marriage, caused by the arrival of Demetrius, claiming a previous betrothal that threatens to dissolve Pyrrhus's marriage. A second threat concerns Pyrrhus's sister Deidamia who had been ruling the kingdom in Pyrrhus's absence at war, but is determined to continue ruling as monarch. There are three attempted murders, one involving Deidamia's ambition to be queen, another, Demetrius's impatience to have Climene as his wife, and a third, Cleartes's resolve to murder his rival Marius to regain Deidamia. The first two of these are foiled because the assassins arrive in the king's bedroom at the same time, and in a collision, have to explain to Pyrrhus why they are in his bedroom with swords drawn. The third of these attempts becomes redundant as Brennus, a sort of wise court jester with helpful resources, devises an alternative – exile, which in the end becomes unnecessary. These manoeuvres have a parallel with the 'evil' Corsica in *Pastor fido* (Eurilla in Handel). The frustrated Demetrius attempts to kill Pyrrhus for a second time, but Climene intervenes, and Pyrrhus, determined to do the honourable thing, resigns his wife to the prior claim of his rival. Just as in *Thomyris* the rival is so overcome with this display of honour, he resigns his claim and retires. The unexpected couple are Deidamia and Demetrius, two failed assassins, who come together as a result of her revealed plot against Pyrrhus, which when discovered warrants the death penalty, but her extreme attempts at remorse, through failed suicide attempts with a sword, and leaping from a high tower, earns her the admiration of Demetrius who offers to marry her, thus

[133] M&H *Calendar* (2001), 30.10.1706, 7.1.1707, 21.05.1711 (all-female cast).

allowing her a reprieve. Two couples are happily united with a happy ending. The more complicated plot allows for a richer tragicomedy.

[5/75] *Clotilda* and *Almahide* can be grouped together, not only because both operas were produced by Heidegger, but because Spain is the location, and the title roles belong to princesses with similar plot experiences. They are heroic characters in terms of virtue, and both are subjected to death threats – an opera with misplaced lovers, ideal material for tragicomedy. The plot of *Clotilda* is simple compared with *Pyrrhus*. A French princess is betrothed to the King of Castile, but he prefers a lady of the court who is in love with a Castilian noble. The king's mistress, determined to become queen, resolves with the king's approval to have Clotilda murdered in her prison cell with the traditional choice of dagger or poison (*Camilla*, *Rosamond*). A love triangle represents the misplaced lovers (Fig.35):

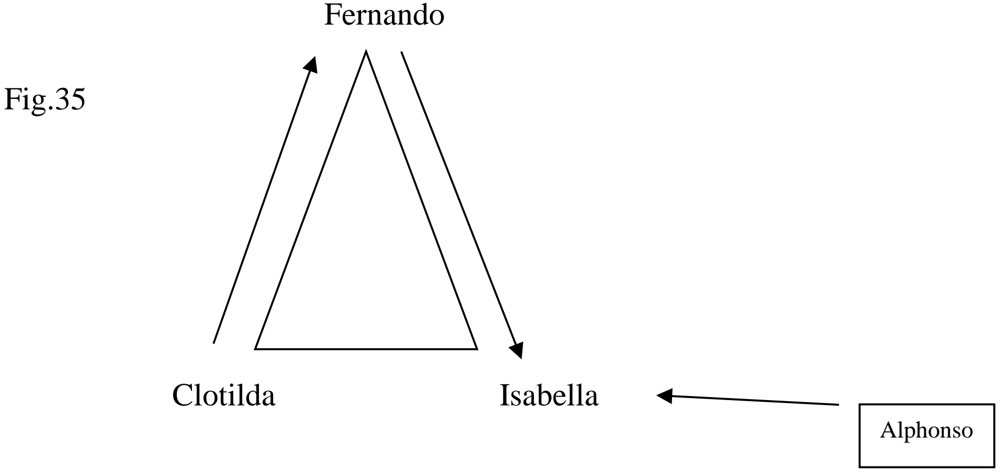

Fig.35

True to the spirit of tragicomedy, Clotilda is rescued in the nick of time by Alphonso and a troupe of soldiers, but as he is about to kill King Fernando who has organised the death of Clotilda, she protects her betrothed in an act of unexpected generosity. The king, his life saved by the woman he sought to kill, is so overcome with remorse, and he instantly falls in love with her. Isabella, realising she has lost, reluctantly resigns herself to the loyal Alphonso. Bizarre as it may seem, this is the outcome of Italian tragicomedy, forgiveness against all the odds, and happy ending.

[5/76] *Almahide* sought to repair the damage done by *Clotilda* with an all-Italian opera rather than a hotchpotch in two languages with an errata-ridden libretto. If the *entr'actes* are included, these are comic parts, but they have nothing to do with the opera, are not in the

original *Amor tra nemici*. They are there apparently as a safety net by bringing in well-loved characters, Mr Dogget and Mrs Lindsey for light relief in a complicated plot in a foreign tongue. Rather than a love triangle, there are two sets of misplaced lovers. King Almanzor loves Princess Celinda, who loves Chief Minister, Orcane (Almahide in disguise), who loves General Almiro, who is unaware of the disguise. The further complication in this Guarini knot is the hostility between the two tribes, the Abencerrages (Almiro), and the Zegris (Orcane), but this too is disguised. The king, assuming that his rival in love is Almiro, condemns him to death, but Orcane, motivated by honour as well as love, confesses to being the culprit, an act of love that earns her the death sentence. It is at this point that the Guarini knot is unravelled with the revelation of hidden identity. Orcane is discovered to be the Princess Almahide, so Celina transfers her affection to the king, and Almiro, in gratitude, his affection to Almahide. Two weddings and a happy ending constitute basic tragicomedy.

[5/77] *Hydaspes* (28 pfs; Mar.,1710-May,1711) and *Etearco* (7 pfs; Jan.1711) are quite different operas, *Hydaspes*, having the heroic theme, and *Etearco*, with the lost-and-found plot. *Etearco* has a Stampiglia libretto from Vienna in 1707, but the comic characters are cut. This sharpens the potential tragedy which occurs right at the beginning of the opera with the attempted drowning of Fronima. Her perceived murder sustains the tension of the plot to the end until Etearco is suitably punished. His forgiveness is hard-earned. This differs radically with the undeserved forgiveness meted out to Almanzor in *Almahide*. In *Etearco* there are no mismatched couples, no hidden identities (apart from the ghostly Fronima); the plot depends entirely on the gradual remoulding and regeneration of Etearco. *Hydaspes*, on the other hand, has all the ingredients of tragicomedy: the blight of war, the use of disguise, hidden identity, and a death threat hovering from the beginning, and culminating in the fight with the lion.

[5/78] In Hume's terms these five operas are pattern tragicomedies, featuring noble characters brought near to death, but there is also the theme of virtue rewarded. Pyrrhus, like Orontes (*Thomyris*), respects duty before self-interest. Almahide is prepared to sacrifice her life for the man she loves. Clotilda prefers forgiveness to revenge. Fronima (*Etearco*) prefers a degree of punishment to elicit compunction before forgiveness. Hydaspes, alone, is the

only hero who has to fight for the happy end and to the sound of a trumpet.[134] But this is not enough for the tyrant king who has Hydaspes returned to prison where he is to be killed. Artaxerxes relents only when forced by a palace rebellion. Those who had suffered at the tyrant's hand are reluctant to have him killed. Similarly, the tyrant King Almanzor, reluctantly relents when he discovers that his rival, Orcane, is a woman, Almahide, thus persuading the disenchanted Celine to return her affections for him. Both of these tyrants are forgiven unconditionally. In English tragicomedy these tyrants would have been despatched in a conveniently suitable fashion, but not in Italian tragicomedy in which forgiveness is the overriding theme. There is, therefore, a wide variety of tragicomic plots in the Italian operas, for which the Hume categories of 'pattern' and 'virtue rewarded' are in evidence.

Conclusion

[5/79] The epigraph of this chapter provides two key views for heroic opera. Dean's many definitions are useful for the complete Handelian operatic oeuvre, but less so for the more manageable pre-Handelian Italian opera which is the subject of this thesis. The Harris view that tragicomedy comprises both pastoral and heroic, is true insofar as the pastoral is employed in particular emotional contexts but her view that the heroic opera has 'a backdrop of war' applies to only three of the seven operas for inspection. War in not a necessary ingredient in tragicomedy, judging by the *Pastor fido* model, but could be included as a blight on a community.

[5/80] Tragicomedy, a potential tragedy, that ends happily, is a genre that differs from the heroic which can end in tragedy. The traditional swashbuckling hero has less importance in tragicomedy. The pre-Handelian operatic tragicomedies have sensitive, less aggressive male heroes. These 'heroes' include Orontes (*Thomyris*) and Pyrrhus, both winning their loves by capitulating to their rivals, who are so impressed by the display of virtue that they retire from the conflict. Hydaspes comes close to the traditional hero in his victory over the lion, but in the popular *Spectator 13*, Addison regarded it as a joke, the lion capitulating too easily. Other sensitive heroes include Ormondo (*Arsinoe*) and Amadis (*British Enchanters*). Even with the successful operas, a group of powerful Whigs (Dennis, Addison, Steele) regarded the

[134] This is a rare appearance of a trumpet in these pre-Handelian operas. For Dryden trumpet and drums were essential for heroic opera. This strengthens the argument that the case for tragicomedy is stronger than that of heroic opera, but does not reject it. Tragicomedy does have heroic elements.

castrato as effeminate, and therefore could not be regarded as a hero in any sense. But this strengthens the case for tragicomedy – the weakened hero.

[5/81] Apart from the male titles *Pyrrhus* and *Hydaspes*, the other operas for consideration are what Curtis Price refers to as 'she operas', music dramas with females in the title role. These include Queen Thomyris, who uses her authority to protect the Persian princess's life against a bloodthirsty mob, accepting her son's choice of this enemy princess as his consort, a diplomatic manoeuvre to win a marriage arrangement to end the war between the Scythians and the Persians. She plays a major role in the happy ending, The female 'hero' differs from the male in strategy and quality, with emphasis more on diplomacy and virtue rather than wielding a weapon. Virtue is displayed by Almahide, disguised as the chief minister Orcanes, willing to sacrifice herself for Almiro, but the revelation of identity allows the king to relent. She controls the happy ending. Clotilda's approach is less of a strategy, but a persistent fidelity to the king who has plotted her demise, and who, overcome by her loyalty, and the threat of a palace revolution, agrees to marry her. To survive, Camilla makes full use of her disguise to escape death, but with careful strategy, is able to win over the populace to overthrow the tyrant who usurped her father's throne. Fronima in *Etearco* is the most active of the female heroes as she uses her return to court to stalk those whom she believed to have planned her drowning. She masquerades as a ghost to terrify the perpetrators.

[5/82] The so-called 'heroic' operas leading to Handel's *Rinaldo*, beg the question – what form of heroism? Chisholm's 'boundless heroism of the castratos' is entirely absent. Strohm's generalisation that heroic is anything that is not comic is too vague. On Dean's terms there is 'love', but only occasionally 'statecraft' – Camilla and Almahide are 'torn between amorous and political motives'. *Hydaspes* is more of a rescue opera with little to do with politics; the tyrant is removed as an obstacle to love, not for political reasons. Similarly, the tyrant is removed in *Etearco*, but forgiven. *Camilla* appears to be a political opera in that the central character is determined on revenge for her father's death and to seize the throne. But the obstacle is love for the tyrant's son. Witnessing her family fortunes plundered by the tyrant Latinus, Camilla's resolve to revenge her family, returns in Act 2, but her future looks bleak as her cover is blown, and she is imprisoned in Act 3. But freed by friends she rallies, and by the end of the opera, establishes her power. As she is about to wreak revenge on her enemies, she suddenly forgives them and declares in the final page, 'Love has prevail'd, and Anger is no more'. In tragicomic terms, Camilla succumbs to love, and heroic revenge is

diminished. There are many variations of heroic, but tragicomedy is quite specific, and as a genre, provides a category for early Italian operas in London.

Chapter Six: *Rinaldo* as Tragicomedy

> The Tragi-Comedy, which is the Product of the English Theatre, is one of the most monstrous Inventions that ever entered into a Poet's Thoughts. An Author might as well think of weaving the Adventures of Æneas and Hudibras into one Poem, as of writing such a motly Piece of Mirth and Sorrow. But the Absurdity of these Performances is so very visible, that I shall not insist upon it.
>
> (Addison, *Spectator 40*, 16 April 1711)

[6/1] In many ways Handel's *Rinaldo* is the conclusion to this dissertation. Not only does it firmly establish the arrival of Italian opera, but it raises the issue of the hero and resolves the debate about tragicomedy. Two matters need to be addressed: the extent to which *Rinaldo* follows the sequence of tragicomic operas, and the degree to which *Rinaldo* may have been influenced by Whig propaganda.[1] Since some scholars have argued a case for *Rinaldo* being a political opera,[2] there may be a connection between these two issues, tragicomedy and politics. The traditional model for the progression of Italianate to Italian opera in the years 1705 to 1711, has been, pastoral-to-heroic, a model having its origins in the Greek mythologised notion of the Ages of the World, reiterated by Ambrose Philips in his 1708 *Pastorals*. However, this study has tried to demonstrate that the many versions and meanings of the term 'heroic' in early eighteenth-century London, has created confusion, and that a simpler and clearer description would be tragicomedy in the Guarini tradition.[3]

The *Rinaldo* Plot and Addison's reactions

[6/2] The plot of *Rinaldo* is more familiar and more easily accessible than most of the previous Italian-inspired operas. The libretto shows the title page, plot, and dramatis personae, but the 'Argument' misses the lynchpin the plot. A key moment in the drama occurs at the end of Act One with the kidnap of Almirena, an event that propels the rest of the opera. The sorceress Armida interrupts a betrothal moment involving a delicate pastoral

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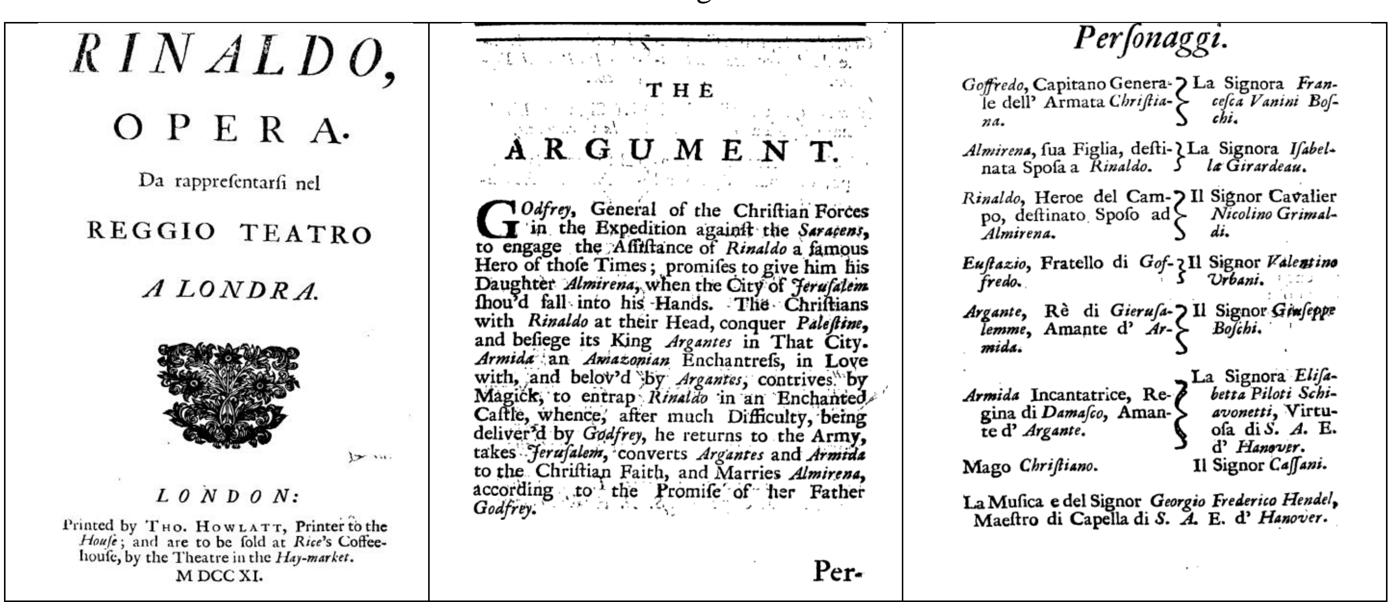
[1] [4/28,37], [5/29].

[2] Price (1987), '*Rinaldo* remains a vigorous political work' (p.132); Price has a section on politics in Aaron Hill's planning the libretto (pp.130–33). He includes references to fellow scholars, Konrad Sasse and Reinhard Strohm. Another text to include is Paul Monod who in 'The Politics of Handel's Early London Operas, 1711-1718' (2006), argues a case for Whig promotion of Italian opera, 'linked to issues of Whig self-determination' (p.448). John Loftis makes a strong case in *The Politics of Drama in Augustan England* (1963), especially with plays carrying Whig propaganda. See also Abigail Williams (Ch.5&6).

[3] R. Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (1990), pp.192, ff.. Other sources for this chapter: libretto; the HAA score (1993); Dean & Knapp, *Handel's Operas 1704–1726* (1995), Strohm, *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (1985); Price, 'English Traditions in Handel's *Rinaldo*' (1987); Gerrard, *Aaron Hill: The Muses' Projector* (2003); Tasso, *The Liberation on Jerusalem* (2009); Milhous & Hume, *Draft Calendar 1700–1711* (2001).

encounter (I/vi-vii). She seizes Almirena from a helpless Rinaldo and disappears 'in a black Cloud…fill'd with dreadful Monsters spitting Fire and Smoke on every side' (libretto, pp.16-17). The petrified Rinaldo is revived by Goffredo and Eustazio, but he resolves to rescue his beloved. At this point the drama becomes a rescue opera, reminiscent of the quest for Berenice and Mandana in *Hydaspes*.[4] The 'Argument' below misses the kidnap and rescue of Almirena, and misleadingly provides the original Tasso plot with Rinaldo, Armida's willing prisoner in need of rescue.

Fig.37



RINALDO,

OPERA.

Da rappresentarsi nel

REGGIO TEATRO

A LONDRA.

LONDON:

Printed by THO. HOWLATT, Printer to the *House*; and are to be sold at *Rice*'s Coffee-house, by the Theatre in the *Hay-market*.
M DCC XI.

THE

ARGUMENT.

GOdfrey, General of the Christian Forces in the Expedition against the *Saracens*, to engage the Assistance of *Rinaldo* a famous Hero of those Times; promises to give him his Daughter *Almirena*, when the City of *Jerusalem* shou'd fall into his Hands. The Christians with *Rinaldo* at their Head, conquer *Palestine*, and besiege its King *Argantes* in That City. *Armida* an *Amazonian* Enchantress, in Love with, and belov'd by *Argantes*, contrives by Magick, to entrap *Rinaldo* in an Enchanted Castle, whence, after much Difficulty, being deliver'd by *Godfrey*, he returns to the Army, takes *Jerusalem*, converts *Argantes* and *Armida* to the Christian Faith, and Marries *Almirena*, according to the Promise of her Father *Godfrey*.

Per-

Personaggi.

Goffredo, Capitano Generale dell' Armata *Christiana*.	La Signora *Francesca Vanini Boschi*.
Almirena, sua Figlia, destinata Sposa a *Rinaldo*.	La Signora *Isabella Girardeau*.
Rinaldo, Heroe del Campo, destinato Sposo ad *Almirena*.	Il Signor Cavalier *Nicolino Grimaldi*.
Eustazio, Fratello di *Goffredo*.	Il Signor *Valentino Urbani*.
Argante, Rè di *Gierusalemme*, Amante d' *Armida*.	Il Signor *Giuseppe Boschi*.
Armida Incantatrice, Regina di *Damasco*, Amante d' *Argante*.	La Signora *Elisabetta Piloti Schiavonetti*, Virtuosa di *S. A.* E. d' *Hanover*.
Mago *Christiano*.	Il Signor *Cassani*.

La Musica e del Signor *Georgio Frederico Hendel*, Maestro di Capella di *S. A.* E. d' *Hanover*.

[6/3] Addison mocks every aspect of *Rinaldo*, an opera he reputedly had not attended. *Spectator 5*, 6 March 1711, is Addison's first published reaction to the opera: 'I must entirely agree with Monsieur *Boileau*, that one Verse in *Virgil* is worth all the *Clincant* or Tinsel of *Tasso*'. Addison's disgust for this Italian opera is undisguised. He despises the gratification of the senses, berates the complex scenes and machines as 'absurd', ridicules the mix of stage illusion with reality,[5] and having deplored the 'Thunder and Lightning, Illuminations, and Fireworks', goes on to mock Giacomo Rossi's 'Il Poeta al Lettore', not translated in the libretto, but Addison's translation provides a start, just to show how ridiculous it is:

[4] See Ch.5, parag.38; Hydaspes (disguised as Acrone) and Darius, set out to rescue Berenice and Mandana, but are thrown into the clutches of the tyrant, Artaxerxes, in a similar way to Rinaldo falling into the clutches of the sorceress, Armida.

[5] The instrumental evocation of sparrows with the real thing, sparrows released into the auditorium.

> Behold, gentle Reader, the Birth of a few Evenings, which, tho' it be the Offspring of the Night, is not the Abortive of Darkness, but will make it self known to be the Son of Apollo, with a certain Ray of Parnassus.[6]

It is as if Rossi is still absorbed in the poetic libretto. The style is not that of a typical introduction. Addison may have a point, but he makes no allowance for the Italian temperament. His joy is in negatives, especially when justified (e.g., sparrows), but at no point in Addison's review is there a comment on the music. It suggests Addison had little musical judgement, or was simply tone-deaf. Similar Addison judgements apply to his opera attendances in Italy (1701-03), and some would say, to his choice of Clayton as the composer of his own libretto, *Rosamond* (1706-07).[7] Especially, Addison mocks the confused mythology of the libretto and the use of Tasso as a source.

***Rinaldo* Source and Treatment**

[6/4] The source is, therefore, worth investigation. There is general agreement that Handel's opera has its origin in Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581), set at the end of the First Crusade (1196-99).[8] The account of *Rinaldo* is narrated in Cantos 14-20, although in Canto 5, Rinaldo is a fugitive from justice for having in a duel, killed a prince who insulted him. By Cantos 11-13, the Christians are in retreat, and the situation is desperate. Their leader Godfrey of Bouillon is counselled in a dream to bring Rinaldo back to rescue the Crusade. However, Rinaldo has been seduced and abducted by the sorceress, Armida. Reclining in a state of apparent bliss with Armida in her magic garden, he is rescued by two Christian knights who manage to cancel Armida's spell by using the reflection on Rinaldo's shield to remind him of his warrior days (C.16). Armida tries to prevent Rinaldo's escape, but in vain. In a fit of rage she plots to have Rinaldo murdered (C.17). Meanwhile, with Rinaldo's help, and some assistance from the Christian God and the Archangel Michael, the Crusaders storm Jerusalem and slaughter the Saracen inhabitants, their leader, Argantes, killed by Tancred, a Norman prince, in single combat (C.19). Among the defeated pagans, Rinaldo encounters Armida still trying to kill him, but failure and frustration drive her to potential suicide, prevented only by Rinaldo who promises to be her champion restoring her to her former

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[6] It is worth comparing Addison's bombastic translation with the more restrained version provided in *Handel Collected Documents*, vol.1, ed. Burrows *et al* (2013), p.201.

[7] See Ch.4, parag.32 ff.

[8] Strohm (1985, p.41), Price (1987, p,124), Gerrard (2003, p.33). However, there is no detailed comparison.

kingdom should she become a Christian. She agrees (C.20). The triumph of Christianity is the theme Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*.[9]

[6/5] Aaron Hill's treatment of the Tasso original, seems to have been adapted for a London audience.[10] Rinaldo is no longer a fugitive. The opera begins with his promised marriage to Godfrey's daughter, Almirena, once Jerusalem is taken from the infidels. Almirena is an addition by Hill to kickstart a love interest. To this he adds a relationship between King Argantes of Jerusalem and Armida, enchantress, and Queen of the Amazons. This allows for two couples to bond. In the opera, Rinaldo resists Armida's charms, but succumbs to them in Tasso. In both versions opposing sides in the conflict avail themselves of magic, but Christian magic is superior. In both, Rinaldo is in need of assistance, although in a different fashion. In both, Jerusalem is taken by the Christians, but without slaughter in the opera. In the opera Argantes is not killed as in Tasso, but is allowed to remain alive for his union with Arminda. The separation of two couples in a Guarini knot coming together in harmony at the end, has been adapted from Tasso to bring the opera closer to tragicomedy. The Guarini knot involves Armida on the brink of killing both Rinaldo and Almirena, and Argantes betraying Armida by falling for the imprisoned Almirena, promising her release if she cooperates with his desires. Similarly, Armida falls in love with Rinaldo using magic to transform herself into the appearance of Almirena,[11] but her ploy, like that of Argantes, fails. Add to this, the pastoral scene (I/vi) with Almirena in a grove treated to singing birds and the sensation of a mild zephyr, and there is a whiff of original *tragicomedia pastorale*.[12]

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[9] *Gerusalemme liberata* comprises 20 Cantos (here abbreviated C). Edition used: *The Liberation of Jerusalem* (ed. Max Wickert, OUP. 2009).

[10] Dean & Knapp's very thorough account specifies, 'composed specifically for London' (p.171). See libretto Preface (Fig.38, p.196).

[11] Dean & Knapp conjecture that this was done on stage by singers swapping roles, probably aided with a puff of smoke (p.173).

[12] Almirena's 'Aria' (no.11, a cavatina in G major has 26 bars of Adagio introduction, more than half of the total cavatina (48 bars) before the singer announces her solo unaccompanied 'Augelletti', a stepwise melody, dominant to tonic. 'Cara sposa' (no.14), begins with a similar phrase for Rinaldo, but with loss rather than joy, in E minor. The pastoral atmosphere is created by a flagioletto imitating bird song, supported by two flauti dolci (recorders), and the violas, with only five bars of bass before the singer's entry. This is in total contrast to no.8, the 'Presto furioso' of Armida in G minor with 17 bars of battle music before the singer enters with a solo and unaccompanied adagio – 'Furie terribili' in wide vocal leaps, comprising an 11th – an interesting overture to her boyfriend, Argantes, but it is Handel's view of two different types of female (HHA, vol.1: I/vi and I/v). Armida's next four phrases have the same falling 5th as Almirena (2 minor, 2 major). Dean and Knapp have a different approach to comparison. Armida is compared with the other three sorceresses in Handel's operas (pp.174–77). 'Augelletti' is described as 'pretty', so not in the same league as Armida, perhaps not worth a music comparison (p.178; Almirena gets a few lines; Armida, 3 pages, 174–77).

With the final baptismal forgiveness for Armida,[13] the promise of a happy ending with the couples united and the basics of tragicomedy are fulfilled.

Aaron Hill's contribution to the *Rinaldo* libretto?

[6/6] In 1985 Reinhard Strohm raised the question of relative Hill-Rossi contribution to the libretto. This might tell us more about the nature of the character of Rinaldo in terms of tragicomedy, perhaps about the politics of the opera, and whether English or Italian influences dominated. Hill's Preface states that Signor Rossi was:

> excellently qualified to fill up the Model I had drawn, with Words so sounding and so fresh in Sense, that if my Translation is in many Places led to deviate, 'tis for want of Power to reach the Force of his Original.

This seems clear enough – Hill drew up a plan, and Rossi filled out the libretto. Hill's reference to translating Rossi's 'Original' reinforces Rossi's contribution. However, it does not tell us about the extent or detail of Hill's plan or his model. No helpful document has been found. Rossi, in his libretto message to the reader, makes no mention of the contribution provided by Hill. However, in 1985, Reinhard Strohm provided his interpretation of the issue:

> to make Rossi's contribution appear as large as possible, he himself [Hill] being well enough known in London while Rossi needed all the recommendation he could get.

So, according to Strohm, Hill played down his own contribution, suggesting that in fact his was much more detailed than the Preface suggests.[14] Strohm's reason for this equivocation – Hill was 'well enough known' and Rossi was not. But 'well enough known' for what? Hill's reputation was not glamorous – his plays, *Elfrid* (Jan./5pfs),[15] and *Squire Brainless*

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[13] '…I shou'd wash me from my Sins, [Heav'n] holds forth her sacred waters!' (libretto, p.63). Dean & Knapp (p172), and Price (p.132) are sceptical of the Christian conversion – Dean & Knapp call it 'absurd' (p.172), Price calls is a 'perfunctory event' (p.132), Gerrard repeats Price verbatim, but in Tasso it is part of the peace treaty, and in the opera, it is Armida's wish to start her life anew. Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* is an undisguised promotion of Christianity.

[14] Gerrard agrees enthusiastically with this interpretation (pp.32–33); Price goes further, devising three categories to show the extent of Hill's involvement in writing the libretto, all peripheral to direct evidence, but worthy of investigation (pp.125–133).

[15] Gerrard in ODNB mentions an 'indifferent response'. M&H (2001) describe Hill's plays as 'neither disasters nor successes' (p.509). Hill could not afford to be generous to Rossi. His collected works in 1753 and 1760 contain nothing to indicate anything more than the model he provided for Rossi. No doubt, there were more additions in discussion over the libretto, but Rossi's main worry was the speed of Handel's composition (two weeks), without reference to the amount of recycled music (Dean & Knapp, 1995, pp.651–3). The issue of

(Apr./3pfs), both had a short run, and Hill's short-term management of Drury Lane ended in a riot.[16] Far from handing credit to Rossi, Hill's own rating was in need of a boost. In November 1710, Hill was moved to the Queen's Theatre with Handel arriving in December. Despite the success of *Rinaldo*, Hill was sacked yet again. On 3 March, only nine days after the première, he was removed. Christine Gerrard presents a reasoned explanation for these apparent failures,[17] but nevertheless, his profile was not looking good, so making claims for an unknown Italian was of little value for Hill, and this was not necessarily an effective promotional exercise for Rossi either. The real promotion was in the press puff, and the libretto's descriptions.[18]

Rinaldo Dedication Anomalies

[6/7]

Fig.38

DEDICATION.

MADAM,

This OPERA is a Native of your Majeſty's Dominions, and was conſequently born your Subject: 'Tis thence that it preſumes to come, a dutiful Entreater of your Royal Favour and Protection; a Bleſſing, which having once obtain'd, it cannot miſs the Clemency of every Air it may hereafter breathe in. Nor ſhall I then be longer doubtful of ſucceeding in my Endeavour, to ſee the *Engliſh* OPERA more ſplendid than her MOTHER, the *Italian*. I humbly preſume to beg the Honour of your Majeſty's Permiſſion,

PREFACE.

WHen I ventur'd on an Undertaking ſo hazardous as the Direction of OPERA'S, *in their preſent Eſtabliſhment, I reſolv'd to ſpare no Pains or Coſt, that might be requiſite to make thoſe Entertainments flouriſh in their proper Grandeur, that ſo at leaſt it might not be my Fault, if the Town ſhould hereafter miſs ſo noble a Diverſion.*

The Deficiences I found, or thought I found, in ſuch Italian OPERA'S *as have hitherto been introduc'd among us, were,* Firſt; *That they had been compos'd for Taſtes and Voices, different from thoſe who were to ſing and hear them on the* Engliſh *Stage; And* Secondly, *That wanting the Machines and Decorations, which beſtow ſo great a Beauty on their Appearance, they have been heard and ſeen to very conſiderable Diſadvantage.*

At once to remedy both theſe Misfortunes, I reſolv'd to frame ſome Drama, that, by different Incidents and Paſſions, might afford the Muſick Scope to vary and diſplay its Excellence, and fill the Eye with more delightful Proſpects, ſo at once to give Two Senſes equal Pleaſure.

I

PREFACE.

I could not chuſe a finer Subject than the celebrated Story of Rinaldo *and* Armida, *which has furniſh'd* OPERA'S *for every Stage and Tongue in* Europe. *I have, however, us'd a Poet's Privilege, and vary'd from the Scheme of* Taſſo, *as was neceſſary for the better forming a Theatrical Repreſentation.*

It was a very particular Happineſs, that I met with a Gentleman ſo excellently qualify'd as Signor Roſſi, *to fill up the Model I had drawn, with Words ſo ſounding and ſo rich in Senſe, that if my Tranſlation is in many Places led to deviate, 'tis for want of Power to reach the Force of his Original.*

Mr. Hendel, *whom the World ſo juſtly celebrates, has made his Muſick ſpeak ſo finely for its ſelf, that I am purpoſely ſilent on that Subject; and ſhall only add, That as when I undertook this Affair, I had no Gain in View, but that of the Acknowledgment and Approbation of the Gentlemen of my Country; ſo No Loſs, the Loſs of That excepted, ſhall diſcourage me from a Purſuit of all Improvements, which can poſſibly be introduc'd upon our* Engliſh *Theatre.*

A. HILL.

libretto contribution cannot be proved either way. However, the play, *Elfrid*, does have the ingredients of English tragicomedy outlined by Robert Hume [5/65].

[16] M&H (2001), 2–14 June 1710 (pp576–580).

[17] Gerrard (2003), pp.36–7).

[18] *The British Apollo* of which Hill was editor. Hill also produced the libretto (Gerrard, pp.34–5).

However, there are anomalies in the libretto Dedication and Preface (Fig.38). The Dedication to Queen Anne asserts that *Rinaldo* is part of an 'Endeavour, to see the *English* Opera more splendid that her Mother, the *Italian*'. This does not make sense. How could an all-Italian opera create an opportunity for *English* opera? Dean & Knapp (1995) suggest Hill really wanted English opera (p.171), but to bring in Handel and Rossi was the wrong way to go about it. Perhaps Hill meant an Italian opera composed in England? Even then, he is in error, for the arias in *Rinaldo* comprise material from earlier works predating Handel's arrival in England. Dean & Knapp specify two thirds of the arias were reused (p.174).[19] Rossi must have known about previous compositions since he had to fit new words to earlier music. In his note to the reader, 'Il Poeta al Lettore', he simply says that Handel was composing the music faster than he could write the verse.[20] Hill's Preface expands on the Dedication. He found 'Deficiences' [sic] in earlier London Italian operas, but he omits to say which, so his reference to 'Tastes and Voices' does not make sense. If he is referring to the most recent Italian operas, *Almahide*, *Idaspe* (*Hydaspes*), *Etearco*, all have Italian singers with the addition of Mr Lawrence who appears in *Rinaldo* as well, although omitted from the 'Personaggi' page, but included in 'Persons Represented'. The voices do not represent a change, but his reference to 'Taste' is less clear. The extensive use of aerial machines,[21] smoke devices, fire spitting monsters, thunder and lightning, fast changing scenery, and one that could accommodate a 'horridly steep' mountain, had apparent audience appeal, except for Addison who had allegedly not attended when he wrote his 6 March review.[22]

Rinaldo, a hero?

[6/8] Despite the heroic trappings in the opera – territorial conflict, war, the clash of arms, pomp and ceremony, trumpets and drums (recommended by Dryden) – Rinaldo is not a traditionally heroic figure – he is driven solely by love, and the rescue of the beloved Almirena. In 1987, Price berated Rinaldo's claim to heroism: 'Rinaldo is foolish, indecisive, vain, an incompetent lover and warrior, and never in fact heroic in the conventional sense'.

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[19] My own calculation from the Dean & Knapp list, (1995) pp.651–3, is that out of 40 numbers, 31 are recycled material.

[20] See *Handel Collected Documents*, vol.1, ed. Burrows *et al* (2013), p.201.

[21] Already begun by Heidegger (Strohm, p.41).

[22] On audience appeal, Hill used his journal, *The British Apollo*, as early on 18 December 1710, to whet the appetite with new wonders to come. Hardly had Handel arrived, but Hill was using press puff to pave the way. The libretto, describing staging effects, appeared eleven days before the first performance of *Rinaldo*, which went on to run for 15 performances despite the late start in the season. On Addison reviewing on the basis of a libretto alone, see Dean & Knapp (p.182), Gerrard (p.36).

He adduces 'evidence': Rinaldo's inability to protect Almirena against Armida, and his need to be rescued by Goffredo. However, the first of these triggers the rest of the opera and the second has a parallel in the original Tasso. Price's argument gets diverted into the Orpheus legend and in particular an English version of it, manifest through Fletcher, Settle, Davenant, D'Urfey, to prove that Rinaldo is in this anti-heroic mould. Hill, according to Price, must therefore, have written the bulk of the original libretto in English for Rossi to translate into Italian verse, so that Hill could translate the Italian back to English for the libretto.[23] Nevertheless, Rinaldo, not conforming to the traditional view of the hero, and letting love dominate over heroism makes him more of a tragicomic hero.

[6/9] The vulnerable hero in tragicomedy puts Rinaldo in the same league as Orontes (*Thomyris*) and Pyrrhus, both willing to surrender to the enemy, but saved by their virtue. Hydaspes, disguised as Acrone, is not much better until the fight with the lion, but strangles it almost by accident, rather than any act of heroism – a deed merely providing a stay of execution rather than the reward of liberty. The tyrant relents only when he discovers his long-lost brother, which seems to suggest that human empathy is more important than villainy. Resolution by sentiment and forgiveness is the hallmark of tragicomedy. Addison, who hated tragicomedy (Ch.6, epigraph), saw the fight with a lion as a joke, no surprise given that he was strongly biased against Italian opera – 'There is nothing that of late Years has afforded Matter of greater Amusement to the Town than Signior *Nicolini's* Combat with a Lion in the *Hay-Market*'.[24] This attitude towards heroism would include the so-called 'she dramas' with females cast as heroes.[25] Camilla and Almahide, both seeking revenge against a usurper, suddenly relent through the force of love. Even Arsinoe, submits to the strength of love as she is about to have her alleged assassin put to death. It is as if the concept of heroism, involving victory and slaughter, was being called into question. Addison could not understand the tragicomic significance of these episodes in the context of the opera. A firm devotee of Aristotle in the separation of tragedy and comedy, Addison's attitude to tragicomedy differed little from his attitude towards Italian opera.

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[23] Price ('English Traditions', 1987), pp.127–8. See Price's footnotes 11–13.

[24] *Spectator 13*, 15 March 1711.

[25] In the 18th century, roles were gender-specific – 'heroines'. Price uses the terms 'she operas' and 'she dramas' for operas with females in the title role, a possible reference to Queen Anne (e.g., 1987, 'English Traditions', p.131).

The Duke of Marlborough – a Whig Hero?

[6/10] The Duke of Marlborough embodied the Whig view of heroism, winning battles and destroying the enemy, but this would soon be called into question by Jonathan Swift. The pamphlet that played a major role in questioning the war, was Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*, published in November 1711 – Fig.39 [second edition].[26] This affected attitudes to the War of the Spanish Succession. It brought together the arguments emphasising the futility of the conflict. The Preface provides a synopsis of the argument.

Fig.39

THE

PREFACE.

I Cannot sufficiently admire the Industry of a sort of Men, wholly out of Favour with the Prince and People, and openly professing a separate Interest from the Bulk of the Landed Men, who yet are able to raise, at this Juncture, so great a Clamour against a Peace, without offering one single Reason, but what we find in their Ballads. *I lay it down for a Maxim, That no reasonable Person, whether* Whig *or* Tory *(since it is necessary to use those foolish Terms) can be of Opinion for continuing the War, upon the Foot it now is, unless he be a Gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new Turn of Affairs at home, to the Advantage of his Party; or lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the Kingdom's Condition, and by what means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first Cases, where Interest is concerned, I have nothing to say: But as to the last, I think it highly necessary, that the Publick should be freely and impartially told what Circumstances they are in, after what manner they have been treated by those whom they trusted so many Years with the disposal of their Blood and Treasure, and what the Consequences of this Management are like to be upon themselves and their Posterity.*

Those who, either by Writing or Discourse, have undertaken to defend the Proceedings of the Late Ministry, in the Management of the War, and of the Treaty at Gertruydenburg, *have spent time in celebrating the Conduct and Valour of our Leaders and their Troops, in summing up the Victories they have gained, and the Towns they have taken. Then they tell us what high Articles were insisted on by our Ministers and those of the Confederates, and what Pains both were at in persuading* France *to accept them. But nothing of this can give the least Satisfaction to the just Complaints of the Kingdom. As to the War, our Grievances are,*

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ces are, That a greater Load has been laid on Us than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest Impositions have been submitted to for the Advancement of private Wealth and Power, or in order to forward the more dangerous Designs of a Faction, *to both which a Peace would have put an End; And that the Part of the War which was chiefly our Province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the Enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a Peace, We complain of being deluded by a* Mock Treaty; *in which those who Negotiated, took care to make such Demands, as they knew were impossible to be complied with, and therefore might securely press every Article as if they were in earnest.*

These are some of the Points I design to treat of in the following Discourse; with several others which I thought it necessary, at this time, for the Kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those Facts I mention; at least not in any Circumstance so material, as to weaken the Consequences I draw from them.

After Ten Years War with perpetual Success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good Peace, is very surprising, and seems so different from what hath ever hapned in the World before, that a Man of any Party may be allowed suspecting, we have either been ill used, or have not made the most of our Victories, and might therefore desire to know where the Difficulty lay: Then it is natural to enquire into our present Condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this Rate; what the Consequences may be upon the present and future Ages; and whether a Peace, without that impracticable Point which some People do so much insist on, be really ruinous in it self, or equally so with the Continuance of the War.

[26] There are five editions of 'The Conduct of the Allies' (London 1711); the Preface in the first edition in three pages, is too smudged to be readable.

The reference to 'Landed Men' and 'the Kingdom's Condition' is to the cost of the war. Swift reinforced the view that taxation fell heaviest on the landed gentry at a cost of £3-4 million a year.[27] Ten years of war had produced a debt of £10 million with Britain's credit rating financing more of the war than the Allies, allowing, for example, the Austrian Empire to expand its territorial ambitions in Italy from Milan to Naples. The cost in human resources was equally high, amounting to a loss of 100,000 men (p.8). Profiteers 'were tempted to lend by great Præmiums at large Interest', and so grew rich on the proceeds. These businessmen, mainly Whigs, had an interest in continuing the war, which by 1711 had cost the country £60 million. This led Swift to discuss the causes and prolongation of the war – 'the Folly, the Temerity, the Corruption, the Ambition of its domestick Enemies' – the reader knew he meant the Whigs (p.12).[28]

[6/11] The Preface reference to 'Gertruydenburg' (Geertruidenberg) is a reminder to the reader of peace negotiations (1709-1710) between the then Whig government and the French, but which inevitably broke down due to unrealistic peace terms for the French, the continued Whig insistence that Louis XIV remove his grandson, Philip V, by this time, king of Spain since 1700, by force, on refusal to abdicate'.[29] The Spanish government, at no point, Swift emphasised, had been consulted about their choice of monarch. Swift saw past government policy in terms of a conspiracy.[30] Swift's view that the failure of peace talks at

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[27] 'The Conduct of the Allies', 2nd edition, 1711, p.14. Hoppit (2000, p.124), calculates government annual expenditure during the War of the Spanish Succession at £7.8 million with three quarters of this spent on the war, so Swift's figures, received from Bolingbroke, Secretary of State for the Tory government, are genuine: H.T. Dickinson, 'Bolingbroke', ODNB; Damrosch, *Jonathan Swift* (2014), p.249; Brendan Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat* (2007), p.58; Victoria Glendinning, *Jonathan Swift* (1999), p.103.

[28] Swift is careful to avoid naming names or parties. If anything the bickering of party system is itself to blame. However, reception made it clear who were the targets, and the fury of the Whigs was demonstrable in a robust response by John Oldmixon, Whig historian and pamphleteer, in 'Remarks on a False, Scandalous, Seditious Libel Intituled, The Conduct of the Allies, and the Late Ministry [Whigs]' (1711), published on the heels of Swift's pamphlet.

[29] Abdication suggests a recognition of a legitimate right to the monarchy. Therefore, the Whigs, emphasised by Swift, were interfering with another country's choice of monarch. Philip V had been king of Spain since 1700, and would continue until his death in 1746. The Whig government (1708-10) had won the election in the wake of the failed French invasion of Scotland, and had the power to conduct effective peace negotiations, but their motto was 'no peace without Spain'. Their claim was that peace could be won only by defeating France. Swift, therefore, could argue that Whig peace negotiations were a sham. Basic data in this account comes from Brendan Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat* (2007, Ch.2 'Marlborough Country: Britain and the Empire, 1697-1714'), and Hoppit (2000; passim) – both reinterpreted for the current the argument.

[30] The first Whig 'conspiracy' was the Act of Settlement (1701) to ensure a Protestant succession, but linked to this was the war to prevent a Catholic Franco-Spanish dynasty dominating Europe. There was also a belief that the war could be profitable – Nokes (1987), pp.125, 128, 138, 139; the beneficiaries of the war were the

'Gertruydenburg', was deliberate, in that although Louis XIV had surrendered all his Italian territories, and more besides,[31] he could not possibly accept terms that would involve war against his own family.

[6/12] This was only the most recent attempt to end the War of the Spanish Succession, and it failed due to unrealistic Whig attitudes, which refused to accept that Philip V was by this point, widely accepted as the legitimate Spanish monarch, the Hapsburgs widely distrusted. Swift's *coup de grâce* was the obvious remark that a defeat of France in the interest of the Protestant faith, would simply create a vacuum for another Catholic power to dominate Europe. With the Archduke Karl of Austria, a potential king of Spain,[32] the Holy Roman Empire, in the hands of the Austrian empire, would create a power greater than that of France. The point is succinctly put by Julian Hoppit, 'Why, many wondered, was a Habsburg leviathan preferable to a Bourbon behemoth?' (p.121).

[6/13] Handel's *Rinaldo* is an opera about war and peace, and since Italian opera arrived in Britain in the course of the War of the Spanish Succession, the quest for peace in *Rinaldo*, may have a parallel in reality.[33] Louis XIV had made offers of peace from 1706, and more insistently after the winter famine (1708-09), but as long as the Allies were convinced of victory, the offers were rejected.[34] Marlborough's disastrous pyrrhic victory at Malplaquet in September 1709 was a major setback for the Allies, and acted as a turning point in the conflict. The war had already reached a stalemate, but Malplaquet showed that defeat of France was unlikely. Marlborough's battles and sieges had merely prevented French

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'monied men … such as had raised vast sums by trading with stocks … lending upon great interest and premiums; whose perpetual harvest is war' (quoted in Nokes, p.139).

[31] This included secession of Newfoundland, and French conquests on her eastern frontier; also, removing Dunkirk defences, and French troops from Spain (Hoppit, p.119).

[32] The Archduke Karl's chances of becoming king of all Spain, despite the strong Habsburg claim, were remote. He managed to establish himself in Barcelona, styling himself Carlos III. Attempts at laying siege to Madrid were in vain. Why he was accepted by the Catalans, if indeed he was, is a puzzle. A fiercely independent part of the Iberian peninsula, the Catalans may have been playing a political game of realpolitik over principle, engaging Habsburg assistance to assert independence from the rest of Spain (Szechi, *The Jacobites*, 1994, p.88) – Szechi provides examples of the widespread use of small enclaves (rebels) using any external means whatever to win their objectives, a practice widespread throughout Europe.

[33] Peace in *Rinaldo* comes in the wake of an apparently bloodless Crusader victory against the Saracens, unlike the original Tasso (the opera does not dwell on death, true to tragicomedy). However, by 1710, it was clear that the war with France was anything but bloodless. An obvious lesson from *Rinaldo* may have been that victory might be achieved without slaughter in tragicomedy, but not in reality.

[34] Hoppit, p.119. Guy Rowlands demonstrates that in 1709, 'France faced economic meltdown', the war was lost. 'France 1709: Le Crunch' (*History Today*, Feb.2009).

expansion, but her borders remained intact. Marlborough's determination to continue the struggle despite setbacks, encouraged the view that he was growing rich on the proceeds. Swift emphasised 'the aggrandisement of a particular Family' without identification, but it was clear, it was the Marlborough family, who, Swift estimated, had amassed £500,000 in the course of the war.[35]

[6/14] Reverses in Spain reinforced the view that the war was unwinnable.[36] Public opinion in Britain wanted an end to the war, demonstrated by the Tory landslide victory at the polls in 1710, helped not least by the anti-Whig Sacheverell riots.[37] Swift completed *The Conduct of the Allies* on 24 November, in time for the meeting of the new parliament. The pamphlet was a bestseller with the first edition of a thousand copies sold out in two days, the second in five hours, and by the fifth edition, it had sold 11,000 copies.[38] It became the basis of debate in parliament, so that peace became more likely, although more difficult in reality, than the acquisition of peace in Handel's fictional opera.[39] It marked the end of the Marlborough hero image.

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[35] Marlborough's accumulation of wealth was becoming common knowledge. During an entr'acte in Farquhar's play, *The Recruiting Officer*, on 13 July 1710, in the Queen's Theatre, Uffenbach was amazed to hear a group of soldiers strike up an unscripted song from Flanders with the refrain, 'Marlborough not a penny', and continued, 'it cannot be denied that he has made for himself a most evil reputation through his excessive avarice. When the song was at an end, there was much clapping and yelling that the actors were unable to proceed for nearly a quarter of an hour.' (Uffenbach, *London in 1710*, pp.138-9).

[36] General James Stanhope was defeated and taken prisoner at Brihuega, and the Austrian candidate, Archduke Karl, posing as Carlos III was defeated at Villa Viciosa, and forced to retreat to Barcelona (Simms, p.58).

[37] Dr Henry Sacheverell was impeached by the Whig government in December and 1709, and tried for 'crimes' against the state, crimes that comprised a sermon in St Paul's (on 5 November to celebrate the failure of the Gunpowder Plot), later printed, with an anti-Whig attack on nonconformists, who were perceived to be undermining the values of the Anglican church. Comparing Whig supporting dissenters to civil war regicides and republican enemies of monarchy, ultimately exacerbated by a pamphlet war, brought Sacheverell to trial in March 1710. Riots with the cry 'Sacheverell and peace' had broken out before this, mainly aimed at the destruction of dissenting meeting halls and chapels. The influx of 10,000 Calvinists from Europe escalated the crisis. On 21 March 1710 Sacheverell was found guilty by the Whig majority in the House of Lords, but the sentence was so lenient, a short-term suspension from preaching, and copies of his sermon burnt in public – it undermined the verdict. The London populace, viewing Sacheverell as a martyr, celebrated his moral victory with bonfires and church bells. Riots were long past by the arrival of Handel in December. Otherwise, he may have found the city too dangerous to visit and the composition of *Rinaldo* would have been unlikely. William Weber in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel* (ed. Burrows, 2004, p.47), 'Handel arrived when the crisis [Sacheverell] was coming to a peak', needs revision. Sources: Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule* (2013; p.654), Simms (2007; p.57), Geoffrey Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (1973), a very detailed account of how the hounding of Sacheverell contributed to the Whig defeat in the general election in November 1710; also, Holmes 'The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd and the Church in early Eighteenth Century London', *Past and Present*, no.72 (Aug 1976), pp.55, ff.

[38] Nokes, pp.135-6; Damrosch, pp.249-50.

[39] For the complexities of peace (Simms, pp.64-68).

[6/15] One political aspect of *Rinaldo* is incontrovertible. The Tory victory in the general election of November 1710 allowed the Tory, William Collier, despite the fiasco at Drury Lane on 2 June 1710, to transfer to the Queen's Theatre on 16 November 1711, just before the arrival of Handel. How this was managed Milhous & Hume do not say,[40] but a short biography by Eveline Cruikshanks and Richard Harrison reveals a close relationship between Collier and Secretary of State, Henry St John (later Bolingbroke), which could 'advance him to a brighter station'. The biography specifies that Collier used his ministerial connections, giving himself a post that provided £700 per annum.[41] As the new proprietor of the Queen's Theatre, Collier took with him Aaron Hill as manager. It was in this context, that the plan for *Rinaldo* was drawn up. Without Collier's Tory connections, Aaron Hill would not have been the Queen's Theatre manager at the critical time. It was Hill's ambition to translate Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*,[42] but not achieving this, he adapted Tasso for Handel's opera. In the space of two months before his dismissal for alleged, irregular use of subscription funds, and massively overspending on stage machinery for *Rinaldo*, well beyond the budget, to the point of almost bankrupting the theatre,[43] Hill provided the plot and scenario for one of Handel's most successful operas. Had the Whigs won the election in 1710, Swiney may have remained in his post, and the outcome – hard to estimate.[44]

[40] They do say, however, that, 'Collier was neither competent to run a company nor interested in attempting to do so' (2001 *Calendar*, p.506).
[41] Collier biography in *The House of Commons 1690-1715*, vol.III, (2002), Members A-F, ed. Cruikshanks, pp.651-2.
[42] According to Christine Gerrard, who quotes the Preface to *Elfrid* (p.33).
[43] For general details on Drury Lane and Haymarket shifting appointments, M&H (2001), seasons 1709-10 and 1710-11. The earliest view is that Hill was 'eased out' on 'grounds of extravagance' (Dean and Knapp, 1987, p.154); but see fn.41.
[44] Further attempts have been made to explain Hill's dismissal from the Haymarket Theatre on 3 March 1711. M&H, in *The Register of English Theatrical Documents* (1991, vol.1, no.2125, p.467), provides an Order from Lord Chamberlain Shrewsbury requesting an explanation for non-payment of performers and tradesmen. Collier blamed Hill for extravagance and misuse of subscription funds. However, Milhous & Hume, 'The Haymarket Opera, 1711' (*Early Music*, 1989, pp.526-529), using evidence from the Public Record Office, came come up with an alternative explanation. A lease chain of lets and sublets were problematic. Per annum, Hill had to pay Collier £600, Collier to pay Swiney £700, and Swiney to Vanbrugh £700. Some subscription money of the £3000, strictly for *Etearco* and *Rinaldo*, may have been used to cover the leases. Subscribers paid on the night of attendance, so funds were not always available when needed (M&H, p.257). Although *Rinaldo* was well attended (M&H estimate 500 people a night), box office receipts did not cover costs (pp.525-6). Collier, instead of waiting until the end of the season with 15 performances, panicked, and sacked Hill after two performances. This is reflected in the revised edition of *Handel's Operas, 1704-1726*, (1995), 'JMK' no longer a partner (Dean, 2006, vol.2, p.vii). Dean revised p.154 (1995), changing Hill's 'extravagance' to his legal action against Collier in July 1711, accusing Collier of 'appropriating £500 of the subscription money', that should have been used to pay artists and tradesmen. On 17 April 1712, Shrewsbury moved Collier back to Drury Lane to be replaced by Swiney. These frequent management moves have the hint of political manoeuvre

[6/16] Peace in Europe, as it was being negotiated, was eased by an unexpected event – the sudden death of Emperor Joseph I in April 1711, thus allowing his brother, Archduke Karl to become emperor, for which he abandoned his claim to the Spanish crown. The *casus belli* over the French candidate, Philip V, was now irrelevant. The grand strategy for war needed revision, and the Tory policy was peace. The House of Commons readily agreed, but the Whig-dominated Lords resisted. It took the appointment of twelve additional Tory peers, to swing the vote in favour of peace. The complexities of ending the European war would be difficult to parallel in a baroque opera.

[6/17] This account of Swift's pamphlet allows a better discussion of Price's view that *Rinaldo* is a political opera, even if Rinaldo, far from being a traditional hero, is a weak, indecisive, and a feeble warrior.[45] The political argument is found in section (c) of a three-part account in which Price argues that Aaron Hill presented Giacomo Rossi with a full scenario, perhaps even a complete libretto, rather than Rossi's filling the model as indicated in the libretto Preface. Price's purpose is to show that *Rinaldo*, apart from the Italian text, is essentially an 'English Opera', as Hill claimed in the Dedication. Price's argument sets out to show that the adaptation from Tasso is in the English tradition with the use of metaphor, the Orpheus rescue parallel, and politics.[46] With politics, Price argues that 'Handel's librettists certainly adapted their sources in order to draw parallels with current affairs'

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to avoid embarrassing revelations. M&H suggest that Collier's move to the Queen's Theatre was not regarded as permanent, merely a temporary device to curb the riot (2001, p.598). It is no surprise that by 1713, Collier was returned unopposed as Tory MP for Truro, largely due to political connections (Cruickshanks biography, 2002, p.651). Unaware of the political connections, M&H (2001) are at loss to explain the appointment of Collier and Hill to the Queen's Theatre given the background of mismanagement at Drury Lane, especially at a critical moment when the future rested with Handel. For the politics behind the appointments, the Collier biography in *The House of Commons 1790-1715*, vol.III, (2002), pp.651-2, ed. Cruickshanks *et al*, offers an explanation. Without the Collier biography, this move to Haymarket would remain unexplained (see M&H, fn.25, p.536, 'We have no idea…').

[45] Price, 'English Traditions (1987) p.127.

[46] Price (1987), pp.125-133 – (a) metaphor: wordplay on the Italian 'collina', 'montagna', 'cime', all translated as 'hill' to reflect the author's name, introduced in the English translation, but often without a mountain indicator in the Rossi stage direction (Act 3/v). Price has to conclude that the wordplay may not be 'substantially Hill's', but a wordplay that 'neither Rossi nor Handel would have bothered with'; (b) Rinaldo as Orpheus: this argues that Hill's adaptation had the Orpheus search for Eurydice, is the origin of Rinaldo's search for Almirena, a tradition that flows through Fletcher to D'Urfey (see parag.8 above). In both of these arguments there is a lot of imagination, but little hard evidence. Surely, the verbose Hill, would have proclaimed this English tradition in the Preface, or the classically-minded Addison, would have referred to it in his review of the opera (6 March). Rinaldo as Orpheus could well be Hydaspes as Orpheus in search for his Berenice, although instead of the sorceress, there is a psychopathic tyrant. Price concludes that Handel is to blame for missing these 'literary conceits' (p.129).

(p.130), and the current war with France, would be the obvious parallel. So bizarrely, the (Catholic) Crusaders represent the 'Protestant alliance', and the 'Saracens their Catholic opponents'. But Price notes the 'drawback' – it could be the reverse, just as nonsensical. The allusion is even more worthless, in that the Grand Alliance was not totally Protestant, since one of the major powers was the Catholic Austrian empire. The Catholic identification with the either the Protestant Alliance or the Saracens, invalidates the allegory.

[6/18] In search of political allusion, Price notes the obvious example in *Rosamond*, not an allusion, but blatant English propaganda, comparing Marlborough's military achievement with those of Henry II, and claims, that whereas *Rosamond* failed, *The British Enchanters*, succeeded. [47]. True, there is a flimsy plot comparison in the latter, but it tells us nothing about politics in *Rinaldo*. Price's claim that *Rinaldo* 'is a bell-weather of change in government' (p.132), could apply to any opera with a tyrant, but in this case, the reality that any scholar would note, is that Jerusalem did not remain for long in the hands of the Crusaders, a poor omen for a prospective Hanoverian dynasty. If an argument were needed, then Marlborough as Rinaldo would be an obvious parallel, but unlike Rinaldo, Marlborough was unceremoniously sacked before the end of a war in which there were no winners. On 30 December 1711, just six days after the appearance of Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*, Marlborough, who was determined to continue the war, demanding the post of commander-in-chief for life, was like the fate of his wife, Sarah the Duchess, brought down by hubris. The merit of his valiant victories was in tatters.[48]

[6/19] Price notes that *Rinaldo* marks the end of the 'she dramas', operas with heroines in the title role: *Camilla*, *Thomyris*, *Clotilda*, but he could have added *Arsinoe* and *Almahide*, so, he continued, this must 'be seen in the context of an impending change of crowns' (p.132). This ignores the 'he' drama, *Etearco* on 10 January 1711, six weeks before *Rinaldo*, and the 'she drama', *Dorinda*, 18 months later in 1712. Price does not tell us what he means

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[47] The comparison is used selectively. The historical murder of Becket is avoided. So also, the incarceration of Eleanor of Aquitaine which was not a good comparison for the Duchess Sarah of Marlborough.

[48] For the gradual decline of Marlborough (Hoppit, pp.299-306). Price's Rinaldo comparison with Marlborough relies on ambivalence, but there was nothing ambivalent in Swift's account: Price asserts, 'It is easy to forget that as late as 1712-13 the Duke of Marlborough, then out of favour…' (p.133), but in fact, he had been dismissed at the end of 1712, and on 24 January 1712, the House of Commons voted 256-155, that his conduct was 'unwarranted and illegal'. Legal proceedings did not amount to prosecution, perhaps due to his past reputation as a national hero, but Treasury payments for the Blenheim project were suspended. At the end of the year, on the pretence of taking up residence in Italy, he headed for Hanover to prepare his future with the Elector, who would become George I in 1714 (J.B. Hattendorf in ODNB).

by 'change of crowns'. If he means a change of dynasty, this had already been arranged by the Act of Settlement in 1701, should the future Queen Anne die childless. It did not need *Rinaldo* to make a prediction. Since Price referred to gender with 'she drama', perhaps he meant the arrival of a foreign male monarch, which was in fact the case in 1714. However, when *Rinaldo* was composed, late 1710 to early 1711, it would have been impossible to predict the gender of the next monarch. The heir presumptive to the English throne was Sophia, Electress of Hanover, but she died on 28 May 1714, leaving her son to inherit the British throne as George I when Queen Anne died on 1 August 1714.

***Rinaldo* as Tragicomedy**

[6/20] Price's conviction that *Rinaldo* was developed from semioperatic traditions, and especially with *The British Enchanters* (1706),[49] was founded on a tradition clarified by John Fletcher (1579-1725) in 1607-8. This approach may demonstrate a continuity with semiopera, but for Price it does the same for tragicomedy. Fletcher, in the printed edition of his play *The Faithful Shepheardesse* (1609), addresses the reader with the words, 'this is a tragicomedy', a genre considered by Sir Philip Sidney, adapted in Shakespeare's late Romances,[50] but ultimately derived from Guarini (1601-2).[51] The anglicised genre continued throughout the seventeenth century, along with Price's list of semioperas, the weak hero being a feature.[52] When Price dismisses the 'Italianate pasticcios' preceding *Rinaldo* (p.131), as 'haphazardly converted from pre-existing operas', he misses how well they are contrived, misses the genre of tragicomedy, and the compilation of *Rinaldo*, also using pre-existing operas, cantatas, and other compositions. Price's argument for semioperatic precedents in *Rinaldo*, argues unintentionally, a good case for tragicomedy.[53]

[49] Price ('English Traditions', 1987, p.126, ff.); thesis above.
[50] Ch.4, [81], fn.145; Stanley Wells, Ch.7.
[51] Ch.4 (24 references); Ch.5 (26 references) – a major theme in both chapters.
[52] John Dennis is an exception. Following Tasso, he rejects a weak Rinaldo, and makes his own hero a more rational and masculine character (1699, 'Preface to *Rinaldo and Armida'*, Hooker, vol.1, pp.194–196).
[53] In 1969 Winton Dean, who had divided Handel operas into categories, of heroic, anti-heroic, magic, in his Ernest Bloch Lectures in Berkeley (UC) 1965/66, regarding these categories as a 'preliminary study, rather than a final assessment' (printed in *Handel and the Opera Seria*, p.ix), and considered tragicomedy as a category for *Flavio* ('A Handel Tragicomedy', *The Musical Times*, 1969). He could have considered *Rinaldo* as well. A more thorough study of the course and development of English tragicomedy in the seventeenth century is beyond the scope of the present study.

[6/21] Apart from Price's unwitting contribution to tragicomedy, his reference to ambiguity is worth following up. In terms of allegory his view of the character of Rinaldo could be either that of Marlborough the hero, or the Pretender with an invading force. So, a political view of the character of Rinaldo could find consolation for both ardent Whigs and Jacobite Tories, if there was an appetite to do so. The folly of 'audience application' is well documented by Robert Hume, about scholars finding parallels after the event.[54] However, in the course of early performances, with aerial machines, clouds of smoke, fire-spitting monsters, thunder and lightning on the stage, and in the auditorium a concern by the spectators to protect themselves from overhead sparrow droppings, it is unlikely that the audience topic of conversation was ambiguous allegory.

Paul Monod –Politics of Italian Opera

[6/22] Paul Monod notes the ambiguity as well, so for *Rinaldo*, he dispenses with allegory altogether.[55] He concedes that Handel's operas are not partisan works, although they do contain 'veiled hints about politics', and these involve patronage and taste. Monod continues: a narrow patriotic view of taste was expounded by Addison and Steele in the pages of the *Spectator*.[56] However, their aversion to Italian opera, blinded them to the cultivation of a more 'refined taste', which included the values of the Italian Renaissance, and its progeny, Italian opera. Refined taste had to rise above narrow nationalism. Monod argues that 'Whig aesthetes', who digested the 'polite philosophy' of the *Spectator*,

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[54] 'The politics of opera in late seventeenth–century London', (Cambridge Opera Journal, 1998), pp.30–35). Thomas McGeary follows this up in *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (2013), pp.32–33.

[55] Paul Monod, 'The Politics of Handel's Early London Operas, 1711-1718' (*Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Winter 2006).

[56] Addison, like Shaftesbury, were both staunch Whigs but with different views of Italian opera. More than Shaftesbury, Addison, in his 'Remarks on several Parts of Italy' recounts having attended eight operas in Italy, but says very little about them (Ch.4, parags.33-34). On Addison's travelogue, Dr Johnson remarked on the lack of detail, much of which 'might have been written at home'. Donald Johnson justifies Addison's narrow perspective with a warning to 'his English reader of the need for constant vigilance in protecting domestic welfare and political freedom, and to insure him that the English political system provided more freedom and security than any other in Europe' – in other words, not an attempt to understand Italy and the Italians, but to show now inferior they are to the English (Donald Johnson, 'Addison in Italy', *Modern Language Studies*, 1976, p.32). A comparison with Charles de Brosses 30 years after Addison, shows de Brosses mingling well with Tartini, Vivaldi, Pergolesi, attempting to persuade the Italians of the merits of French opera, but also understanding the antipathy of Roman attitudes to French opera, and having to protect himself from being assaulted by Hasse in Venice, when asking if he had ever heard a French opera – shows a different approach (De Brosses, 'Letter on Italian Music', trans., Schier, 1978). If Italians took umbrage at the 'virtues' of French opera, perhaps Addison's nationalistic view of Italian opera, should not be a surprise either. Addison resisted in importation of Italian opera, convinced it would overwhelm indigenous English drama.

recognised its defects, and espoused Italian opera. He uses the work of Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, and author of *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1st ed.,1711), which advocated a broader view of culture and refined taste, going beyond the xenophobia of the fanatical Whigs, and creating an improved society (p.459).

[6/23] Monod makes 'improved society' more explicit when referring Shaftesbury's 'private letter' to a Protestant clergyman, Pierre Coste (1709), emphasising that Italian opera is an integral part of a good society.[57] However, there were conditions, and the main one contests the practice of special stage effects with machines, spectacle, and rapid scenic transformations, found in Venetian opera, and approved by the Raguenet's *Comparison* (i.e., *Parallèle des Italiens et des Français en ce que regarde la musique et les opéras*, 1702), but deplored by Shaftesbury. Spectacle is rejected as an excessive appeal to the eye instead of the ear, the human organ, which for Shaftesbury was the key to understanding. The attractive aspect of Italian opera was its simplicity.[58]

[6/24] Monod relies completely on Thomas McGeary for the influence of Shaftesbury on Italian opera, but evidence for this is suspect,[59] let alone the conviction that the document being discussed is that of Raguenet, who is not identified, or that Shaftesbury ever attended an Italian opera. The letter to Coste, quoted in McGeary, is preoccupied with ancient Rome, and the views of Horace on the damage done to Roman drama by spectacle, the appeal to the eye overwhelming the understanding by the ear. Shaftesbury agreed with Horace that tragedy was the right of a 'free people', teaching them the joys of 'republican liberty'. In addition to this, simple Italian recitative restores the true nature of Greek tragedy.[60] The

[57] Sourced from Tom McGeary, 'Shaftesbury on Opera, Spectacle and Liberty' (*Music & Letters*, 1993).
[58] Monod (p.461); McGeary (p.532). If this is the Shaftesbury view of opera, it is remarkably close to the tenets of the Accademia dell'Arcadia in Rome (1690, ff.).
[59] Monod's evidence: 'As McGeary has suggested, Handel approved of the ideas expressed in this letter [Coste], but he may not have read it …' There is no evidence that Handel had heard of Coste, or even Shaftesbury in 1711, but later in 1736, when the 4th Earl was a major benefactor, Handel may have been introduced to their views.
[60] McGeary (1993), p.536. McGeary makes no link with Handel in his discussion of Shaftesbury, but speculates that the arrival of Italian opera in London (1705-11) is concordant with Shaftesbury's view of a polite society (p.538). However, Shaftesbury makes no specific mention of these Italian operas. Shaftesbury is shown to adapt his views on Italian opera from Raguenet's *Parallèle* in terms of aria and recitative, but to reject spectacle, and to emphasise tragedy as essential to a 'free people', and 'a republican form of government', using the Roman republic as a model (p.533). McGeary's conclusion (p.538) of a 'causal connection between features of opera', and 'their effect on the audience and society, in this case the maintenance of liberty and freedom', is more tenuous than 'causal'. Nevertheless, Monod is enthusiastic about this line of argument, and continues,

Coste letter of 1709 has very little to do with Handel's *Rinaldo*, 1711, which Shaftesbury could have attended, but he makes no mention of the opera.[61] One can only speculate why – *Rinaldo* is not tragedy; it is an exercise in spectacle and there is little of what might be described as simple recitative.[62] For Shaftesbury *Rinaldo* was hardly the ideal opera, but Monod seems to miss the point.[63]

[6/25] If Monod found no clear allegory or audience lessons in *Rinaldo*, to promote his view that the import of Italian opera was a Whig initiative, he asserts that *Characteristicks*, 'provided inspiration for a generation of Whig aristocrats who saw themselves as the arbiters of "polite taste", based on Italian rather than French models' (p.462). Linking Handel to Shaftesbury was, therefore, part of the argument, but *Characteristicks* makes no mention of music, let alone Italian opera – it refers to Italians as 'buffoons'.[64] Monod's 'generation of aristocrats' is not explored in terms of *Rinaldo*, so he moves on to a more forthright discussion of *Il pastor fido* (1712), dismissing it as 'lighthearted entertainment', and with its object 'to gratifie the Senses', a sentiment that had often been repeated by Whigs like Addison, Steele, and especially Dennis. He reads the opera as 'a satire on the gullibility of the common people', an opera with a 'muddled message'. Despite the recommended simple plot in *Characteristicks*, in Monod's view, *Il pastor fido*, does not pass muster, so was a failure with Whig aristocrats. However, in terms of 'muddled', the Pastor-fido theme was not new to theatre audiences in 1712, since as a drama, it had been running throughout the

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quoting Shaftesbury, "that as Countrys grow more polite, Opera will every day gain upon another Theater, and our best Tragedy as last melt into Opera" (p.461). Examples of this view would be hard to find.

[61] Klein's book on Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (CUP, 1999), summarises Shaftesbury's philosophy: an 'optimistic assessment of an orderly cosmos, confidence in human sociability and fellow feeling, harmonization of ethical and aesthetic experience, emphasises on liberty, toleration, and a commitment to the role of philosophy in educating humanity' (p.vii). This dream for the future has little relevance for the preferences of the composer, patron, or audience. Had Handel been aware of Shaftesbury or his philosophy, it is unlikely to have had an effect.

[62] When *Rinaldo* performances began on 24 February 1711, Shaftesbury was working on the final draft of *Characteristicks* which was published in the Spring of 1711. Due to his asthmatic attacks, he lived in Surrey, far from the polluted London air, and for health purposes, left for Italy with his family in July. There is no evidence of his attending *Rinaldo*, or even knowing of its existence.

[63] Speculation abounds in Shaftesbury's views of opera. He claims that spectacle destroys liberty and leads to slavery (p.535); and his view of music, 'What is music? What is one note prolonged? Nothing is more dissonant and odious' (p.538). Nevertheless, McGeary has done some significant detective work in tracing the Coste letter. In an earlier article, 'Shaftesbury, Handel, and Italian Opera' (*Händel Jahrbuch,* 1986), he had quoted a letter from Handel to Shaftesbury's son, the 4th Earl, dated 29 June 1736, thanking him for his father's letter. Handel affects to agree with the views and sentiments of music contained. McGeary was convinced this to be the letter to Pierre Coste, but if so, either the 4th Earl had made elaborate cuts to the letter, or Handel was being polite – the 4th Earl was a friend and benefactor, subscribing to Handel's operas and concertos.

[64] *Characteristicks* (ed. Klein), pp.35, 59.

seventeenth century; it was in the public eye with Fanshawe's edition (1647), and semioperatic productions by Elkanah Settle in 1676 and 1689, which appeared again in 1706, 1707, and 1711.[65] The plot of *Il pastor fido* was already familiar in 1712, so that Handel's opera was a variant, and even if drastically cut, the plot was not new, and therefore, easily understood, so hardly 'muddled'.

[6/26] Monad draws Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, into his argument for the Whig espousal of Italian opera. This is designed to demonstrate a direct link from the Whig Shaftesbury to the non-partisan Handel through the apparently Whig Burlington.[66] The process is immediately undermined by Monod's delivery of substantial evidence that Burlington used his Whig credentials as cover for his Jacobite sympathies.[67] Handel's stay at Burlington House is used as proof that the 18-year old Burlington in 1712, '*may have had a role*' (my italics) in the choice of the two Handel operas, based on the French *tragedies lyriques*, *Teseo* (1712) and *Amadigi* (1715).[68] Burlington's familiarity with the operas of Lully, or the librettos of Quinault, is not clear, but P.D. Kingsbury (ODNB) refers to Burlington's 'great passion' for music, and his lavish patronage of Italian opera, including composers, librettists, and musicians. Whether this passion was sufficient to inform Handel about his next opera, has still to be established. The dedication to Burlington in the *Teseo* and *Amadigi* librettos, is not proof that Burlington inspired the plots; more likely that he was an ideal patron, the dedication being a token of gratitude.[69] The dedication in the *Teseo* libretto is written by Nicola Haym, and in Italian (untranslated), but it has obsequious praise for Burlington and his family with an account of the characters in the opera. The experienced Haym was able to adapt a libretto without advice from a teenager. Heidegger provided the dedication in the *Amadigi* libretto, full of gratitude and the customary ingratiating platitudes.

[65] See Ch.4, fns. 8, 35.
[66] Monod refers to the allegation that Burlington was a closet Jacobite. See fn.63.
[67] As a professional historian, Monod reveals the nature of the controversy, but is convinced Burlington was more Whig than Jacobite on the basis of voting Whig in the House of Lords, although Pamela Denman Kingsbury points out he rarely attended after 1715. Her view in ODNB is: 'Burlington's putative crypto-Jacobite proclivities must remain in the realm of speculation'; see also – Harris, *George Frideric Handel*, *A Life with Friends* (2014), p.60; Hunter, 'Handel among the Jacobites' (2001), p. 547 (esp. fn.20, Jane Clark refs).
[68] The dates of Handel's stay at Burlington House are largely circumstantial, but not improbable. Monod claims 1712-1717 (p.463), but Kingsbury in ODNB, indicates a brief sojourn 1710-11 and on his return from Hanover, from 1712.
[69] See Hoppit, 2000, on the various uses of dedications (p.437).

In both dedications there is no mention of Burlington providing the plot, a serious omission had it been the case.

[6/27] The substitution of hypotheticals for reasoned evidence, or rational inference based on degrees of probability, is a major weakness in parts of both Monod and McGeary. One might forgive the occasional 'must have', but when the text is littered with conjecture, then the argument degenerates into guesswork. When Monod attempts to show that Burlington 'owed something' to Shaftesbury's Whig philosophy, he writes: 'He may have believed …', 'Whether or not …', 'he would certainly have agreed …', 'Burlington may have had a role' – all within the space of half a page (p.463). In the space of two pages, McGeary, to establish a link between Shaftesbury and Italian opera notes: '[the Coste letter] may have been known to Handel', 'Shaftesbury's interest in and knowledge of opera were probably acquired during his two-year Grand Tour of Italy', "[Shaftesbury in Italy] acquired a great knowledge in the polite arts" (quoting his son), which McGeary interprets as 'no doubt including Italian opera', and 'Shaftesbury may also have seen productions of Italian opera produced in London beginning is 1705' (pp.530-1). Shaftesbury makes no mention of these operas. *Characteristicks* is silent of the subject of Italian opera, also omitted in *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness*, and in ODNB.[70] The crucial Coste letter dwells on tragedy, which if cleansed of spectacle, will merge into opera. It is a view not founded on the reality of the genre, at least not in this period of study.

[6/28] The reality is represented by *Rinaldo*. If its reception had represented a call to arms in 1711, or an incentive to continue the war against France to her final capitulation, the then Tory government on a quest for peace, would surely have banned the opera through the power of the Lord Chamberlain. There is no evidence that the audiences saw a didactic message in *Rinaldo* for Britain's role in the War of the Spanish Succession. Lacking the descriptive quality of an Uffenbach, or having to decipher the prejudiced view of an Addison, there are audience clues through the puppeteer Mr Powell, referred to in a letter to *Spectator 14* on 16 March 1711. Mr Powell performed at the Seven Stars in the Piazza, Covent Garden, specialised in satirising plays and opera,[71] and charging a fraction of the price of an opera ticket. His shows were allegedly packed. The letter to the editor by an anonymous theatre-

[70] *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness* (1994), Lawrence Klein; ODNB entry on Shaftesbury, also by Klein.
[71] His show with Nicolini and the lion was a crowd puller.

goer, who had attended both the opera and the puppet show, described his reactions, lamenting the inadequacy of the plot description in the *Rinaldo* libretto:

> First therefore, I cannot but observe that Mr Powell wisely forbearing to give his Company a Bill of Fare before-hand, every Scene is new and unexpected; whereas it is certain, that the Undertakers of the Hay-Market, having raised too great an Expectation in their printed Opera, very much disappointed their Audience on the Stage. The King of Jerusalem is obliged to come from the City on foot, instead of being drawn in a triumphant Chariot by white Horses, as my Opera-Book had promised me; and thus, while I expected Armida's Dragons should rush forward towards Argantes, I found the Hero was obliged to go to Armida, and hand her out of her Coach. We had also but a very short Allowance of Thunder and Lightning; tho' I cannot in this Place omit doing Justice to the Boy who had the Direction of the Two painted Dragons, and made them spit Fire and Smoke: He flash'd out his Rosin in such just Proportions, and in such due Time, that I could not forbear conceiving Hopes of his being one Day a most excellent Player. I saw, indeed, but Two things wanting to render his whole Action compleat, I mean the keeping his Head a little lower, and hiding his Candle.
>
> *'I am, &c.'*

However, like Addison, the focus is on the spectacular aspects of the opera, which as Price noted, was in the tradition of the Betterton semiopera, although Donald Burrows makes a similar case for Hamburg.[72] Unlike Addison, the anonymous contributor sees some merit in the *Rinaldo* production, complimenting the boy doing his best to implement the stage machinery.[73]

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[72] Donald Burrows makes a case for the Hamburg influence with which Handel would have been more familiar. Hamburg opera expected spectacular scenes, and 'the dramatic discourse is not entirely heroic' (*Handel*, 1994, p.83). This may be similar to Price's account of the heroic in semiopera, but there is no evidence that in the short time available for composition, Handel could have absorbed the English tradition. However, it is not impossible that the Hamburg traditions were not all that different from that of English opera. It shared the practice of bilingual episodes with Italianate opera in London.

[73] Sources: M&H (2001) for details of Mr Powell (Martin, as suggested by M&H), p.598; the quotation, *Spectator 14*, 16 March 1711. Monod refers to this source, but does not distinguish between the view of the editor, Richard Steele, and the letter to the journal (some editions conflate both), although that letter may not have been included had it not agreed with Steele's own view. However, Steele's view, like that of Addison, mocked the preoccupation with the senses at the expense of the plot, but also chimed with the view of Dennis – 'how could virile gentlemen learn moral lessons from such effeminate performers?', the squeak of voices, heroes played by eunuchs (Monod, p.457).

The Hero in Tragicomedy

[6/29] The production of *Rinaldo* raises the issue of attributes the hero should possess. Chapter Five of this study considered the various interpretations of what constituted heroic opera, and there are differing views of what attributes the hero should possess. John Dennis presents the Whig view of the hero in his 1706 'Preface to the Battle of Ramillia [Ramillies]' portraying Marlborough as the traditional hero.[74] The effeminate castrato could not possibly qualify.[75] Addison seems to agree in *Spectator 40* (16 April. 1711), but goes further – romantic attachments and rebellious attitudes enervate the character of the hero:

> As our Heroes are generally Lovers, their Swelling and Blustring upon the Stage very much recommends them to the fair Part of their Audience. The Ladies are wonderfully pleased to see a Man insulting Kings, or affronting the Gods, in one Scene, and throwing himself at the Feet of his Mistress in another.

This hardly applies to *Rinaldo*, but it makes Addison's attitude clear. He prefers the traditional hero, unencumbered by romance, and fighting for a noble cause. Shaftesbury,[76] on the other hand, in his letter to Coste in 1709 sees the hero as vulnerable: "Tragedy shews Us the Misfortunes and Miserys of the *Great* [heroes]; by which the People are not only reveng'd, but comforted and encourag'd to endure their equal plain Rank" – the emphasis being that great men can fall.[77] This was an intuitive prediction since the Dennis 'hero', Marlborough, was disgraced and dismissed in 1712. Monod (2006. p.457) quotes what he thinks is Steele's view of the hero in *Spectator 14* (16 March 1711), "by the Squeak of their Voices the Heroes … are Eunuchs", but the author is not Steele. The quote is part of a letter to the *Spectator*, with Steele as editor of this number. Nevertheless, Steele chose to print it, which suggests approval. However, the letter is a valuable view from an anonymous member of the public – castratos cannot be heroes in an English tradition.[78]

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[74] Monod (p.445) quotes John Mainwaring, Handel's biographer (1760) with a similar view, but a close reading of the text, reveals the Marlborough observation is an opportunity to announce the arrival of another hero, Handel (*Memoirs of the Life*, p.75)

[75] *Essay on the Operas* (1706).

[76] Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713).

[77] McGeary's translation of the Shaftesbury letter to Coste (p.539).

[78] In *The Politics of Drama in Augustan England* (1963, pp.31-2), John Loftis explains that in Nicholas Rowe's francophobic play *Tamerlane* (1701), the dramatist makes it clear that the eponymous hero is William III, and the evil Bajazet, Louis XIV. All characters in the play have parallels in real life. As the War of the Spanish Succession began in 1701 the play had national support, but as party rivalry grew over the future of the war in 1710, it became a partisan Whig play with its promotion of belligerence and the destruction of the enemy in order to win peace. (See also Harry William Pedicord in 'The Changing Audience', *The London Theatre World*,

[6/30] The view of the hero was already under attack before *Rinaldo*. There was a run of mock-heroics from Dryden to Pope affecting the image of the hero, of which *Rinaldo* may have been a part. Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe, or A Satire upon the True-Blew-Protestant Poet T.S.* (1682), was a rebuff of Shadwell's scurrilous attack on Dryden, then poet laureate, over conflicting interpretations by Ben Jonson. In *Mac Flecknoe*, Shadwell is given the worst attributes of heroes from the past. Dryden identified flaws in classical heroes, Odysseus, Achilles, Aeneas, and the heroes of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, particularly the Knight of the Red Crosse in his quest for 'Holinesse'.[79] Linking these to Shadwell, and placing him on King Flecknoe's throne of Dullness was a device picked up by Pope in *The Dunciad* (1728 ff.). However, closer to *Rinaldo*, Pope's *Rape of the Lock* (1712-14) mocked the heroic with the theft of a lock of hair, a trivial event, but elaborated in high heroic style with references to Homer and Milton, and like Dryden, in bombastic heroic couplets. Pope's later work, *Essay on Man*,[80] 'Epistle IV' (lines 219-222) highlights the issue by illustrating the havoc and slaughter wrought by heroes:[81]

> Heroes are much the same, the point's agreed,
> From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;
> The whole strange purpose of their lives, to find
> Or make, an enemy of mankind!'.

The slaughter in the War of the Spanish Succession, the failure to defeat France, and the fall of Marlborough, questioned the role of the hero. So, showing the character of Rinaldo to be weak and vulnerable, could suggest a reflection of military events, which of course, could be entirely fortuitous, since Hill chose the plot from his own interest in Tasso.[82]

1980; ed. Hume, p.243). Whigs preferred a warlike image of the hero. Since the Hanoverians had rejected peace with France, the Whigs who had espoused the Hanoverian succession, had another reason for continuing of the war. If *Rinaldo* were to be interpreted as peace through victory, the Whigs might have claimed it as their own, but leading Whigs despised Italian opera (Dennis, Addison, Steele), so *Rinaldo* was politically irrelevant in terms of allegory.

[79] The attack on the Whig, Shadwell, was also an attack on the Whig hero, Spenser.

[80] Dedicated to Bolingbroke, who spent time in exile for alleged Jacobite sympathies, but forgiveness allowed him to return.

[81] Although *Essay on Man* was written between 1730 and 1732 (published 1733-34), it illustrates an attitude to heroism that was maturing from Pope's early days of pastoral, and developed through the mock-heroic to *The Dunciad*.

[82] See [6/4-5].

[6/31] Given the differing view of the hero, Curtis Price's interpretation of the vulnerable hero is closest to the Rinaldo character. For Price the castrato voice is not the issue, but more the quality of the character, which he argues is in the tradition of English semiopera.[83] Burrows has a similar suggestion for Hamburg which may have been a greater influence on Handel.[84] Rinaldo, as Price has convincingly argued, is a flawed hero: 'foolish, indecisive, vain, an incompetent lover and warrior, and never in fact heroic in the conventional sense' (1987, p127). The concept of the vulnerable hero is integral to tragicomedy and the register of castrato voice contributes to this.

[6/32] In *Il pastor fido*, Mirtillo is vulnerable until his hidden identity is revealed at the end. His track record is not that of the conventional hero. Rejected in love, he retreats to nature communing with the birds and plants. Then, in an offer of hope, he is fooled by Eurilla into a plot that implicates his beloved Amarilli, leading her to a death sentence, but saved at the last minute by a *deus ex machina* in the form of the High Priest, who declares that Diana's anger is appeased by Mirtillo's fidelity, and that the discovery of his divine precedents fulfils the prophecy, union with Amarilli, much to her delight. Silvio is even less of a hero, finding love only by mistaking Dorilla for 'a Savage Beast', wounding her, and then in a fit of remorse and pity, finds the love that has eluded him hitherto. Two happy couples with the females brought close to death, but the happy ending is the stuff of tragicomedy. Like Mirtillo, Rinaldo, similarly, is frustrated in love, fooled by Armida, and rescued by the intervention of Goffredo and Eustazio with a touch of superior Christian magic. Argante and Armida who had temporarily fallen for Almirena and Rinaldo respectively, are united in the Christian religion, and with two happy couples, a happy ending.

The Whig Attitude to Tragicomedy

[6/33] In drama influential literary Whig pundits rejected tragicomedy. In *Tatler 45*, Steele referred to '*Tragi-Comedies*' as comic 'Transitions from Mournful to Merry' – they lacked 'Decorum'.[85] Addison in *Spectator 40* went further in his condemnation:[86]

> The Tragi-Comedy, which is the Product of the English Theatre, is one of the most monstrous Inventions that ever entered into a Poet's Thoughts …

[83] Semi-operas in London in the years 1673 to 1710, were mostly tragicomedies (NGDO, vol.4, 'semiopera', p.307).
[84] This reference has already been mentioned (fn.72); a source would have been helpful.
[85] *Tatler 45*, 23 July 1709, ed. Bond, vol.1, p.323.
[86] See chapter epigraph; *Spectator 40*, 16 April. 1711.

> writing such a motly Piece of Mirth and Sorrow. But the Absurdity of these Performances is so very visible ..

John Dennis, equally detested tragicomedy, and agreed with Addison in *Spectator 40*, ‘I no more approve of Tragi-Comedies …’. Dennis, as a seriously minded dramatist, took a dim view of tragedy being polluted by buffoonery and comic antics.[87] Steeped in the classics he took the Aristotelian view that tragedy and comedy should be kept separate. According to Edward Hooker this was the consensus view of critics at the time.[88] Hooker illustrates his point with two plays by Charles Johnson in 1710, *The Force of Friendship*, a tragedy, and *Love in a Chest*, a farce. Originally, both plays came under the same title as one play, *The Force of Friendship*, described as a tragicomedy on 20 April, but survived just one night on critical disapproval. On 1 May, the plays were separated into tragedy (mainpiece) and farce (afterpiece), which at least allowed Johnson his benefit night on the second performance after which he gave up. As a result of both versions being a flop, Hooker was convinced that this event demonstrated critical disapproval of tragicomedy. Given the weakness of his example, it is just possible that Hooker’s view can be questioned.[89] His view of tragicomedy assumes the inclusion of buffoonery and comic scenes, but the Guarini view is that of forgiveness and a happy ending – he does not envisage comic antics. *Il pastor fido* is the model. It can be conceded that attendees at Handel’s *Rinaldo* may not have had the genre of tragicomedy in mind during the opera, but a happy ending after the tensions of the plot seems to have been welcome.

[6/34] The question remains – did the majority Whigs promote Italian opera? Whereas it has been shown that with their propaganda machine, the Kit-Cat Club, they were determined to use the theatre and literature to advance their ideology, which did not seem include approval of Italian opera, a foreign import that was perceived to sabotage indigenous English theatre. Evidence for *Rinaldo* being a Whig opera is slim. Indeed, given the scrutiny of Price’s commentary above, it does not appear to have been a political opera. Had there been what Robert Hume refers to as ‘authorial meaning’ or ‘audience application’ with a message urging victory through defeat of the enemy, the opera would have been withdrawn as an

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[87] Reply to Addison in Spectator 40; *Critical Works of John Dennis* (1943), ed. Hooker, vol.2, pp.21-22.
[88] Hooker, vol.2, p.440.
[89] Hooker, ‘Charles Johnson’s *The Force of Friendship* and *Love in a Chest*: a Note on Tragicomedy and Licensing in 1710’, (*Studies in Philology*), 1937; M&H (2001), pp.508, 562-3, 567.

insult to the then pacifist Queen Anne, to whom the opera was dedicated.[90] Similarly, had *Rinaldo* been perceived to have been a call to continue war against France at a time of peace negotiations, the opera would have been banned by the Tory government. Given these circumstances, allegory can be ruled out, although it does not prevent modern scholars imposing their own interpretations and discovering covert allegory centuries after the event. But in 1711, Monod's 'veiled hints about politics', patronage and taste were subsumed by a narrow patriotism, perhaps political in a general, xenophobic sense, but not specific to *Rinaldo* in its putative allegorical implications.

The role of Dedications for Reward

[6/35] Another potential test of Whig support for Italian opera is the view that claims dedications in opera librettos and song collections (1705-11) could be an indicator of Whig commitment to the genre. Monod does not convince with allegory, but dedications are a different matter. Of the 13 Italianate and Italian operas in the years 1705-1711, nine were dedicated to prominent Whigs, members of their families, or those who would later become Whigs.[91] From the beginning, the building of the Queen's Theatre by John Vanbrugh was regarded as a Whig Kit-Cat Club project.[92] A Tory newspaper dismissed it as a Kit-Cat 'Temple for their Dagon',[93] and Daniel Defoe and Sir Samuel Garth poured abuse on the project.[94] The Whig practice, spearheaded by the Kit-Cat Club, of using drama to promote their ideology was already well known.[95] But reasons for dedications were not necessarily ideological. Pat Rogers in 1993 urged caution about dedications. Dedications did not *per se* have a straight political link. Rather they could be used as a marketing ploy, a ruse for financial reward and fame. It was the age of the paid dedicator – John Dennis and John

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[90] Whigs were out of favour with the queen in the years 1710-14. For 'authorial meaning' or 'audience application' (Hume, 1998, pp.28-32). See also Thomas McGeary, (2013), pp. 5, 12-13, 32-33.

[91] The most recent advocate of this view is Thomas McGeary who delivered a lecture on the subject at Edinburgh University, Alison House, on 2 November 2017. Dedications to Whigs rather than Tories, it was argued, is an indicator of Whig commitment to the importation of Italian opera. The argument was reinforced by the number of Whigs subscribing to the building of the Queen's Theatre (1703-05), which would later become an opera house. McGeary's forthcoming book, 'The Politics of Opera in the Reign of Queen Anne', follows from his 2013 book, or rather, is a prelude to, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain*.

[92] John Loftis in *The Politics of Drama in Augustan England* (1963) emphasises Whig patronage through the Kit-Cat Club for drama, which far outstripped anything the Tories could manage (p.60). Abigail Williams goes further with the claim that the Kit-Cats could rival funding offered by Louis XIV in France (*Cultures of Whiggism*, ed. Womersley, 2005, p.170, fn.37).

[93] *Rehearsal of Observator* (Sat. 5 May 1705).

[94] See Ch.2 [16].

[95] Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Culture, 1681-1714*, Ch.6, 'Patronage and the public writer in Whig culture', pp.216 ff, although she has little to say about opera. See Ch.1 [67], especially fn.153.

Oldmixon were both much sought after as effective dedicators, and since both were Whig with powerful contacts, they would recommend appropriate dedicatees for a fee.[96]

[6/36] Despite the dedications, Whig publications did not espouse Italian opera. If they were committed to the promotion of Italian opera, it is hard to find this in the journals. The Whig *Muses Mercury* edited by John Oldmixon (1707), much preferred Purcell to Italian opera. Both the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, important Whig journals, did nothing to promote Italian opera; on the contrary, they did their best to belittle it. The *Tatler* has only 14 references to Italian opera out of 272 issues, and they are either derogatory or satirical, although Nicolini's acting does come in for some grudging praise. The *Spectator* devotes some space to Italian opera, but it is minimal compared with other items: opera (nos. 18, 29), Nicolini (nos. 5, 235, 403), but other references are numerically more interesting for Addison and Steele: fables (7 issues), religion (10), education (15), Socrates (16), Paradise Lost (21), Dryden (21). There are fewer than 10 references to music out of 635 *Spectator* issues.[97] The Whig *Medley* (1711), edited by Mainwaring and Oldmixon, has no reference to Italian opera whatsoever, and that, in the year of *Rinaldo*. The purpose of *The Medley* was to rebuff Swift's arguments in the Tory *Examine*r, the topic being essentially politics, so the absence of Italian opera, and specifically *Rinaldo*, is another sign of the opera's irrelevance in terms of politics.[98]

[6/37] Julian Hoppit is clear that the effect of patronage was debatable. Recognition, esteem, and the hope of credibility were factors as likely as financial reward. Patrons were not necessarily impressed by declarations of obsequious prose or poetry.[99] Robert Hume agrees that patronage was more important in terms of jobs, sinecures, and subscriptions than cash rewards.[100] This was well understood by Tory literati. Two leading Tories took a different view from the Whigs about dedications, Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope. In the Preface

[96] 'Book Dedications in Britain 1700-1799: a Preliminary Study' (*British Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*, 1993).

[97] The range of topics extends to a wide range of human qualities: ambition, beauty, conversation, dancing, education, fame, fear, fashion, friends, instinct, laughter, love, modesty, as well as books, authors, the classics, and God.

[98] The Tory *Examiner* and Whig *Medley* ran from 2 November 1710 to 14 June 1711, and contained highlights like the attempted assassination plots against Robert Harley, the Queen's first minister (*Swift vs. Mainwaring,* The Examiner *and* The Medley, ed. Frank H. Ellis, 1985).

[99] Hoppit (2000), p.437.

[100] Robert Hume, 'The Economics of Culture in London, 1660–1740' (*Huntington Library Quarterly*, 2006), pp.520-523.

to *A Tale of a Tub* (1704), Swift after having provided two dedications, one to Lord Somers, and the other to an anonymous Prince Posterity, poses the question:

> ' .. why Dedications, and other Bundles of Flattery run all upon stale and musty Topicks, without the smallest Tincture of any thing New; not only to the torment and nauseating of the *Christian* Reader, but (if not suddenly prevented) to the universal spreading of that pestilent Disease, the Lethargy of this Island (Preface, p.36).

Swift dismisses dedications as a 'want of invention' and resolved to discard them in future.[101] Pope in *The Guardian* (no.4) on 16 March 1713, sees some customs as being a 'dangerous Tendency':[102]

> Among these I cannot but reckon the common Practice of *Dedications*, which is of so much worse Consequence, as 'tis generally used by People of Politeness, and whom a learned Education for the most part ought to have inspired with nobler and juster Sentiments. The Prostitution of Praise is not only a Deceit upon the Gross of Mankind, who take their Notion of Characters from the Learned; but also the better Sort must by this means lose some part at least of that Desire of Fame which is the Incentive to generous Actions, when they find it promiscuously bestowed on the Meritorious and Undeserving: Nay, the Author himself, let him be supposed to have ever so true a Value for the Patron, can find no Terms to express it, but what have been already used, and rendered suspected by Flatters.

Given that *The Guardian* was a Whig publication, editorial management seems to have striven for a non-partisan approach appealing to wider range of opinion.[103] Steele valued Pope as a contributor, not only for providing good copy and boosting sales, but there was a mutual respect dating back to the *Spectator* days.[104] However, views like these tended to

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[101] *A Tale of Tub. Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind* (1704), pp.5–26. The two dedications seem to cancel one another out. The tone of *Tale of Tub* is satirical throughout.

[102] *The Guardian*, ed. John Calhoun Stephens (U. P. Kentucky, 1882), p.50.

[103] See Ch. [4/20]; also Thomas Tickell, a possible interpretation on the *Guardian* articles [4/21] Fig.12.

[104] Detailed advertising by Steele of Pope's *Essay on Criticism* in *Spectator 65* (16 May 1711). Steele printed Pope's *Messiah, A Sacred Eclogue* in *Spectator 376* (14 May 1712) with the introduction, 'I will make no Apology for entertaining the Reader with the following Poem, which is written by a great Genius, a Friend of mine, in the Country, who is not asham'd to employ his Wit in the Praise of his Maker'; but see reference and comment, Ch.4, fn.46. Although a Tory by inclination, Pope was careful to remain non-partisan, and as a Roman Catholic, careful to avoid accusations of being a Jacobite. He was on good terms with many Whigs (Pat Rogers, *A Political Biography of Alexander Pope*, p/b, 2015, especially 'Introduction'; James Winn, *Queen Anne*, 2014, p.560).

undermine the value of the dedication reducing them to hypocritical affectation, and so, hardly an argument for the promotion of Italian opera.[105]

[6/38] When Aaron Hill wrote in the Dedication in the *Rinaldo* libretto, ‘This Opera is a Native of your Majesty’s Dominions’, and that it was his aim, ‘to see the English Opera more splendid, than her Mother, the Italian’ (Fig.29), it represented a puzzle, that in every respect, *Rinaldo* is an Italian opera (parag.7). However, in terms of tragicomedy it does make sense, although not in the way Hill may have intended it. Two influences of tragicomedy play a part in the plot of *Rinaldo*, the Italian and the English. The Italian influence derives from a combination of Guarini’s *Il pastor fido* and Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*. The English influence emerges through adaptations of Sidney, Shakespeare, Jonson, and especially Fletcher, who was quite specific about tragicomedy in his 1609 Preface to *The Faithful Shepheardesse*.[106] Thereafter, as Price has argued that with semiopera, an English tradition of tragicomedy was perpetuated and led through *King Arthur* and *The British Enchanters* to *Rinaldo*. Price’s argument about an English tradition refers to tragicomedy, ‘English dramatic opera remained essentially tragicomedy’;[107] with a death-threatening situation and a happy ending with lovers reunited, it constitutes tragicomedy. *Rinaldo* combines two different traditions of tragicomedy, the Italian and the English.

[105] It would be a mistake to claim that all Tories despised dedications, just as it would be a mistake to suggest that all Whigs espoused them, but it does appear that with dedications, Whigs had cornered the market. Whether this advanced their ideology is an open question.
[106] See Allan Gilbert’s commentary in *Literary Criticism; Plato to Dryden* (1962), p.505. Gilbert describes the pedigree of tragicomedy but, as the title of the book suggests, not the links to semiopera, Italian opera, or *Rinaldo*.
[107] Price in *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (1984), p.6; *King Arthur* is described as a tragicomedy, p.302. Also in ‘English Traditions’ (1987), *The British Enchanters* (1706), is described as a 5-act tragicomedy, p.122, and a model for *Rinaldo* (1711).

Conclusion and Afterthoughts

[7/1] This dissertation developed from an interest in Greber's pastoral opera, *Gli amori di Ergasto*, in an attempt to unravel some of the contradictions about its origin and first performances, but soon this became a study in the early eighteenth-century London pastorals, how they evolved into a more heroic mould and eventually emerged as tragicomedies. This approach to the pastoral was argued by Battista Guarini in 1601–02, exemplified by continuing performances of his *Pastor fido* in London, and reinforced with the lesson learned by Jacob Greber from 1705 to 1711, his first opera a simple pastoral and the second a tragicomedy. Between the years 1705 and 1711 tragicomedy emerged from the pastoral, a process that Guarini saw as inevitable, and it coincided with the arrival of Italian opera in London. The genre of a simple pastoral of which *Gli amori di Ergasto* is an example, had been supplanted by a series of emerging tragicomedies culminating with *Rinaldo* in 1711. Quite independently from this, the presence of a second Greber score in Vienna (1711), is also a tragicomedy.

[7/2] Chapter Three showed how the pastorals became more sophisticated in terms of plot. The political clash between Tories (Ancients) and Whigs (Moderns) about the nature of the pastoral, was a literary battle waged in print, the Tories favouring settings in an Arcadian landscape with Virgil as the model, and the Whigs preferring English pastures with the Doric dialect of Theocritus as the prototype. This conflict gave the pastoral a more nationalistic exposure. In 1708, the Whig election victory, campaigning on a pro-war ticket with Marlborough as hero, may have had an influence. The public mood shifted towards a more dramatic genre; Duncan Chisolm referred to it as a 'limited heroic type' [5/2]. The cause of the shift in genre was evolutionary as predicted by Guarini, but there were catalysts that drove the process in the heroic direction – not only the Whig election victory in 1708, but also the arrival of the castratos who sang in the heroic mould, and theatre rivalries especially with *Camilla* at Drury Lane vs *Love's Triumph* at the Queens's Theatre in which the former, a more heroic opera, eclipsed the latter pastoral.

[7/3] The many versions of the heroic are discussed in Chapters Five [5/2-3] and Six [6/8-9]. For Whigs like John Dennis and Joseph Addison, the hero ought to be a triumphant protagonist, rational, dutiful, and unencumbered by romance [6/29]. Tories on the other hand took an alternative view – Dryden's exposure of flawed classical heroes, and Pope despising heroes as homicidal maniacs, characters to be mocked, and best treated with

satire in heroic couplets [6/30]. Italian opera however favoured the sensitive and vulnerable hero in which a love interest was paramount. Later interpretations of heroic opera include Winton Dean's 'love and statecraft', Ellen Harris's 'backdrop of war', Reinhard Strohm's 'serious opera as opposed to comic' [5/2], Curtis Price's 'flawed hero' as anti-heroic [6/8/31], and Robert Hume's multiple definitions. Given so many views, the term heroic opera can be confusing. The genre of tragicomedy is more precise. The transformation of the swashbuckling, ruthless Rinaldo in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1516) to the emotional, susceptible heroes as depicted with Orontes (*Thomyris*), Pyrrhus, Hydaspes, and culminating with Handel's *Rinaldo*, all fit the Guarini prescription [6/8-9].

[7/4] By 1710, the arrival of castratos drove opera into a more heroic mould, although elements of pastoral persisted for moments of female emotion. The fall of the Whigs in 1710, followed by dismissal of their hero, Marlborough, raised the question of the nature of the Whig hero in terms of cost in human lives and resources. The Tory election victory in 1710 with the policy of ending the war, heightened the emergence of the more restrained and sensitive hero, the type described by Curtis Price, and embodied by Handel's hero Rinaldo, more fitted to tragicomedy. The process has an evolutionary dimension influenced by environment, ideology, and opportunity.

[7/5] A close examination of the claim that the Whig faction promoted the arrival of Italian opera, needed closer inspection. From the building of the Queen's Theatre, subscriptions and dedications, and Whig influence in the literary media, there is an apparent argument for Whig promotion of Italian opera, but this dissertation has argued that the evidence needs review; there was no united Whig project, rather the reverse, a view that Italian opera was detrimental to Whig ideology in its national values of Protestantism and indigenous English drama. Addison and Dennis led the campaign to resist Italian opera on the basis of sensual gratification, immorality, and foreign intrusion, but largely in vain.

[7/6] A new emotional response to opera developed in the years 1705-1711. Intricate plots favoured by Dennis and Addison were being replaced by simpler Guarini-type scenarios featuring predictable tropes with Guarini knots, culminating in a death threat, but with final forgiveness and happy ending. A classically educated audience, steeped in Ancient and Renaissance texts, could react to narrative variants and plot metamorphoses, others were able to respond to the theatricality of Italian opera, a new sound experience evidenced by

the popularity of Nicolini and the sensuality of Italian music. This may be why critics reacted to Italian opera, scorning it as sensation and even immorality.

[7/7] Otherwise, models needed refinement. The Joseph Addison tripartite model (1711), endorsed by Colley Cibber (1740), of Italian opera in English, progressing through a bilingual stage, to an all-Italian product, provided a general sense of development, but it works only if *The Loves of Ergasto*, aka *Gli amori di Ergasto* (1705), sung in Italian, is omitted, and a closer inspection of the operas, ignored. Addison in the *Spectator* was a master of the generalisation. An alternative view of opera, experimentation, trial and error, needed more consideration.

[7/8] The Philips model (1708), of pastoral-to-heroic, derived from the Ancients, and reinforced by Ellen Harris, needed similar refinement, in that the pastoral played a different role after the initial preoccupation with pastoral in the Queen's Theatre 1705-1708, being used at appropriate moments of repose, reflection, and isolation in non-pastoral operas, even in *Rinaldo* (1711). Pastorals returned in 1712 with Handel's *Pastor fido*, and Haym's *Dorinda*. The years 1712 to 1719 experimented with the pastoral till the advent of the Royal Academy 1720-1728, during which the pastoral continued to make cameo appearances, if only in simile arias referring to nature. Audience taste and appeal became the criterion for pastoral survival, which persisted throughout the eighteenth century, into the nineteenth (e.g., Gilbert & Sullivan, *Patience*), and the twentieth century (e.g., Rogers & Hammerstein, *Oklahoma*). The pastoral-to-heroic model works only with selective periodisation. Admittedly, this study makes use of this periodisation, but to argue a pattern of the arrival of Italian opera in London in the years 1705-11.

[7/9] The Curtis Price 'revolution' model needed modification as well ('Critical Decade', 1978). In 1987, Price saw *Rinaldo* in 1711 as the result of a 'turbulent revolution', that the arrival of Italian opera was not just a process of 'natural selection', but was a 'concerted attempt to manipulate taste' ('English Traditions', pp.120-121). Lord Chamberlain Kent did exert a considered control in June 1709 with the 'silencing' of Christopher Rich at Drury Lane, but this was in response to the actors' rebellion rather than any planned control as such, and had nothing to do with Italian opera. Manipulation of taste suggests manoeuvres with attempted control, but this view needed closer inspection; other factors, namely, rivalry and conflict between Drury Lane and the Queen's Theatre, a contest for

customers, and initiatives taken by entrepreneurial characters like Vanbrugh, Swiney, Motteux, Haym, Heidegger, Coke – rather than a proactive, cultural engineering of taste – are key factors in the argument. The early stages of Italian opera (1705-1708) saw Vanbrugh trying to make opera pay its way, but Christopher Rich sabotaged his attempts. Even the successful year for Italian opera, 1709, saw conflict between Haym and Heidegger, and 1710–1711, more conflict between Collier at Drury Lane and Swiney at the Queen's Theatre. Erratic shifts in administration between Drury Lane and the Queen's Theatre, fortuitously, brought the trio, Aaron Hill, Giacomo Rossi, and Handel together at the critical moment for *Rinaldo* in 1711. Chance, more that calculation, brought *Rinaldo* to London and helped to establish Italian opera.

[7/10] The model of a cohesive and coherent Whig ideology (Holmes, 1967), was undermined by fragmentation of Whig cultural pursuits and allegiances: the selective use of the Ancients, the artificial use of Theocritus and Spenser, a confused view of the prospects of Italian opera, and the conflict between English nationalism and the need for foreign Protestant monarchs. This vacillating ideology was the context for the arrival of Italian opera in London in the early years of the eighteenth century. Pope spotted this weakness and exploited it in *Guardian 40*, mocking the incoherence of the Whig pastoral philosophy which had been apparent throughout the period of Italian opera's arrival.

[7/11] The model, or rather process, that has driven this dissertation is the Guarini view of tragicomedy. Emerging from the simple pastoral of misplaced lovers, engineered by the Guarini 'knot', and resolved by a series of artificial, and often implausible devices, the genre needed a sharper dramatic edge. The love triangles became more complex, shepherds were replaced by non-pastoral, more recognisable, human beings with scheming, plotting, disguises, hidden identities, dungeon scenes, tyrants, and life-threatening episodes – all to enrich the drama. Leading characters, described as heroes, hardly lived up to expectation as their weaknesses, or rather their sensibilities, were paraded on the stage. This was the archetypal tragicomic hero for whom the castrato was ideal, even if dismissed by *Spectator 14* and others as non-heroic eunuchs. Castratos, it was argued, were not in the English tradition [6/29]. The model 'pastoral-to-heroic' has had a long history, due largely to the age of the concept, going back to ancient Greece. The superhuman heroes from the Greek classics to Renaissance Ariosto and Tasso had captured the literary imagination. But opera as tragicomedy modified this view in the early years of eighteenth-century London.

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> Opera pastorale in tre atti. praecedit "prologo", ubi mentio fit Elisabethae Christinae: "del grande Augusto intanto la degna amata sposo, l'eccelsa Elisabetta..." qua re veresimile fit, hoc opus Anno 1707 vel 1708 primum exhibitum ac Carlo VI. Imperatori dedicatum esse. Part [Mus.Hs.17252. Mus].

The manuscript is undated, but the Prologue reference to the coronation of Charles VI, suggests 1711. However, more recently the catalogue has been updated with a new title, venue, and date: 'La ninfa contenta' premiered in Innsbruck in 1713, Mus.Hs.17252 MUS MAG; Citation link, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14270324

Folger: The Newdigate Letters: hand-written circulars with local news privately managed by anonymous coffee house contacts, in this case probably John Dyer (1653-1713) who was constantly on the run from the law - see ODNB entry. The manuscript letters had the advantage of spreading news without the legal licence and unofficial censorship, which restricted printed newspapers. But information based on coffee house gossip could not be precise about forthcoming attractions. [L.c.1-3954; MS Add 75]

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Daily Courant (1702, ff.)	Elizabeth (Edward?) Mallet; later, Samuel Buckley (Whig)	politics; adverts
Diverting Post (1704–5)	Henry Playford (B. Bragg, pub.)	Cultural
London Gazette (1665, ff.)	Henry Muddiman; Richard Steele (1707-10)	published by authority' [govt. control], Whig
Observator (1702–1710)	J. Tutchin (1702-07); G. Ridpath (1709-12)	Whig (extreme?)
Rehearsal of Observator (1704–1710)	Charles Leslie	Anti-Tutchin/Defoe/Whig
Flying-Post (1695, ff.)	George Ridpath (1713 Stephen Whatley)	Whig (radical)
Post Boy (1695–1728)	Abel Roper [Abel Boyer]	Tory
Post Man (1696–1730)	Charles Lesley, John de Fonvive	Tory
Athenian Mercury (1691–97)	John Dunton	Whig: culture, science, manners, history, religion, readers' queries, knowledge for 'all men and both sexes'.
Post-Angel (1701–02)	John Dunton	Anglican, Whig
British Mercury (1711)	Charles Gildon	pro-Whig (6 month run)
Evening Post (1706) (1709–40)	E. Berrington	? neutral
Gentleman's Journal (1692–94)	Peter Motteux	cultural life, opera prospects
Review of Affairs in France (1704–13)	Daniel Defoe	officially neutral - Harleyite
Muses Mercury (1707–08)	John Oldmixon	cultural Whig, non-partisan (??)
British Apollo (1708–11)	Aaron Hill; Marshal Smith	science, religion, manners, opera.
Tatler (1709–11)	Richard Steele, Joseph Addison	Whig (sophisticated)
Examiner (1710–14[?])	John Morphew, Jonathan Swift	Tory (Queen Anne Toryism)
Medley (1710–11)	Mainwaring, Oldmixon	Whig
Spectator (1711–12; 1714)	Addison, Steele (alternating)	Whig (subtle whiggery)
Guardian (1713)	Richard Steele *et al*	Whig (intellectual)

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<http://quod.lib.umich.du/e/eebo/A36588.0001/1:2?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>

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http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12030/12030-h/12030-h/SV1/Spectator1.html#fb74
https://www.gutenberg.org/files/12030/12030-h/12030-h/12030-h.htm
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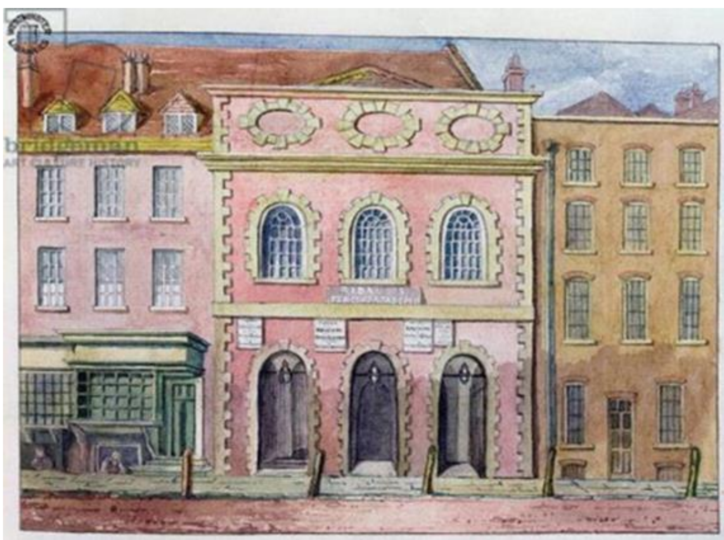
Torquato Tasso, Aminta, Malcolm Hayward, University of Pennsylvania, Copyright 1997: Translation http://prod.campuscruiser.com/cruiser/occ/rhayward/Translations/17623.html

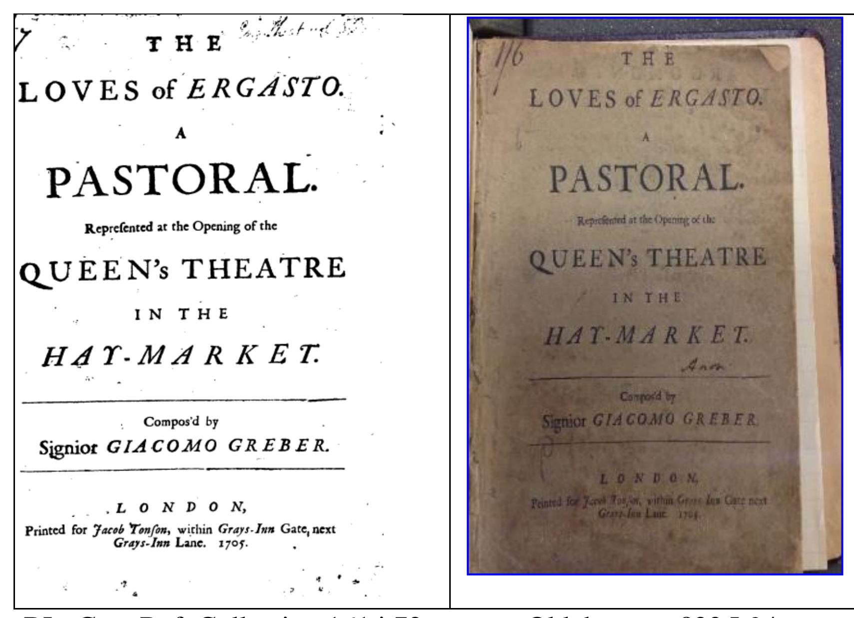
Appendix 1: Illustrations

Illustration 1: Chapter Two [1] fn.2.
Haymarket Theatre: this illustration is provided in many publications as the newly built theatre in 1705, but the print dates from much later. The assumption that the Capon watercolour of 1783 is an image of 1705 is in error; the buildings on either side would not have been built in 1705 if Vanbrugh had bought a stable yard 1703. The building to the right of the theatre is late Georgian.



The King's Theatre (pre-1714, the Queen's Theatre). Estimated date 1783. The Italian Opera House at the Haymarket 'Ridaut's Fencing Academy', plaque above the middle door, 'as it appeared before the fire 17 June 1789'. V&A – H. Beard Print Collection, William Capon (artist; 1757–1827). Museum number: S.41722–009.
URL: http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O187680/h-beard-print-collection-print-capon-william/

Illustration 2: Chapter Two [1].
Ergasto copies of title pages: Illinois is closest to the original unbound pamphlet format with blue wrap. Princeton has the similar bilingual title page, but has library binding. Other librettos have the title page in English only, which may suggest two editions, damage, or removal in book form. The Bodleian has a blank verso, on which is an annotation from Burney, *General Hist*ory, 1789, vol.4, p.200 (n).

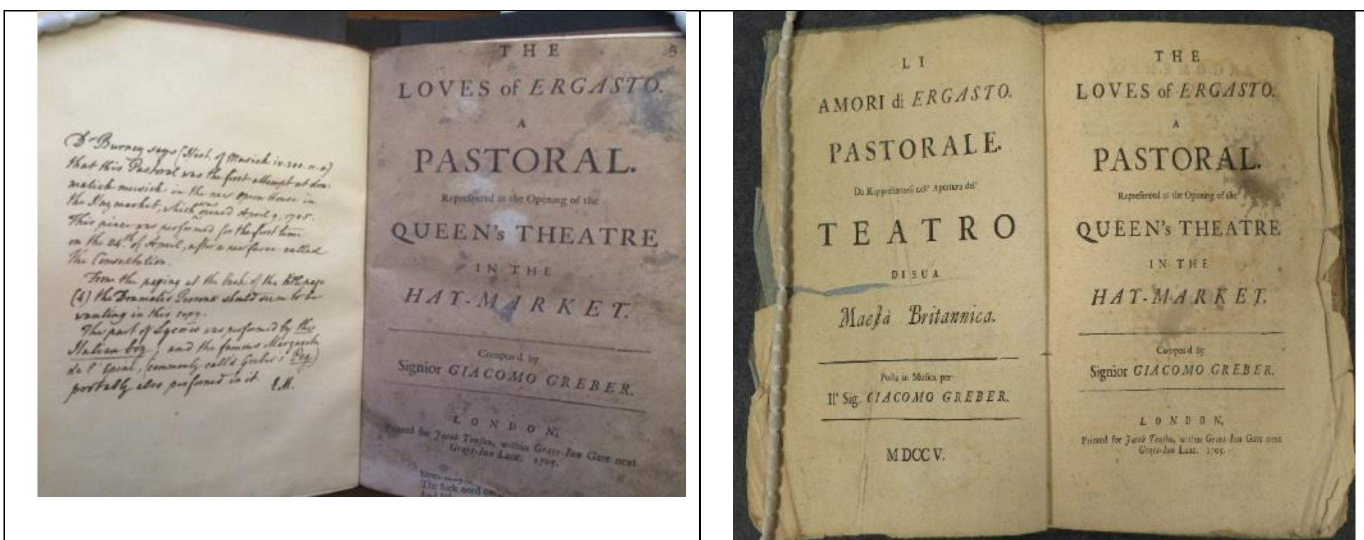


THE
LOVES of *ERGASTO.*
A
PASTORAL.
Represented at the Opening of the
QUEEN's THEATRE
IN THE
HAY-MARKET.

Compos'd by
Signior *GIACOMO GREBER.*

LONDON,
Printed for *Jacob Tonson*, within *Grays-Inn* Gate, next *Grays-Inn* Lane. 1705.

BL: Gen. Ref. Collection 161.i.72. Oklahoma: x822.L94e



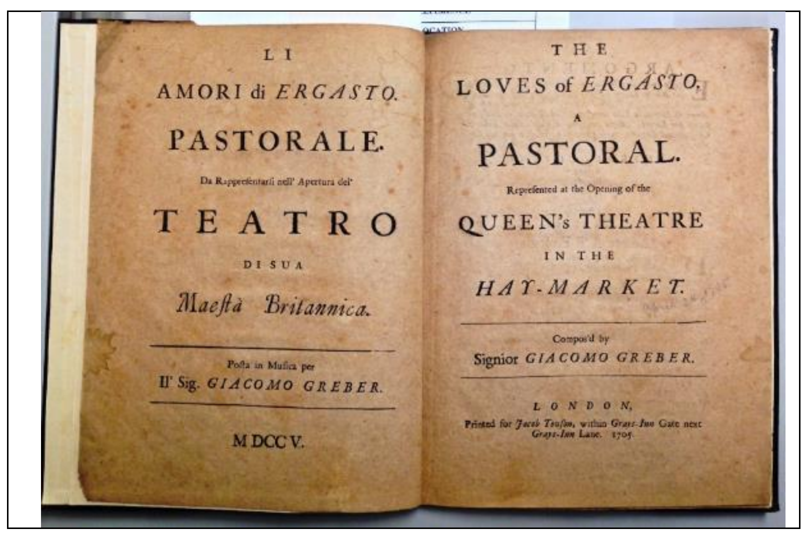
Dr Burney says (Hist. of Musick iv. 200. n. a) that this Pastoral was the first attempt at dramatick musick in the new Opera House in the Hay market, which was opened April 9, 1705. This piece was performed for the first time on the 24th of April, after a new farce called The Consultation.
From the paging at the back of the title page (4) the Dramatis Personae should seem to be wanting in this copy.
The part of Lycoris was performed by the Italian boy, and the famous Margarita de l'Epine, (commonly call'd Greber's Peg) probably also performed in it. E.M.

THE LOVES of *ERGASTO.* A PASTORAL. Represented at the Opening of the QUEEN's THEATRE IN THE *HAY-MARKET.* Compos'd by Signior *GIACOMO GREBER.* LONDON, Printed for *Jacob Tonson*, within *Grays-Inn* Gate next *Grays-Inn* Lane. 1705.

LI AMORI di *ERGASTO.* PASTORALE. Da Rappresentarsi nell' Apertura del' TEATRO DI SUA Maestà Britannica. Posta in Musica per Il' Sig. *GIACOMO GREBER.* MDCCV.

THE LOVES of *ERGASTO.* A PASTORAL. Represented at the Opening of the QUEEN's THEATRE IN THE *HAY-MARKET.* Compos'd by Signior *GIACOMO GREBER.* LONDON, Printed for *Jacob Tonson*, within *Grays-Inn* Gate next *Grays-Inn* Lane. 1705.

Bodleian: Gli amori d'Ergasto: MAL.46(4) Illinois: x782.6/G79A1705

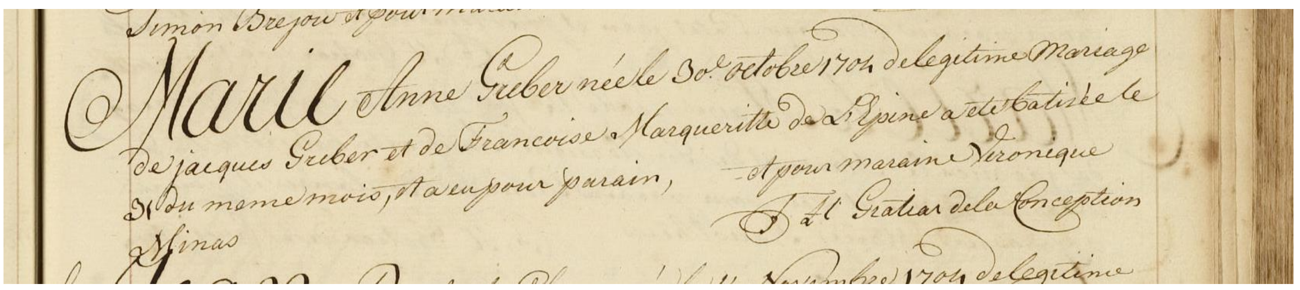


LI AMORI di *ERGASTO.* PASTORALE. Da Rappresentarsi nell' Apertura del' TEATRO DI SUA Maestà Britannica. Posta in Musica per Il' Sig. *GIACOMO GREBER.* MDCCV.

THE LOVES of *ERGASTO.* A PASTORAL. Represented at the Opening of the QUEEN's THEATRE IN THE *HAY-MARKET.* Compos'd by Signior *GIACOMO GREBER.* LONDON, Printed for *Jacob Tonson*, within *Grays-Inn* Gate next *Grays-Inn* Lane. 1705.

Princeton: Special Collections, Rare Books 3761.45.359. The Chicago scan is too weak for reproduction [PR3505.G5L8 1705], but it has a bilingual title page similar to Princeton and Illinois.

Illustration 3: Chapter Two, registration of Marie Anne Greber, born 30 Oct.1704, baptised the following day in Roman Catholic Franse Kapel. It states that Greber and Margarita were legitimately married. The godfather's name is blank. Perhaps only one witness, the godmother, was required.



Marie Anne Greber née le 30e octobre 1704 de legitime Mariage de jacques Greber et de Francoise Marguerite de L'Epine a été batisée le 31 du meme mois, et a eu pour parain, et pour maraine Veronique
St Gratias de la Conception

Archief van de Burgerlijke Stand: Amsterdam, Doopregister: NL-SAA-24062564.

Illustration 4: Chapter Four [72]

Paul Rubens (1622–23), ‘Head of Cyrus Brought to Queen Tomyris’

,

Museum of Fine Art, Boston

Illustration 5: Chapter Four [73] *Thomyris* – Persian Invasion map.

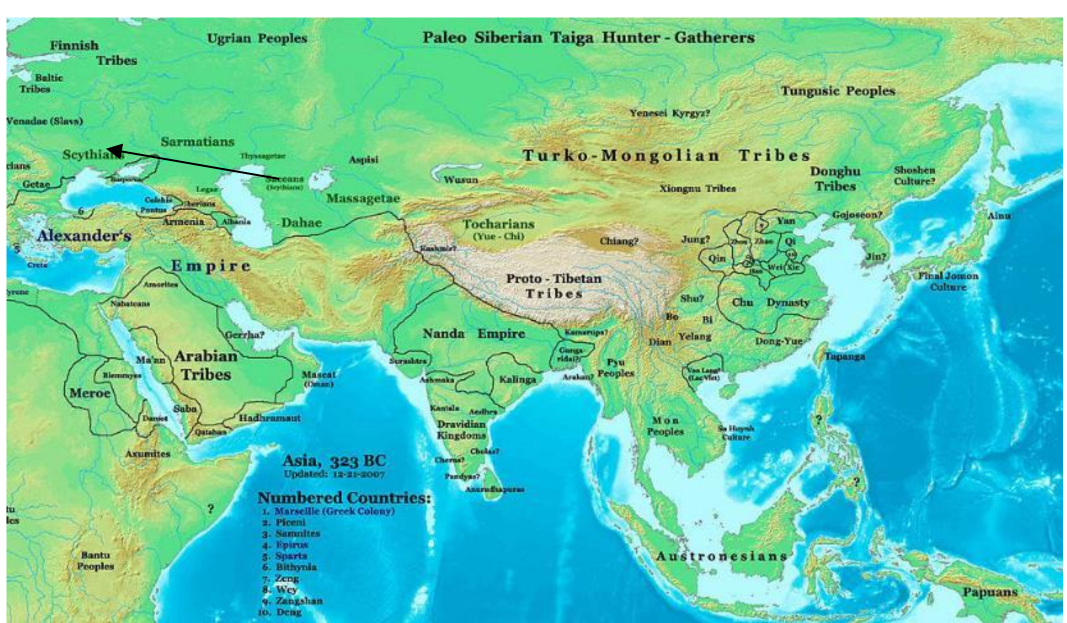


Illustration 6: Chapter Five [25]: *Almahide* – Italian or Austrian origin?

L'AMORE
TRA'
NEMICI
OPERA COMICA.
DEL SIGNOR
GIACINTO ANDREA
CICOGNINI
Fiorentino.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE III" NAPOLI

IN VENETIA M.DC.LXII.
Per Nicolò Pezzana.
Con Licenza de' Superiori, e Priuilegio.

XVI. 4. 326 2656

Die Liebe
Vnter denen Feinden.
An dem Glorwürdigsten
Geburts-Tag
Ihro Röm. Kayserl. und Königl.
Majestät
JOSEPHI
Deß Ersten/
Auff Allergnädigsten Befelch
Ihro Röm. Kayserl. und Königl.
Majestät
AMALIÆ
WILHELMINÆ
Wälsch gesungen vorgestellet
Im Jahr 1708.
Mit der Music zu denen Worten
Deß P. Attilio Ariosti.
Gedruckt zu Wienn bey den Cosmerovischen Erben/ der R. K. M. Hof-Buchdruckerey.

Venice 1662
[http://books.google.com]

Vienna 1708
Bayerische StaatsBibliothek: Sig.Her 2656

ALMAHIDE.

OPERA.

DEDICATA

A Sua Eccellenza Il Signor

Giovanni Wencislao Conte di

GALLASSO,

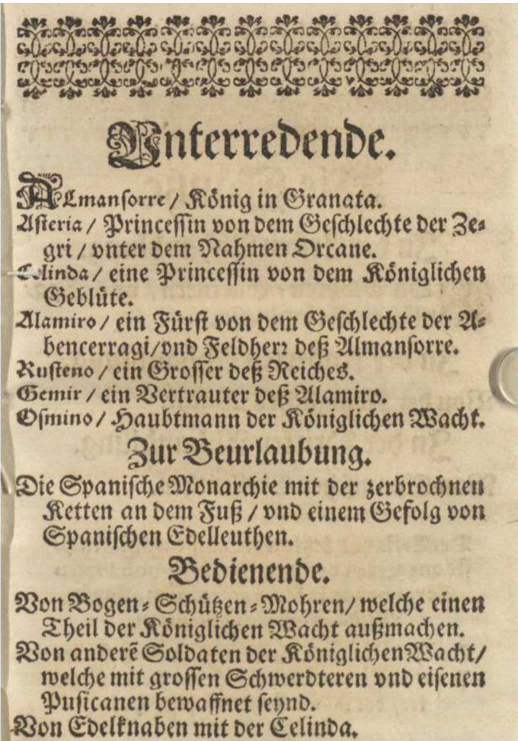
Conte del Sac. Rom. Imperio, Duca di Lucera, Signore di Fridland, Gravenstein, Richemberg, *&c.* Ciambellano e Consigliere di Stato di S. M. Ces. Gran Marescialio di Boemia, & Inviato Straordinario delle MAESTA LORO, CESAREA e CATTOLICA presso S. M. La REGINA.

LONDON:

Printed for *Jacob Tonson*, within *Gray's-Inn Gate* next *Gray's-Inn-Lane*. 1710.

London 1710 [HT: T087191]

Illustration 7: Chapter Five [27]: *Almahide* – Dramatis Personae



Unterredende.

Almanſorre / König in Granata.
Aſteria / Princeſſin von dem Geſchlechte der Zegri / vnter dem Nahmen Orcane.
Celinda / eine Princeſſin von dem Königlichen Geblüte.
Alamiro / ein Fürſt von dem Geſchlechte der Abencerragi / vnd Feldherr deß Almanſorre.
Ruſteno / ein Groſſer deß Reiches.
Gemir / ein Vertrauter deß Alamiro.
Oſmino / Haubtmann der Königlichen Wacht.

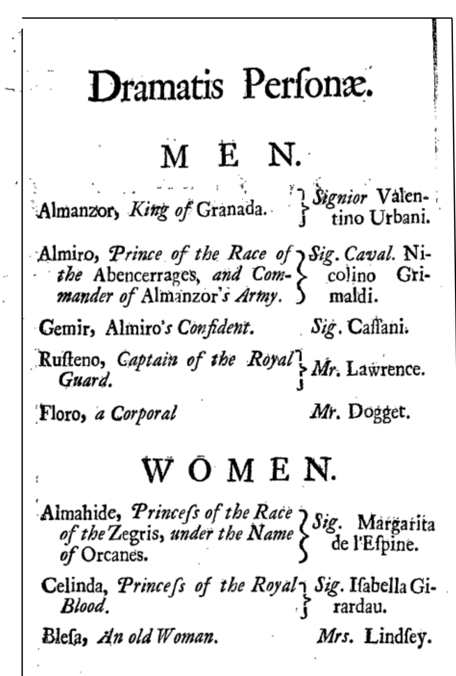
Zur Beurlaubung.

Die Spaniſche Monarchie mit der zerbrochnen Ketten an dem Fuß / vnd einem Gefolg von Spaniſchen Edelleuthen.

Bedienende.

Von Bogen-Schützen-Mohren / welche einen Theil der Königlichen Wacht außmachen.
Von anderẽ Soldaten der Königlichen Wacht / welche mit groſſen Schwerdteren vnd eiſenen Puſicanen bewaffnet ſeynd.
Von Edelknaben mit der Celinda.

Bayerische StaatsBibliothek, Slg.Her 2656



Dramatis Perſonæ.

M E N.

Almanzor, *King of* Granada.	*Signior* Valentino Urbani.
Almiro, *Prince of the Race of the* Abencerrages, *and Commander of* Almanzor's *Army.*	*Sig. Caval.* Nicolino Grimaldi.
Gemir, Almiro's *Confident.*	*Sig.* Caſſani.
Ruſteno, *Captain of the Royal Guard.*	*Mr.* Lawrence.
Floro, *a Corporal*	*Mr.* Dogget.

W O M E N.

Almahide, *Princeſs of the Race of the* Zegris, *under the Name of* Orcanes.	*Sig.* Margarita de l'Eſpine.
Celinda, *Princeſs of the Royal Blood.*	*Sig.* Iſabella Girardau.
Bleſa, *An old Woman.*	*Mrs.* Lindſey.

HT: D2210 (Wing CD-ROM, 1996)

Cast for *Amor tra nemici* 1708		*Almahide* 1710
Almansorre	–	Almanzor
Asteria	–	Almahide
Celinda	–	Celinda
Alamiro	–	Almiro
Rusteno	–	Rusteno
Gemir	–	Gemir
Osmino	–	[removed]
Crowds: guards, soldiers swordsmen, page boys, brass players ('*eisene Pusicanen*')	–	comic characters, Floro, Blesa.

Illustration 8: Chapter Five [33] L'amori tra nemici – Giacinto Andrea Cicognini (librettist), Nicolò Pezzana (printer/publisher), composer unknown

L'AMORE
TRA
NEMICI
OPERA COMIÇA.
DEL SIGNOR
GIACINTO ANDREA
CICOGNINI
Fiorentino.

IN VENETIA M. DC. LXII.
Per Nicolò Pezzana.
Con Licenza de' Superiori, e Priuilegio.

Perſonaggi.

Hippolito Prencipe.
Erneſto di nome, mà Filauro figlio di Roberto Rè di Sardegna.
Firalto Duca, Nepote del Rè di Napoli.
Aurelia infanta ſorella di Tarquinia.
Iſabella Matrona di Corte.
Girello ſeruitore di Erneſto.
Sparnacchia Seruitore di Hippolito.
Ridolfo Rè di Napoli.
Tarquinia Principeſſa figlia di Ridolfo
Gratiano Conſiglier del Rè.

La Scena ſi finge l'anticamera del Rè di Napoli.

L'Amore tra nemici (1662), different characters and plot from *Amor tra nemici* and *Almahide*.

Illustration 9: Chapter Five [10]

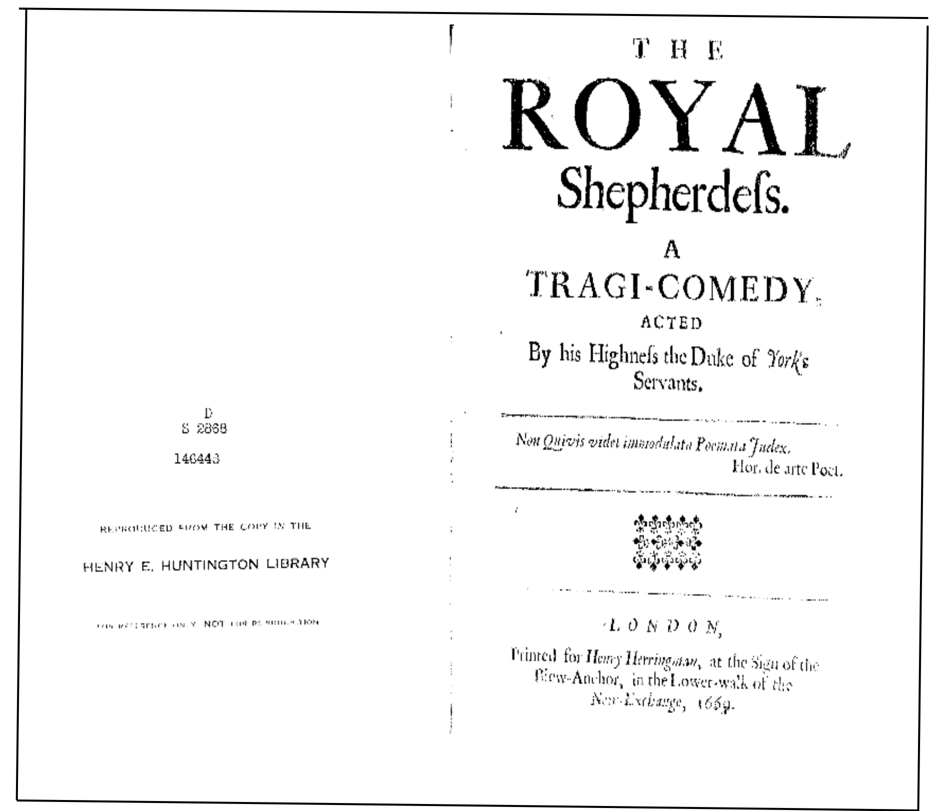
Marco Ricci (1676–1730), 'A rehearsal for *Pyrrhus & Demetrius*' (1708), London, E.C. Graham Coll.
Sources: Roach, 'Cavaliere Nicolini: London's First Opera Star' (1976; p.193); E.W. White, 'The Rehearsal of an Opera', *Theatre Notebook*, 1960; R. Leppert, 'Imagery, musical confrontation, and cultural difference in early 18th–century London', *Early Music*, 1986.
Description: [Left to right] Three upper strings (Consort of viols?); Haym (cello); ?Dieupart (harpsichord); Nicolini (red); Baroness (fan); Tofts (white); Margarita (muff); Pepusch (standing); Heidegger? (seated).

Illustration 10: Chapter Five [41] fn.

Den 4. Junii Mittwoch Morgens giengen wir
abermal zu dem Postmeister, da wir dann unsern Paß
von dem Secretario aus dem Haag zeigen mußten.
Darauf zeichnete er in eine Liste nicht allein unsere Na-
men und Condition, sondern auch das Aussehen, Al-
ter, ꝛc. darauf wir die Fracht bezahlen mußten, und
davor einen Zettel bekamen, daß uns Capitain Hondt
in das Backet-Boot Dolphin aufnehmen sollte.

This extract is from Uffenbach's *Merkwürdige Reisen*, 'Reisen durch Engelland', Ueberfahrt. He and his brother meet the postmaster, show their pass issued from the Hague, whereupon they are provided with a list of restricting conditions, and to pay baggage before being issued with tickets for the packet boat, Dolphin, with Captain Hondt.

Illustration 11: Chapter Five [65] Shadwell, 1669



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S 2868
146443

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FOR REFERENCE ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION

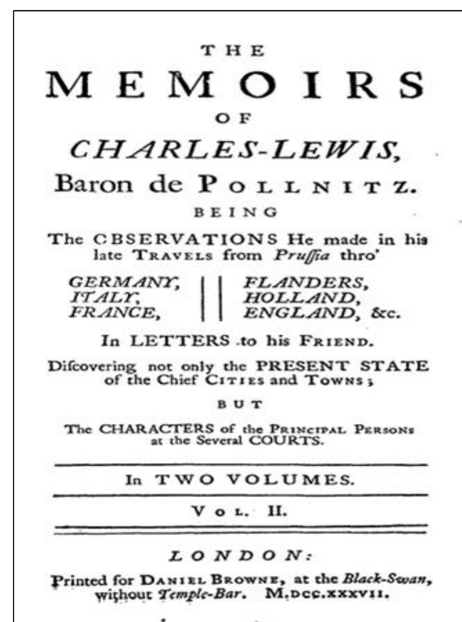
THE
ROYAL
Shepherdess.
A
TRAGI-COMEDY,
ACTED
By his Highness the Duke of *York's*
Servants.

Non Quivis videt immodulata Poemata Judex.
Hor. de arte Poet.

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Herringman*, at the Sign of the
Blew-Anchor, in the Lower-walk of the
New-Exchange, 1669.

HT – Huntington Library: S2868/146448

Illustration 12: Chapter One [108]
Pollnitz *Memoirs* title page (HT)



THE
MEMOIRS
OF
CHARLES-LEWIS,
Baron de POLLNITZ.
BEING
The OBSERVATIONS He made in his late TRAVELS from *Pruſſia* thro'
GERMANY, ITALY, FRANCE, | *FLANDERS, HOLLAND, ENGLAND,* &c.
In LETTERS to his FRIEND.
Diſcovering not only the PRESENT STATE of the Chief CITIES and TOWNS;
BUT
The CHARACTERS of the PRINCIPAL PERSONS at the Several COURTS.

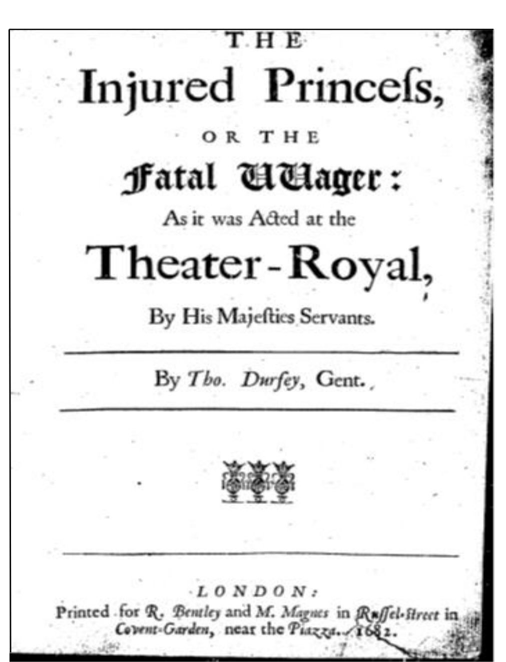
In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
Printed for DANIEL BROWNE, at the *Black-Swan,* without *Temple-Bar.* M.DCC.XXXVII.

Ref: Google Books

Illustration 13: The Durfey version of Cymbeline
Chapter Five [65] title page



THE
Injured Princeſs,
OR THE
Fatal Wager:
As it was Acted at the
Theater-Royal,
By His Majeſties Servants.

By *Tho. Durfey,* Gent.

LONDON:
Printed for *R. Bentley* and *M. Magnes* in *Ruſſel-ſtreet* in *Covent-Garden,* near the *Piazza.* 1682.

HT: D2735

Illustration 14: *A New Ballad* (1708), Chapter One [37]

The Ballad is evidence of Whig propaganda attacking Queen Anne's new favourite, Abigail Masham, which led to the ousting of the Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Sarah's adviser, Arthur Maynwaring, had persuaded her that she could control Whig politics, and advance the Whig cause through her close relationship with the Queen. The relationship with Anne dated from 1682 and became progressively closer, so that by 1691, Anne was insisting on the use of aliases, Mrs Morley and Mrs Freeman, as a token of their intimacy. When Anne became Queen, Sarah's appointments became more prestigious – 'mistress of the robes, groom of the stole, keeper of the privy purse, and ranger of Windsor Park' with a salary of over £6000 (James Falkner in ODNB, 'Churchill, Sarah'). Such a position was critical for the fortunes of the Whigs, which meant that a rift with the Queen was for them, a loss of influence. The knowledge that Abigail, a cousin of the Tory Secretary of State, Robert Harley, was the new favourite by 1707, may have instigated the 1708 Ballad.

Historical Texts note:

On Abigail Masham's intrigues with Harley, attacking the latter. With 16 stanzas on side 1. A song - "When as Qu----n A---- of great renown". F. H. Ellis in 'Poems on affairs of state', vol.7 p.306–8 gives evidence for dating this between February and July 1708, and suggests that it may have been written by Arthur Mainwaring. Foxon dates it "[1710?]".

[*A New Ballad* over]

A New BALLAD.

162. m. 70
11

To the Tune of *Fair Rosamond.*

I.

WHen as Qu--- *A*--- of great Renown
Great Britain's Scepter ſway'd,
Beſides the Church, ſhe dearly lov'd
A Dirty Chamber-Maid.

II.

O! *Abi*--- that was her Name,
She ſtarch'd and ſtitch'd full well,
But how ſhe pierc'd this Royal Heart,
No Mortal Man can tell.

III.

However for ſweet Service done,
And Cauſes of great Weight,
Her Royal Miſtreſs made her, Oh!
A Miniſter of State.

IV.

Her Secretary ſhe was not,
Becauſe ſhe could not write;
But had the Conduct and the Care
Of ſome dark Deeds at Night.

V.

The Important Paſs of the Back-Stairs
Was put into her Hand;
And up ſhe brought the greateſt R---
Grew in this fruitful Land.

VI.

And what am I to do, quoth he,
Oh! for this Favour great!
You are to teach me how, quoth ſhe,
To be a Sl--- of State.

VII.

My Diſpoſitions they are good,
Miſchievous and a Lyar;
A ſaucy, proud, ungrateful B---,
And for the Church entire.

VIII.

Great Qualities, quoth *Machiavel!*
And ſoon the World ſhall ſee,
What you can for your Miſtreſs do,
With one ſmall Daſh of me.

IX.

In Counſel ſweet, Oh! then they ſat,
Where ſhe did Griefs unfold,
Had long her grateful Heart oppreſs'd;
And thus her Tale ſhe told.

X.

From Shreds and Dirt in low Degree,
From Scorn in piteous State,
A Dutcheſs bountiful has made
Of me a Lady Great.

XI.

Some Favours ſhe has heap'd upon
This undeſerving Head,
That for to eaſe me, from their Weight,
Good God, that ſhe were dead!

XII.

Oh! let me then ſome means find out,
This Teazing Debt to pay:
I think, quoth he, to get her Place,
Would be the only way.

XIII.

For leſs than you ſhe muſt be brought,
Or I can never ſee
How you can pay the Boons receiv'd,
When you are leſs than ſhe.

XIV.

My Arguments lies in few words,
Yet not the leſs in Weight;
And oft with good Succeſs we uſe
Such, in Affairs of State.

XV.

Quoth ſhe, 'tis not to be withſtood,
I'll puſh it from this Hour:
I will be grateful. or at leaſt
I'll have it in my Power.

XVI.

Quoth he, ſince my poor Counſel gains
Such favour in your Eye,
I have a ſmall Requeſt to make,
I hope you won't deny.

XVII. S

XVII.

Some Bounties I like you have had
  From one that bears the Wand,
And very fain I would, like you,
  Repay them if I can.

XVIII.

Witness ye Heavens! how I wish
  To slide into his Place;
Only to shew him Countenance,
  When he is in Disgrace.

XIX.

Oh! would you use your Interest great
  With our most Gracious Q----,
Such things I'd quickly bring about
  This Land hath never seen.

XX.

Give me but once her Royal Ear,
  Such Notes I'll in it sound,
As from her sweet Repose shall make
  Her Royal Head turn round.

XXI.

He spoke, and straitway it was done,
  She gain'd him free access;
God long preserve our Gracious Q-----,
  The Parliament no less!

XXII.

Now from this Hour it was remark'd,
  That there was such Resort
Of many great and high Divines
  Unto the Q-----'s fair Court.

XXIII.

Mysterious things that long were hid,
  Began to come to light;
And many of the Church's Sons
  Were in a Zealous Fright.

XXIV.

'Twas said, with Sighs and anxious Looks,
  A General Abroad,
Had won more Battles than their Friends,
  The *French*, could well afford.

XXV.

That so much Mony had been sent,
  Such needless things t' advance;
It sure was time, as in Reigns pass'd,
  Some now should come from *France*.

XXVI.

At last they spoke it out, and said,
  'Twas of the last import,
That there should be a thorough Change
  In Army, Fleet, and Court.

XXVII.

For wicked *J-----y M-----b*
  So madly push'd things on,
That should he unto *Paris* go,
  The Church was quite undone.

XXVIII.

The Wise and Pious Q------ gave ear
  To this devout Advice,
And honest sturdy *S------d*,
  Was whip'd up in a Trice.

XXIX.

A vast! cry'd out the Admiral;
  No-near, you Rogues, no-near!
Your Ship will be amongst the Rocks,
  If at this rate you steer!

XXX.

With that the Man that kept the Cash,
  Slipt in a word or two;
Which made an old Acquaintance think
  This Game would never do.

XXXI.

He but one Eye had in his Head,
  But with that one he saw,
These Priests might bring about his Ears
  A thing we call Club-Law.

XXXII.

He on his Pillow laid his Head,
  And on mature Debate
With that, and what his Wife resolv'd,
  To play a Trick of State.

XXXIII.

Like Dr. *B----s* much renown'd,
  Of one he did take care;
Then slipt his Cloak, and left the rest
  All in most sad Despair.

XXXIV.

The Consequence of this was such,
  Our Good and Gracious Q-----,
Not knowing why she e'er went wrong,
  Came quickly right again [illegible]

X[illegible]

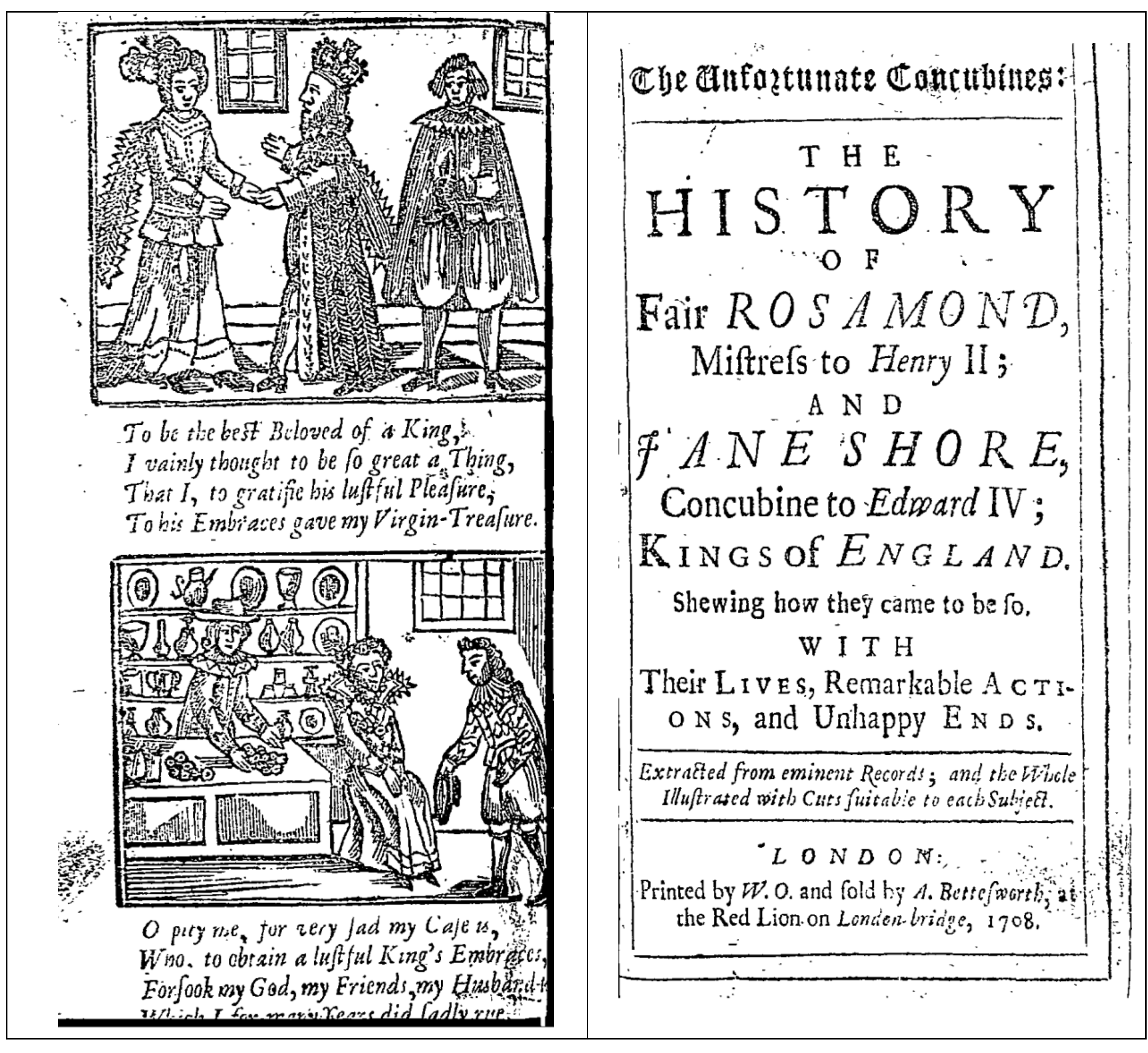
However, taking saf[illegible] [illegible]ice
  From those that [illegible] her well,
She *Ab----l* turn'd ou[illegible] [illegible]oors,
  And hang'd up *M*[illegible]*el*.

F I N I S.

Illustration 15: Chapter One [36]

The Unfortunate Concubines:
The History of Fair Rosamond,
Mistress to Henry II;
And
Jane Shore, Concubine to Edward IV;
Kings of England
Showing how they came to be so
With their Lives, Remarkable Actions,
And Unhappy Ends
London, 1708

This counteracts the Whig propaganda in the use of the tune 'Fair Rosamond' to mock Queen Anne's new favourite. *The Unfortunate Concubines* shows how innocent women have been abused by kings. Rosamond has been damaged by Henry II, portrayed as the model for the Duke of Marlborough, and no amount of chauvinistic propaganda in Act 3 of the opera could change this.



To be the best Beloved of a King,
I vainly thought to be ſo great a Thing,
That I, to gratifie his luſtful Pleaſure,
To his Embraces gave my Virgin-Treaſure.

O pity me, for very ſad my Caſe is,
Who, to obtain a luſtful King's Embraces,
Forſook my God, my Friends, my Husband

The Unfortunate Concubines:

THE
HISTORY
OF
Fair *ROSAMOND*,
Miſtreſs to *Henry* II;
AND
JANE SHORE,
Concubine to *Edward* IV;
KINGS of *ENGLAND*.
Shewing how they came to be ſo.
WITH
Their LIVES, Remarkable ACTIONS, and Unhappy ENDS.

Extracted from eminent Records; and the Whole Illuſtrated with Cuts ſuitable to each Subject.

LONDON:
Printed by *W. O.* and ſold by *A. Betteſworth*, at the Red Lion on *London-bridge*, 1708.

Illustration 16: Chapter One [38] ‘A New Ballad to the tune of Chivy Chace’.
Foxon, N88
"When good Queen Bess did rule this land". Imprint from Foxon. On the relationship of Queen Elizabeth and Essex, implying that Queen Anne should dismiss Marlborough (1708).

Note: The year 1708 was early for a call to dismiss Marlborough, but it appears to have been the result of rivalry between Harley and Godolphin for the position of first minister (Jan.1708). Marlborough backed Godolphin, and threaten the Queen he would resign if Godolphin left office. Reluctantly, the Queen had to remove Harley (Marlborough, ODNB). No doubt, Harley’s supporters were behind this ballad.

The ballad tune refers to an English hunting party led by Earl of Northumberland in the Cheviot Hills on the Scottish border. The Scottish Earl Douglas interpreting this as an invasion of Scotland, responded, and a bloody battle ensued with a victory for the English. The ballad tune was popularised by Sir Philip Sidney, Ben Jonson, and Joseph Addison. The tune seems to have been well known in 1708. (*The Oxford Book of Ballads*, Arthur Quiller-Couch, 1920).

A NEW

BALLAD.

To the Tune of, Chivy Chace.

WHEN Good Queen *Beſs* did Rule this Land,
A Lady of Great Fame;
There liv'd a Man of Great Command,
And *Eſſex* was his Name.

This *Eſſex* did ſome Wond'rous Things,
By Sea and Land he Fought;
He Serv'd the *French*, Drub'd *Spaniſh* Kings,
But did not this for Nought.

Places and Penſions, Grants good Store,
The Queen did give unto him;
The more he had, he crav'd the more,
Which did at laſt undo him.

This Earl grew Proud, and not Content
With his too happy Caſe;
His Power made him Inſolent,
Which did the Queen amaze.

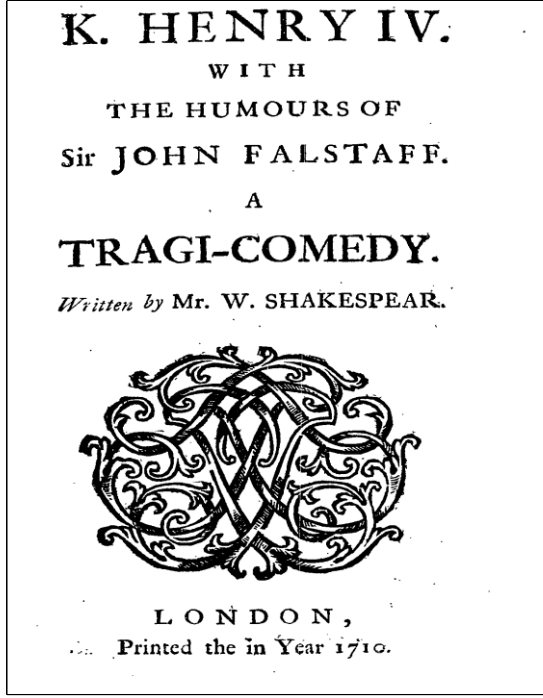
The Gen'ral thought 'twixt Hopes and Fears,
High Words wou'd gain upon her;
The Queen took Courage, boxt his Ears,
And bid him learn more Manners.

He Pufft and Blow'd, complain'd of Fate,
And his hard Uſage too;
Swore, She ſhou'd move ſome Miniſters of State,
But that ſhe wou'd not do.

He Treaſon hatcht, and often ſpread,
When to prevent this Evil,
The Queen Enrag'd, lopt off his Head,
And then he was more Civil.

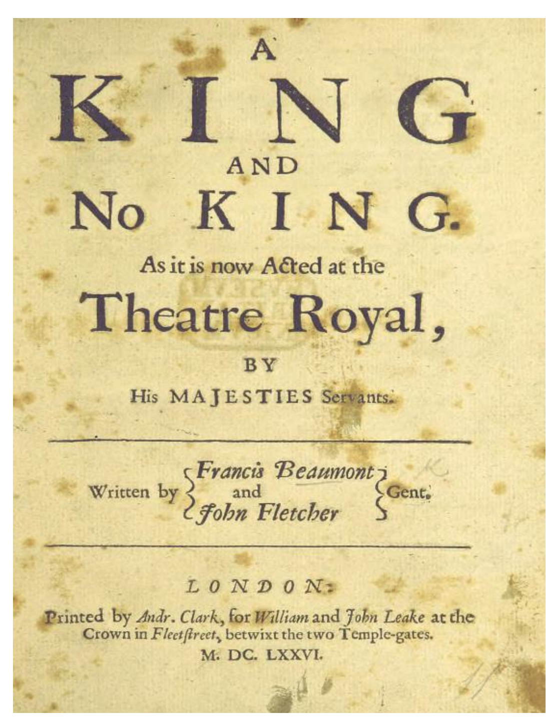
Thus Reign'd Queen *Beſs*: Thus Bleſt be God!
Her Subjects Hearts She won;
She bid Her Gen'rals Talk Big Abroad,
But, *HERE*, She'd Rule Alone.

Illustration 17: Chapter One [55] fn.122; Chapter Five [62], plus fn.118.



K. HENRY IV.
WITH
THE HUMOURS OF
Sir JOHN FALSTAFF.
A
TRAGI-COMEDY.
Written by Mr. W. SHAKESPEAR.

LONDON,
Printed the in Year 1710.



A
KING
AND
No KING.
As it is now Acted at the
Theatre Royal,
BY
His MAJESTIES Servants.

Written by *Francis Beaumont* and *John Fletcher* Gent.

LONDON:
Printed by *Andr. Clark*, for *William* and *John Leake* at the Crown in *Fleetstreet*, betwixt the two Temple-gates.
M. DC. LXXVI.

HT: T062213 (estc)

1676, Andr. Clark, For William & John Leake, no library or shelfmark available

Illustration 18: Chapter One [57]; Chapter Five [73]

Gloſſographia Anglicana Nova:
OR, A
DICTIONARY,
INTERPRETING
Such HARD WORDS of whatever Language, as are at preſent uſed in the Engliſh Tongue, with their *Etymologies*, *Definitions*, &c.

ALSO,
The Terms of Divinity, Law, Phyſick, Mathematicks, Hiſtory, Agriculture, Logick, Metaphyſicks, Grammar, Poetry, Muſick, Heraldry, Architecture, Painting, War, and all other Arts and Sciences are herein explain'd, from the beſt Modern Authors, as, Sir *Iſaac Newton*, Dr. *Harris*, Dr. *Gregory*, Mr. *Lock*, Mr. *Evelyn*, Mr. *Dryden*, Mr. *Blunt*, &c.

Very uſeful to all thoſe that deſire to underſtand what they read.

LONDON,
Printed for *Dan. Brown*, *Tim. Goodwin*, *John Walthoe*, *M. Newborough*, *John Nicholſon*, *Benj. Took*, *D. Midwinter*, and *Fran. Coggan*. 1707.

Illustration 19: six select copies of *Pastor Fido*

IL PASTOR FIDO

TRAGICOMEDIA
PASTORALE

DI BATTISTA GVARINI.

Al Sereniſs. D. Carlo Emanuele.
Duca di Sauoia &c. Dedicata.

Nelle Reali Nozze di S. A. con la Sereniſs. Infante
D. Caterina d'Auſtria.

LONDRA.

Per Giouanni Volfeo, a ſpeſe di
Giacopo Caſteluetri, M D X C I.

Il pastor fido, Guarini, 1591

HT: 12414 (STC 2nd ed.)

IL PASTOR FIDO:

OR

The faithfull Shepheard.

Translated out of Italian into *English.*

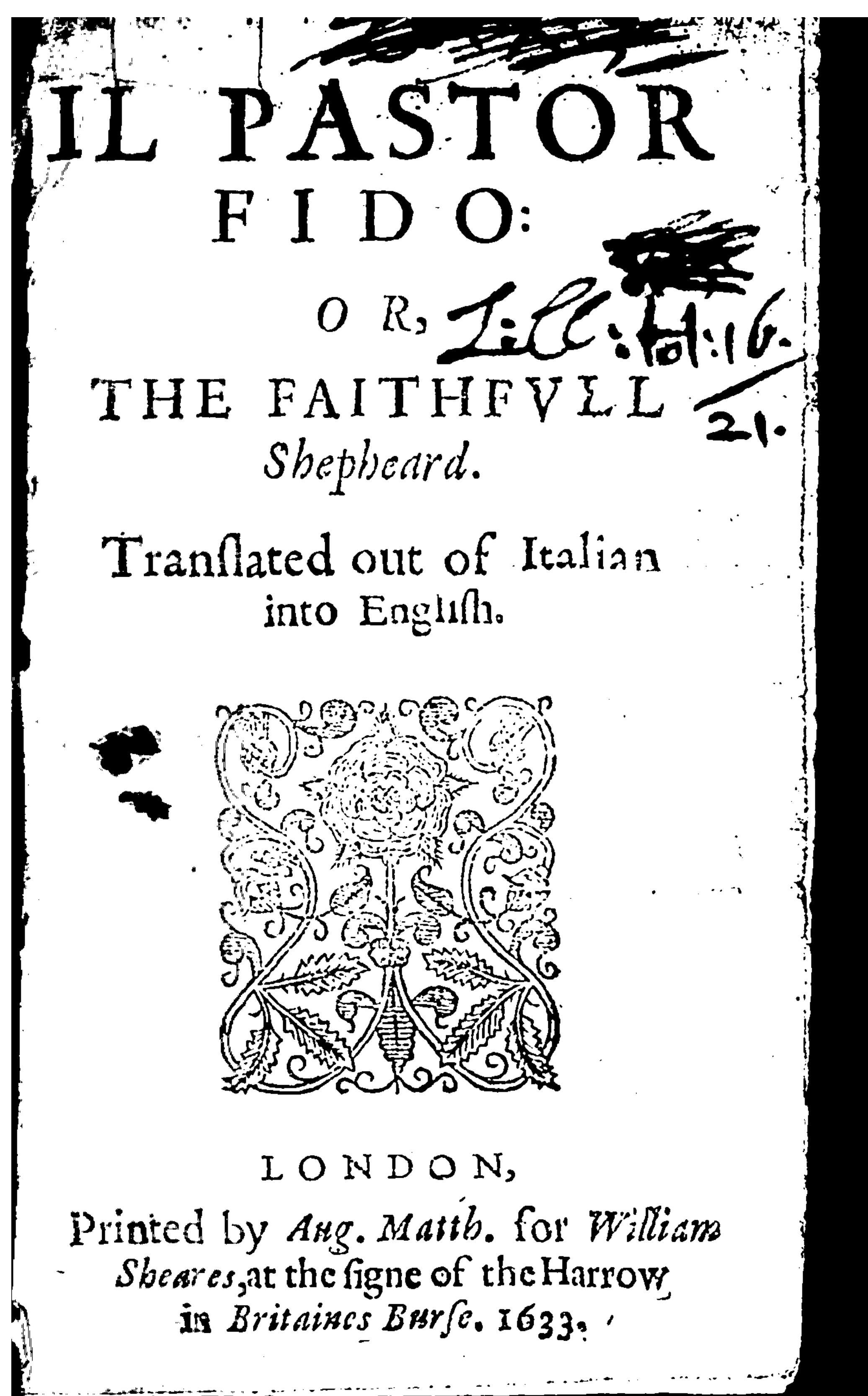
LONDON

Printed for Simon VVaterson.

1602.

Il pastor fido, trans. Charles & John Dymock, 1602

HT: T187509 (estc)



IL PASTOR
FIDO:
OR,
THE FAITHFVLL
Shepheard.

Tranſlated out of Italian
into Engliſh.

LONDON,
Printed by *Aug. Matth.* for *William*
Sheares, at the ſigne of the Harrow
in *Britaines Burſe*, 1633.

Il *pastor fido*, trans. by a ‘relation’ of Sir Edward Dymocke, 1633

HT: 12416 (STC 2nd ed.)

IL
PASTOR FIDO,
The faithfull Shepherd.

A PASTORALL

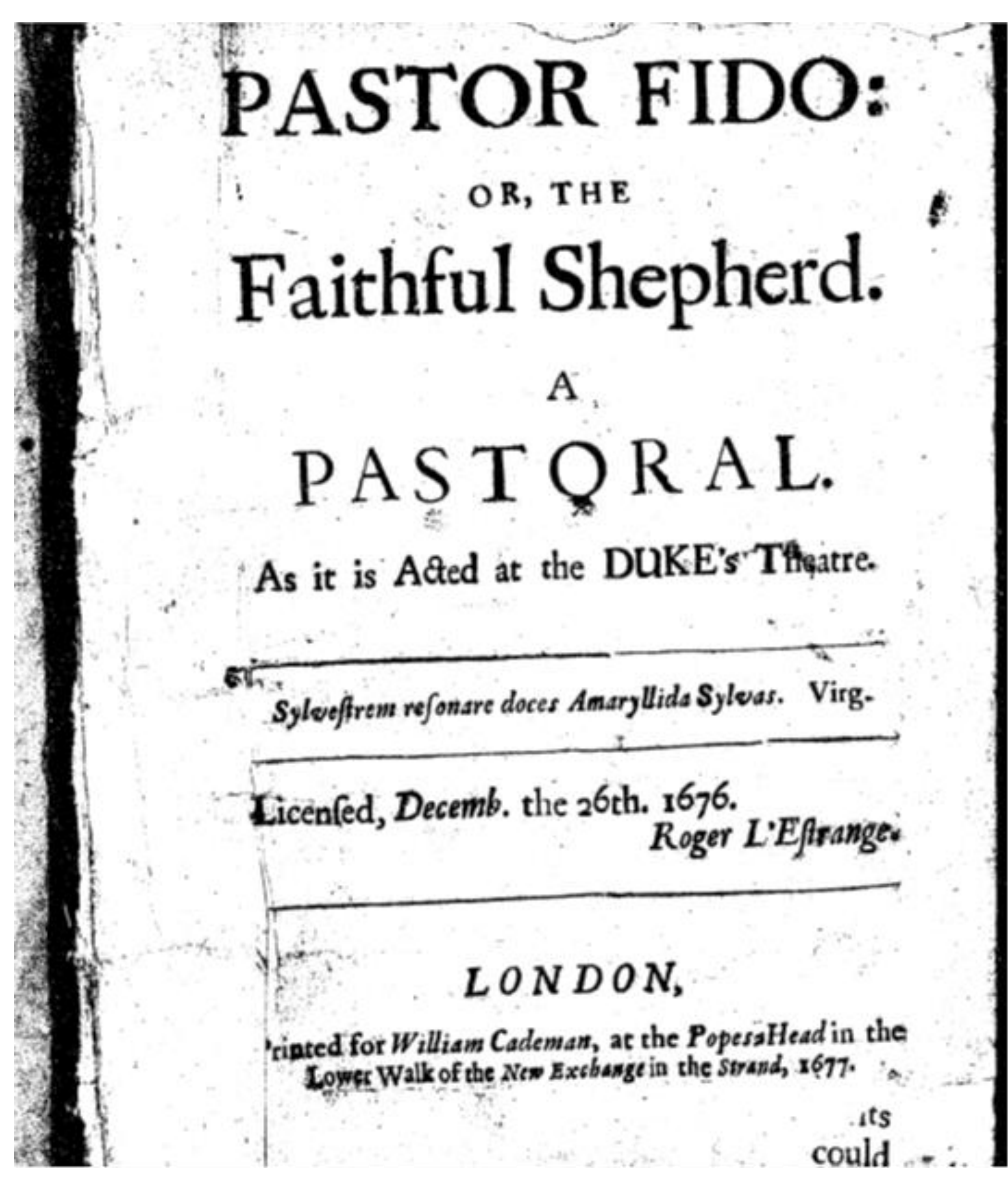
Written in Italian by *BAPTISTA GVARINI*, a Knight of ITALIE.

And *now Newly* Translated out of the ORIGINALL.

LONDON,
Printed by R. *Raworth*, M DC XLVII.

Il pastor fido, trans, Richard Fanshawe, 1647

HT: G2175 (Wing)


PASTOR FIDO:

OR, THE

Faithful Shepherd.

A

PASTORAL.

As it is Acted at the DUKE's Theatre.

Sylvestrem resonare doces Amaryllida Sylvas. Virg.

Licensed, *Decemb.* the 26th. 1676.
Roger L'Estrange.

LONDON,

Printed for *William Cademan*, at the *Popes-Head* in the Lower Walk of the *New Exchange* in the *Strand*, 1677.

Il pastor fido, Elkanah Settle production, 1676, Huntington: Rare books 125576

Il pastor fido, Rossi-Handel, 1712, HT: T025418 (estc)

Illustration 20: Ch.4 fn.66; Ch.1 [32]

AMADIS

TRAGEDIE

EN MUSIQVE.

Par Monſieur de Lully, Eſcuyer, Conſeiller Secretaire du Roy, Maiſon, Couronne de France, & de ſes Finances, & Sur-Intendant de la Muſique de Sa Majeſté.

A PARIS,
Par CHRISTOPHE BALLARD, ſeul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Muſique, ruë Saint Jean de Beauvais, au Mont-Parnaſſe.
ET SE VEND
A la Porte de l'Academie Royale de Muſique, ruë Saint Honoré.
M. DC. LXXXIV.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DE SA MAJESTE.

THE

British Enchanters:

OR,

No Magick like Love.

A

TRAGEDY.

As it is Acted at the

QUEEN'S THEATRE in the *Hay-Market.*

By Her MAJESTY's Sworn Servants.

LONDON,
Printed for *Jacob Tonſon,* within *Grays-Inn* Gate next *Grays-Inn* Lane. 1706.

Amadis (Lully) 1684	*The British Enchanters* 1706/1710
http://imslp.org/wiki/File:Lully_-_amadis.pdf	HT: T099213 (estc)

Cast comparisons: *Amadis* and *The British Enchanters*

Amadis – Les personnages

MEN

King Lisuart of Great Britain [no part]
Emperor of Rome [no part]
Amadis: son of King Perion of Gaule
Florestan: natural son of King Perion, companion to Amadis, in love with Corisande
Arcalaus: evil sorcerer, enemy of Amadis, brother of Arcabonne and Ardan Canile [deceased]
Alquif: celebrated sorcerer, husband of Urgande
Ghost of Ardan Canile

WOMEN

Arcabonne: evil sorceress, sister of Arcalaus and Ardan Canile
Oriane: daughter of King Lisuart of Great Britain
Corisande: ruler of Gravesande, loves Florestan
Urgande: good enchantress, wife of Alquif

Knights, attendants, soldiers, infernal demons, charming nymphs, shepherds and shepherdesses, captives and gaolers, enchanted heroes and heroines.

[source: liner notes from Rousset recording of *Amadis*, Aparté, 2014]

Dramatis Perſonæ.

M E N.

Cælius, King of *Britain*, Father to *Oriana*.	Mr. *Betterton*.
Conſtantius, Emperor of *Rome*, in Love with *Oriana*.	Mr. *Booth*.
Amadis, a famous Knight-Adventurer, in Love with *Oriana*, and belov'd by her.	Mr. *Verbruggen*.
Floreſtan, Companion to *Amadis*, in Love with *Coriſanda*.	Mr. *Husbands*.
Lucius, a *Roman*.	
Arcalaus, an Enchanter, Enemy to *Amadis*.	Mr. *Bowman*.

W O M E N.

Arcabon, an Enchantreſs, Siſter to *Arcalaus*.	Mrs. *Barry*.
Oriana.	Mrs. *Bracegirdle*.
Coriſanda.	Mrs. *Porter*.
Urganda, a good Enchantreſs.	Mrs. *Bowman*.
Delia, her Attendant.	Mrs. *Baker*.

Officers and Guards attending *Cælius*; *Romans* attending *Conſtantius*; Ladies attending *Oriana*; Attendants to the ſeveral Enchanters; Knights and Ladies Captives; Singers and Dancers.

The SCENE in *BRITAIN*.

BL: General Reference Collection Huth109.
BLL01000478119

Amadis (Lully) 1684

The British Enchanters 1706/1710

Appendix 2: Music Examples

Examples 1–3: G. F. Saggione (attr.): *The Temple of Love*.

Source: University of Glasgow, Special Collections:
Songs in the new opera, call'd The Temple of Love/Compos'd by Signr. Gioseppe Fedelli Saggione [Sp Coll Ca 13-y.22] Walsh/Hare, London 1706.

Text ref.: [3/10].

Ex.1: 'Charming Roses', Eurilla, Act 1/i

Ex.1a, **1b:**

The Temple of Love. 3

Thyr. E'ER I change, or make Advances
To new Faces, may I die!
In delicious, balmy Trances,
By your dear enchanting Glances,
Ever raviſh'd let me lye!
E'er I change, &c.

Ex.1a: 'E'er I change', Thyrsis, Act 1/i

Ex.1b: (1a, continued, 'Ravish'd', Thyrsis)

Ex.2: 'Warbling, the Birds enjoying Sweet Pleasure, free and gay', Eurilla, Act 2/i

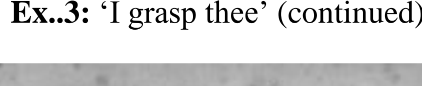
Ex.2: 'Warbling, the Birds (continued)

Ex..3: 'I grasp thee', Eurilla & Sylvander (duet), Act 3/i.

Sung by Sigra Gallia and Mr Laroon in the OPERA call'd ye Temple of Love. 28

Eurilla and Sylvander Sings

I Grasp thee, I Clasp thee dear Soul of my Pleasure,
of my Pleasure,
I Grasp thee, I Clasp thee dear Soul of my
my Dearest my Treasure,
Pleasure, of my Pleasure, my Fairest my Treasure, my
my Life embracing, my Blessing com — plying, halfe
Dearest embracing, my Blessing com — plying, halfe
Dying, my Dearest my Treasure, my
Dying, my Fairest my Treasure, my Fairest, my
Dearest my Treasure, my Dearest my Life, my
Treasure, my Fairest, my Dearest my Life, my



Ex..3: ‘I grasp thee’ (continued)

Ex..3: 'I grasp thee' (continued)

Ex..3: 'I grasp thee' (continued)

Examples 4–9: *Love's Triumph*, arias by Carlo Cesarini (Act 1), Giovanni del'Violone (Act 2), Francesco Gasparini (Act 3) – scene numbers not specified.

Source: University of Glasgow, Special Collections:
Songs from the new opera call'd Love's Triumph [Sp Coll Ca 13-y.26] Walsh/Hare, London 1708).

Ex.4: Cesarini, *Love's Triumph*, 'Spare my Sorrow, rural Pleasure!', Eurilla, Act 1.

4a: Cesarini, *Love's Triumph*, 'Let's laugh, and dance, and play', Neralbo, Act 1.

Sung by Mr Leveridge, in the OPERA call'd Love's Triumph.
Neralbo Sings.

LETS Laugh, and Dance, & Play, dull Care defy — — ing, Lets Laugh, and Dance, and play, dull Care de-fy — — — ing, dull Care defy — — — ing. Lets Laugh, and Dance, and Play, Lets Laugh & Dance & Play, dull Care defy — — — — — — — ing. No Swain thats bold and gay, can Fear deny — — ing. While Sheperds whine and Pray, the Nymph is Flying, how shoud they gett the Day, who're allways Dying. Who're allways Dying. Da Capo

2

Ex.4b: Cesarini, *Love's Triumph*, 'Do like the rest, Do like the best', Neralbo, Act 1.

Ex.5: del'Violone, *Love's Triumph*, 'Wanton Rover, Winds now sporting', Licisca, Act 2.

Ex.5a: del'Violone, *Love's Triumph*, 'Remember, Remember, Dissembler', Licisca, Act 2.

Ex.5b: del'Violone, *Love's Triumph*, 'Oh Love now hopes no more', Eurilla, Act 2.

Ex.6: Francesco Gasparini, *Love's Triumph*, 'Kind Hope, thou Dawn of Pleasure', Eurilla, Act 3.

Ex.7: del'Violone, *Love's Triumph* 'Delights all around', Licisca, Act 2.

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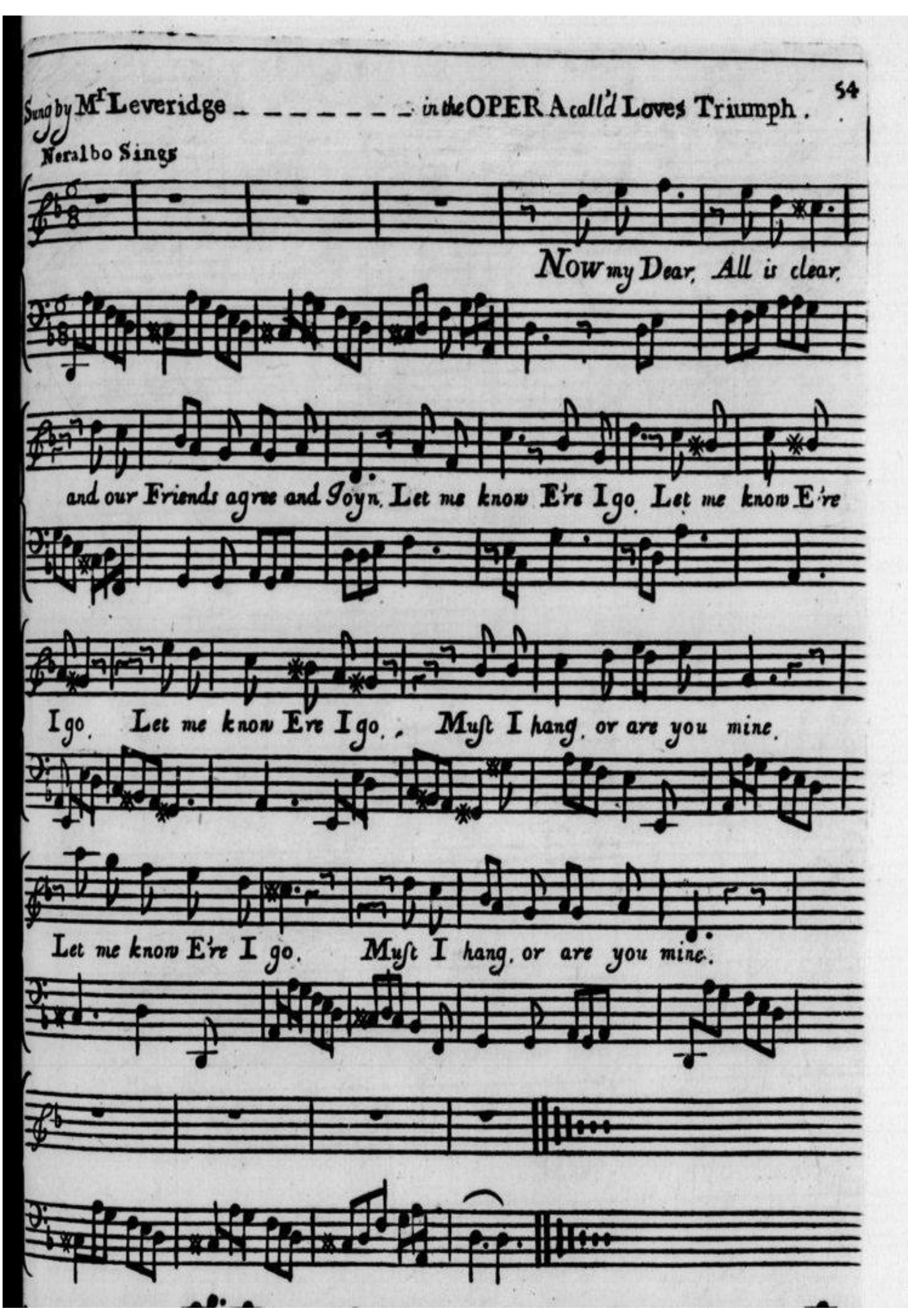
Ex.7: del'Violone, 'Delights all around' (continued)

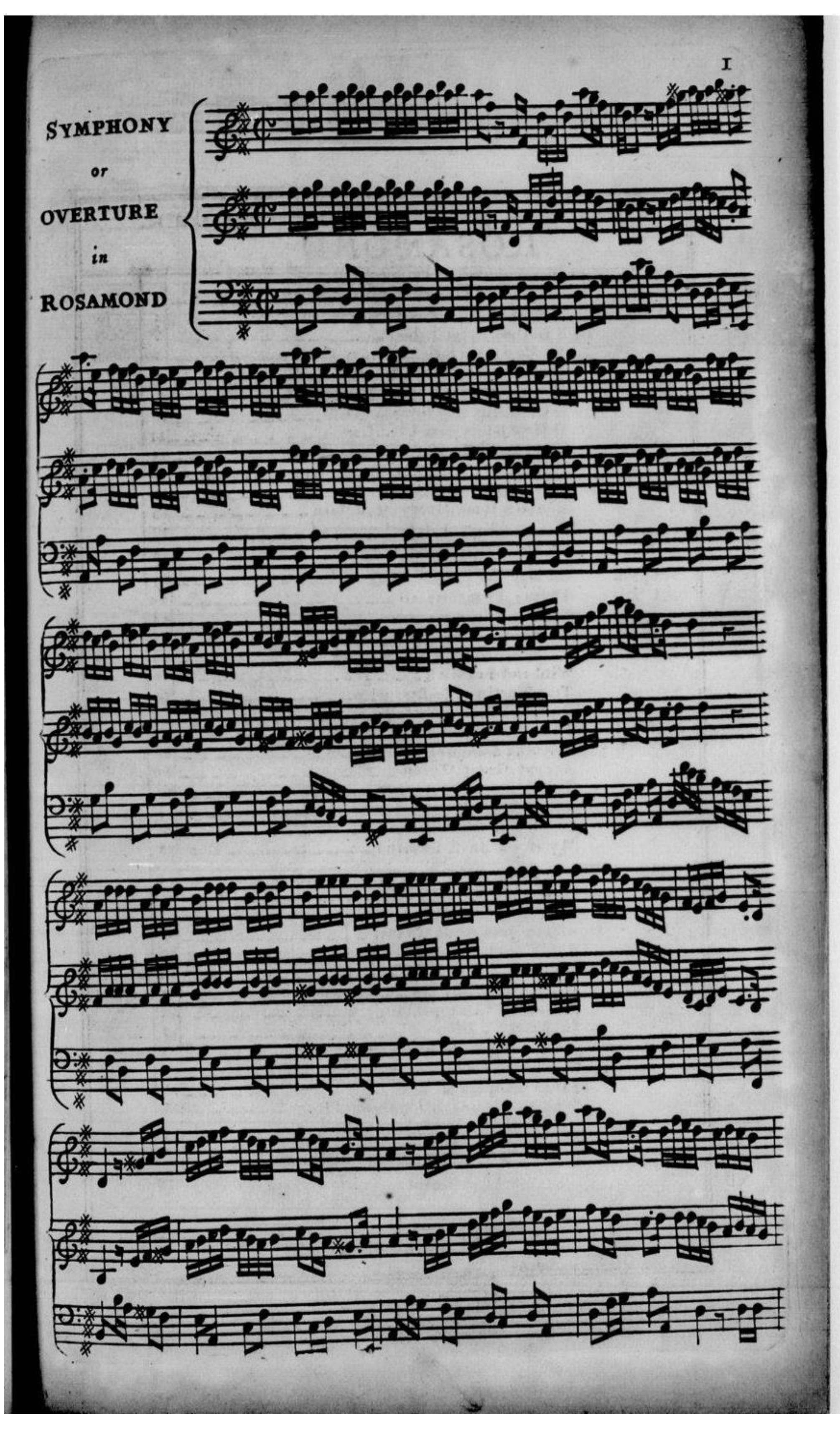
Ex.8: Gasparini, *Love's Triumph*, 'Now my Dear, all is clear', Neralbo, Act 3.



Ex.9: Carlo Cesarini, *Love's Triumph*, 'A secret Joy I share', Liso, Act 3.

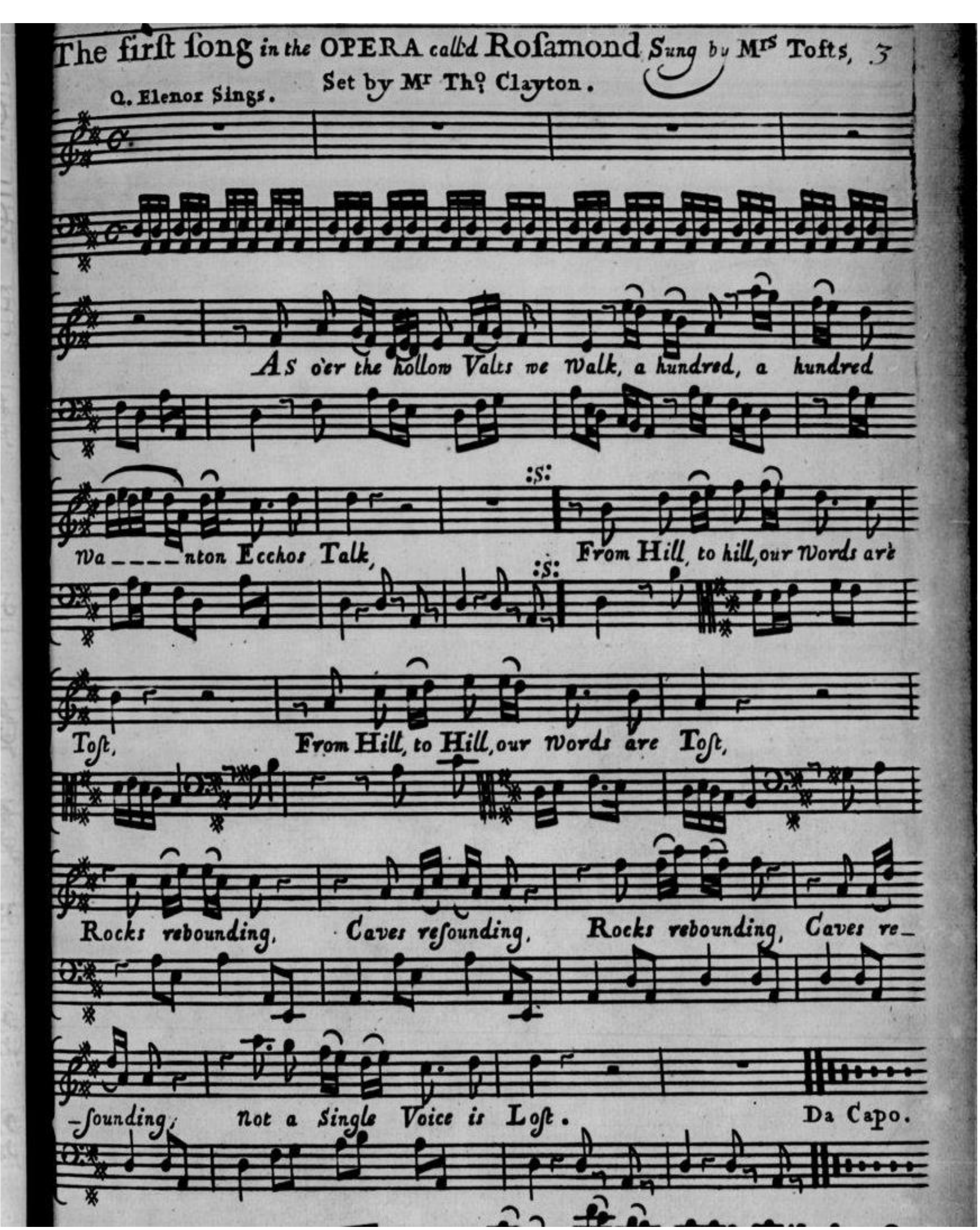
Ex.10: Clayton, *Rosamond* Overture (Ch.4)

Source: online Gallica Bibliothèque: <généralcatalogue.bnf.fr> *Songs in the New Opera call'd Rosamond as perform'd at the Theatre Royall compos'd by Mr. Tho. Clayton.*



Ex.11: Clayton, *Rosamond* Overture, B section

Ex.12: Clayton, *Rosamond*, ‘As o’er the hollow Vaults we walk, A hundred Eccho’s round us talk’, Queen Elenor, Act 1/i.



Ex.13: Clayton, *Arsinoe*, 'Queen of Darkness' Ormondo & Delbo, Act 1/i.

Source: Harvard Houghton Library – [HTC-LC; M1500.C685 A6 1705]

Clayton, *Arsinoe Queen of Cyprus*.

guide me, lead me guide me lead me lead me lead me
where y Nymph whom I a-dore I adore I adore
where the Nymph whom I adore whom I a-dore
sleeping dreaming sleeping dreaming sleeping
dreaming thinks of Love & me no more thinks of
Love & me no more and me no more guide me lead

where the Nymph whom I adore
Guide me lead me
where the Nymph whom I a dore
Guide me, lead me, guide me lead me guide me lead me
lead me lead me
where the Nymph whom I a dore I adore
I adore
where the Nymph whom I adore whom I a=
=dore
28

Ex.14: Scarlatti, Bononcini, *Thomyris*, 'Pretty Warbler', Cleora, Act 3/i.

Source: Gallica Bibliothèque: online <généralcatalogue.bnf.fr> *Opera call'd Thomyris*.

Cleora's plight is reflected in the introductory ritornello with shifting tonality in the spare bass, Cm to Eb (b.1–2), the move to Fm after a short silence (b.4–5), and with 4–3 appoggiaturas back to Cm. Cleora's vocal line resembles repeated bird calls, cadencing on semiquavers. The use of the V–VI interrupted cadence effect (b.12/14), and the silent response to her call 'Oh answer', reinforces her melancholic, lonely mood. She continues with 'Pretty Warbler, help a Lover' (st.4–5), hovering on the dominant of Cm, first with a pedal bass, and then tacit like the warbler's response. The B section settles in Bb with a move to Gm, and features a longing melisma on 'Complaint'

Ex.15: Scarlatti, Bononcini, *Thomyris*, 'Humble Shepherds', Thomyris, Act 3/iii.

Queen Thomyris in D minor has a much more bravura display, not melancholic like Cleora, but aggressive, a call to the shepherds to rise ad fight. Her vocal line relies on the flattened submediant for 'grief' (st.1), a Phrygian cadence on 'complaint', and a vigorous melisma on 'asswa------ges' (st.3–4). Section B sets off with restless tonal shifts: Bb with 'fate', but rising through Fm, Gm, and Am, fate turns to anger, and anger to rage in two vigorous coloratura pieces of vocalisation on 'fiercely rages' (reminiscent of the historical revenge on Cyrus), and second time with a Neapolitan bite, and ending in Am before the *da capo*. This is a queen who means business.

Ex. 16: Scarlatti, *Pyrrhus & Demetrius*, 'Viene ò Sonno', Pyrrhus, Act 1/i.

Source: BL; shelfmark, Music Collections – Hirsch II.841; BLL01004583013.

Ex.17: Scarlatti, *Pyrrhus & Demetrius*, ‘Rise, O Sun’, Climene, Act1/ii.

Ex.18: – Scarlatti, *Pyrrhus & Demetrius*, 'Tortorella che re'sta solo', Climene, Act 1/ii.

Ex.19: – *Hydaspes* (Mancini, *Gl'Amanti Generosi*), 'Vieni ò Sonno', Berenice, Act II/i.

Source: BL; shelfmark, Music Collections – I.282; BLL01004429909.

Appendix 3: The Arrival of Italian Opera in London, 1705–11

Arsinoe (16 Jan 1705): 16 pfs (36 by 1707); Clayton/Stanzani [English]
The Loves of Ergasto (9 April 1705): 5 pfs; Greber/Amalteo [Italian]
The British Enchanters (21 Feb 1706) 12 pfs; Granville/Isaac/Eccles/Corbett [English]
Temple of Love (7 Mar 1706): 2 pfs; Saggione/ Motteux [English]
Wonders in the Sun (5 Apr 1706): 5 pfs; Durfey [English/gibberish]
Camilla (30 Mar 1706): 63 pfs (113 till 1717); Bononcini/Haym/Motteux [English]
Rosamond (4 Mar 1707): 3 pfs; Clayton/Addison [English]
Thomyris (1 Apr 1707): 43 pfs; Bononcini/Heidegger/Motteux/ Pepusch et al [English/Italian]
Love's Triumph (26 Feb 1708): 8 pfs; Ottoboni/Motteux [English/Italian]
Pyrrhus & Demetrius (14 Dec 1708): 58 pfs; Scarlatti (Bononcini?)/Swiney et al [Italian/English]
Clotilda (2 Mar 1709): 10 pfs; Bononcini/Heidegger [Italian/English]
Almahide (10 Jan 1710): 25 pfs; Bononcini/Heidegger [Italian/a little English]
Hydaspes (23 Mar 1710): 46 pfs; Mancini (*Gl'Amanti Generosi*) et al [all Italian]
Etearco (10 Jan 1711): 7 pfs; Bononcini/Haym [all Italian]
Rinaldo (24 Feb 1711): 15 pfs; Handel/Hill/Rossi [Italian] (53 pfs to revival 1731)

Rival Theatres 1705-1711

Arsinoe	16 Jan 1705	36 pfs	DL	[opera/plays]
The Loves of Ergasto	9 April 1705	5 pfs	QT	[opera/plays]
British Enchanters	21 Feb 1706	12 pf	QT	[operas/plays]
Temple of Love	7 Mar 1706	2 pfs	QT	[opera/plays]
Wonders in the Sun	5 Apr 1706	5 pfs	QT	[operas/plays]
Camilla	30 Mar 1706	113 pfs	DL	[opera/plays]

Sept 1706 - QT on verge of bankruptcy – operas exclusively at DL, plays at QT, acoustic problems.

Rosamond	4 Mar 1707	3 pfs	DL	[opera only]
Thomyris	1 Apr 1707	43 pfs	DL/QT	[opera only]

Sept- Dec 1707 - Rich antagonises the singers with his arrogant management style; Jan 1708 opera back to Haymarket, and plays to Drury Lane.

Love's Triumph	26 Feb 1708	8 pfs	QT	[opera only]
Pyrrhus and Demetrius	14 Dec 1708	58 pfs	QT	[opera only]
Clotilda	2 Mar 1709	10 pfs	QT	[opera only]

June 1709 actor's rebellion at Drury Lane – Rich suspended by Lord Chamberlain; licence given to William Collier (MP) with Aaron Hill as manager; Owen Swiney manager of the Queen's Theatre.

Almahide	10 Jan 1710	25 perfs	QT	[opera/plays]
Hydaspes	23 Mar 1710	46 perfs	QT	[opera/plays]

June 1710 – Aaron Hill allowed actors at DL too much democracy in choosing roles, chaos, tried the more authoritarian approach, rebellion. Swiney moved to DL; Collier/Hill to QT

Etearco	10 Jan 1711	7 perfs	QT	operas/plays
Rinaldo	24 Feb 1711	53 perfs	QT	operas/plays

Appendix 4: Pastorals from Theocritus to Pope

Theocritus Idylls (the OWD edition cuts the spurious idylls; 8,9,19─21,23,25,27)

[283─268 BC]

1. Thyrsis lament for Daphnis.
2. The sorceress Simaetha devises a fire-spell to provoke the return of her unresponsive lover. If this fails, the alternative is death, to prevent his taking another lover.
3. The goatherd spurned by Amaryllis.
4. Herdsmen Corydon and Battus discuss Aegon ignoring his sheep for the Olympic games, but mainly for a woman.
5. Goatherd Comatas and shepherd Lacon in a hostile song contest; judge Morson awards Comatas a lamb.
6. The short song by Damoetas and Daphnis exploring the emotions of Polyphemus who is mocked by Galatea.
7. Journey to harvest festival with Simichidas and Lycidas, singing different versions of bucolic song.
10. Reapers: hard-working Milon mocks the elderly Bucaeus for falling in love, and ignoring his work.
11. The frenzied love of Polyphemus for Galatea; remedy, work and the distraction of other girls.
12. An older man loves a younger - example of paederastic poetry (cf. 29, 30).
13. The story of Hylas: how Heracles abandoned the Argos expedition to search for the boy kidnapped by naiads.
14. The bully Aeschinas bewails to Thyonichus his rejection by Cynisca, and joins the army of Ptolemy in consolation.
15. Praxinoa & Gorgo berate their husbands, go through crowded streets to the palace of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Queen Arsinoe for the song (only one) festival of Adonis.
16. The graces: the value of poets and their muses, present, past, and future.
17. Panegyric of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his sister wife Arsinoe, Theocritus's patrons (?). Obsequious grovelling.
18. Marriage song of Helen; her virtue and early days.
22. The Dioscuri: an account of the battles of Castor and Pollux, Castor destroying the giant Amycus in a boxing match, and Pollux in a sword fight, killing Linceus. From pastoral to Heroics?
24. The childhood of Heracles: as a baby he strangles the snakes sent by Hera, and as a boy learns the skills that would distinguish him in the later twelve labours.
26. The Bacchantes: the grisly story of the mad sisters, Ino, Autonoe, Agave (who dismembers her son), all condemned by Dionysus, son of Semele.
28. The poet visits his friend and fellow poet Nicias, and presents his wife with an ivory distaff.
29. To a boy - a paederast's monologue.
30. The speaker's pain as he loves another boy.

Spurious idylls: but included in early 18C collections:
8. Menalcas and Daphnis 2nd singing match. 9. Same singers, 3rd match. 19. A honey-stealer in competition with a bee. 20. Country bumpkin rejected by a city girl.
21. Two fishermen chat at night; one relates a dream of a golden fish, thinking it a bad omen, but the other argues it predicts wealth at sea. 23. A neglected lover sends a note, complained that unrequited love can lead to suicide of one and death of the other
25. Heracles and the lion. 27. Daphnis' vigorous (rough?) wooing of Acrotime, who 'came thither a maid' and goes 'home a woman'.

Virgil Eclogues

[44─40 BC]

1. Older man Tityrus councils the younger man, Meliboeus, dispossessed of his land, and offers an overnight stay.

2. Corydon loves Alexis in vain; madness of midday sun.

3. An amoebaean song contest arising out of a quarrel and mutual accusations between Menalcas and Damoetas - Palaemon attempts to judge the riotous exchange in 'song' until exhausted, he stops the contest, awarding both a heifer.

4. The story of the birth of a Golden Age when peace will prevail and happiness ensue.

5. Mopsus lament for Daphnis, and Menalcas celebrates his apotheosis.

6. Silenus song of creation. [NB - Aegle appearance]

7. Menalcas recounts the song contest, Corydon v. Thyrsis.

8. Two extended songs by Damon and Alphesiboeus.

9. Young Lycidas talks to old Moeris, about a song contest in which one of the singers Menalcas does not attend.

10. Gallus dies of unrequited love for Lycoris who ran off with a soldier. Friends gather round in commiseration.

Spenser Æglogues Shepheardes Calender [1579]	**Philips Pastorals** [1709]	**Pope Pastorals** [1709]
1. Jan: Colin Clout confesses to the older man Hobbinol, his failure with Rosalind. 2. Feb: Old age (Thenot) disputes with Youth (Cuddy), the fable of the Oak and the Briar. 3. Mar: Two boys Willye and Tomalin discuss love. 4. Apr: Hobbinol recites Colin's praise of Q. Elizabeth to Thenot. 5. May: Palinode and Piers discuss Protestant and RC pastors - the Fox and the Kid. 6. Jun: Colin concedes defeat to Menalcas (Chaucer) over Rosalind. 7. July: Tomalin and Morell discuss corrupt pastors. 8. Aug: Willie and Perigot wager on a singing contest with Cuddy as judge. 9. Sept: Diggon Davie's bad luck at the far-off 'Popish' market. 10. Oct: Piers and Cuddy debate the value of poetry. 11. Nov: Begins with an elegy over a deceased maid, but ends on a happy note. 12. Dec: Colin laments his wasted life.	1. Unrequited love; Lobbin for Lucy - his life falls to pieces. 2. The older Thenot consoles the love-stricken Colinet. 3. Dealing with Albino's death Angelot & Palin think positive. 4. Mico’s song re Colinet's loss of the dead Stella, Mico's rewarded is an expensive sheep-hook. 5. Cuddy tells of Colin's fierce competition with a nightingale, losing with the pipe, but wins with the harmony of the harp with which the nightingale cannot compete, and devastated, the bird drops dead on the 'guilty' harp. Colin laments the outcome, and builds a tomb for the bird. 6. Amoebaean song competition between Hobbinol and Lanquet re lost fantasies and frustrated love - Gueron judges it a draw - the prize - good fellowship.	1. Spring: (morning) Damon judges a singing contest: Strephon for Delia v. Daphnis for Silvia, sing in praise of their loves - a draw, to both a cup. 2. Summer: (midday) Corydon's failed love and self-destructive madness; it contrasts the heat of summer and of love. 3. Autumn: (evening) Hylas and Aegon lament lost love. 4. Winter: (night) Lycidas and Thyrsis lament the death of Daphne.

Appendix 5: *Ergasto* (1705/1711) plot comparison and 1711 translation

Ergasto plot summaries 1705 and 1711 (*Niso*)_

Gli amori di Ergasto **(1705)**	***Gli amori d' Ergasto aka Gli amori di Niso (1711)***
Characters: Cupid: God of desire and erotic love. Ergasto: A hunter and shepherd who falls for Licori, and initially Phillis as well. Licori: A nymph betrayed by a faithless shepherd, but soon falls for Ergasto. Phillis: In pursuit of Ergasto but not successful. Filander: In love with Phillis, and dismayed that she yearns for Ergasto. When Ergasto chooses Licori, Phillis switches her affections to Filander, only to discover in the end, he is her long-lost brother.	**Characters:** Pale: Goddess of Agriculture Nicandro: High priest. Egle: Nicandro's daughter betrothed to Niso. Niso: Betrothed to Egle but reluctant to marry. Ormino: Niso's servant, a comic character. Corinna: Niso's erstwhile lover, but finally shown to be Niso's sister, both, children of the high priest Montano. Aminta: Corinna's confidante, in love with her, but pursuing her unsuccessfully. He turns out to be the long-lost son of Nicandro and wins Corinna in the end. **Minor characters:** Ergasto: law enforcer and judge. Chorus of peasants.
Prologue: Cupid exults in his power to control love, and glories in his power to spread its joys.	**Prologue:** (added to a 1711 version) Goddess Pale: good fortune and welcome to Elisabetta, spouse of Emperor Charles VI, delayed in Barcelona.
Act I (no separate scenes) Ergasto is hunting the boar with a group of shepherds. He meets Licori bewailing a failed relationship with a faithless shepherd. He immediately falls in love with her, and she with him, but neither admit it. Licori thinks Ergasto should be 'hunting' her rather than the boar. Phillis is pursuing Ergasto, and to do this pretends to be asleep on a grassy bank as Ergasto and Filander return from a successful hunt. They are expecting rewards for killing the boar, flowers from nymphs and 'crowns of laurel' from swains, but what they get is Phillis speaking, apparently in a dream, of her love for Ergasto. Filander falls in love with the dreaming girl immediately. Phillis affects to wake up and apologises for her 'loquacious sleep'. Ergasto is in torment 'to be beloved by two at once', but reasons that: Tho' Phillis has given me her love, My Passion's greater for Licori. This gives Filander hope. He reasons Phillis will then be free for him.	**Act I** (i) Nicandro gives his daughter Egle in marriage to Niso, reminding himself that this new son-in-law will be a replacement for his own son lost at birth, but Niso changes his mind about marriage to the astonishment of all, particularly Nicandro, and Egle who feels humiliated, and sings an aria to that effect. (ii) Nicandro declares that Niso is a 'deceiver of modest virgins' and a betrayer of Egle. Ormino tries to persuade his master Niso of the error of his ways. Niso declares there is another woman; his aria betrays his dilemma. (iii) Ormino backs his master, and Niso reasons that he has to be sure of his love for Egle, and that a postponement till the following day would give time to reflect. Nicandro threatens it's tomorrow or Niso will have to answer to him. Nicandro's aria is more subdued with a message about constancy. Ormino, by this time establishing himself with comic interpolations, comments on Niso's ability to attract women, not necessarily by good looks, but by his wealth and status. (iv) Shift to Corinna and Aminta. Corinna is the other woman and, encouraged by Aminta who wants her for himself, she is led to believe that Niso is already married. Aminta sings a continuo simile aria about his good fortune, but Corinna suspects him in spite of his feigning pity. She sings an aria about thwarted love, but this is grist to Aminta's love ambition. (v) Corinna reflects that Aminta will have no success with her, but Niso arrives and sings her a love aria. Ormino counsels caution; Niso is fickle and says this

	to all women. Niso is irritated, seeing his position undermined, but Ormino in comic fashion changes his tune with an endorsement of Niso's 'burning' love, but Corinna is already suspicious. However, there is enough there for her to hope. Ormino continues with his asides adding comic relief to the scene. (vi) Off stage Aminta seems to have informed Nicandro about the other woman and Niso's duplicity. Nicandro now repents the planned wedding for the next day. (vii) In an arioso Egle reveals her innermost dilemma, obedience to her father and the love for Niso, but at this moment Eco is heard and what follows is a play on word endings in the style of the echo madrigal, the function being, to give hope. Her concluding aria reinforces the need for a place of refuge and peace. (viii) Nicandro is now convinced of Niso's treachery and desecration of the nuptial altar. The chorus agrees.
Act II Phillis overhears Licori soliloquising about her love for Ergasto, and makes a rational decision to switch her love to Filander, who shares the name of her long-lost brother. On spotting Phillis, Licori is embarrassed, and changers the subject, asking about the apples that Phillis carries with her. The envious Phillis imagines that Licori would like to have these apples as her present for Ergasto. As if in a dream Ergasto appears speaking about 'acceptance' from Licori. She replies: O Ergasto, what you present I never can refuse. But when Ergasto exclaims the gift his heart, she surprisingly recoils, dismissing his proposal as an 'injury'. Equally surprising is Licori's confession to to Phillis on the departure of Ergasto, that in fact she does love him. On her own again, Phillis determines to forget Ergasto and concentrate on Filander. The act concludes with a short scene in which Ergasto and Filander discuss the present of flowers, which if united with love, 'bind two hearts in one'.	**Act II** (i) Egle asks Niso what reward does she get for forgiveness, and in an aria, says she would love to believe him. Niso now wonders why Nicandro has rescinded his promise of the delayed wedding, with Ormino trying to get him to see sense, but Niso takes refuge in a simile aria about waves (he) crashing against the opposite shore (Nicandro). There will be a clash. The rejection by the father has fired up his love for Egle, while she is now in fear of the outcome. (ii) Nicandro spots Niso at the feet of his daughter. The two men quarrel with Nicandro having the last word. Egle sings an aria thinking she is to blame. (iii) The quarrel between the two men continues with Nicandro singing an aria about the importance of trust in a marriage, missing in the case of Niso. As Niso accuses Nicandro of breach of promise, Nicandro counters with breach of trust. Niso sings an aria pushing his point of view. The quarrel escalates with Nicandro demanding punishment for Niso, even execution, at which point Niso in a rage stabs Nicandro. Niso seems to feel relieved that the obstacle to his desire has been removed but is blind to the consequences. (iv) Corinna and Aminta come in on the dying Nicandro who names the culprit. Aminta speculates on the outcome, especially on the benefit to himself in having his rival for Corinna removed. (v) Corinna is fearful of the outcome. She asks Ormino about Niso but he seems oblivious. Ormino takes the rational view - he has told Niso so often to control himself, but he couldn't, so the consequences will follow. He then despises Corinna in her state of despair. Her closing aria persuades Ormino to be off and find his master and save him if possible. (vi) In an arioso Corinna speculates on the fate of Niso. She resolves he must be saved from punishment. (vii) Aminta is keen to see Niso condemned to death, but Corinna insists on a fair trial. Aminta responds that there is no defence, so Corinna devises a plan - if Aminta can save Niso his reward will be her love. He

	is a bit suspicious so they sing a duet featuring her ploy and his unease. (viii) As Aminta ponders his suspicions he spots Ormino helping Niso escape in a boat, but Niso is in no hurry and glories in the gentle breeze. At this point Ergasto turns up to prevent the escape and arrests Niso, who seems to resist by attacking Ergasto. The impetuous Niso then gives himself up seeming to long for the liquor of Bacchus. The chorus sympathises with Nicandro.
Act III Ergasto sings an aria about love, when he sees Licori approach. He hides to listen to her song, curious about her weeping. Ergasto interprets the tears as a sign of love, and sings to her that joy should return. He exclaims that 'All arcadia rejoices at our wishes' and that 'nymphs and swains come to celebrate out festival'. Filander and Phillis enter having discovered that they are brother and sister, and realise that their love is of 'another kind'. Both couples seem happy with the outcome and sing A final chorus: Let every Heart rejoice At our Content Since all our Torments Are but Sport of Love	**Act III** (i) Having been given hope by Eco, Egle now visits the temple of Meri, a god of wisdom, for advice. An inscription on the wall suggests that once the true relationship between father, son, brother and sister is unravelled, all will be well. The chorus endorses this message. (ii) Niso in his prison cell questions the need for so many guards since he is resigned to death as a punishment for his treatment of Egle's father. His aria wants only forgiveness from Egle for him to die happy - he begins to see a vision of her, but cut short… (iii) Enter Egle speaking openly about revenge, but thinking and feeling love. Niso sees himself condemned, but Aminta knows that unless he saves the situation his deal with Corinna will fall through. Egle is in agreement that the execution should be imminent. After a ritornello Niso is keen to have the execution delayed no longer. They should go immediately to the altar of Palo. (iv) Corinna enters pleading as the daughter of the once revered Montano, that she be allowed to die in Niso's place (the ultimate sacrifice, cf. *Pastor Fido*). Niso complains that she is making matters worse, and Aminta sees his prospects with her, bleak indeed. Corinna continues that Nicandro is not yet dead so proceedings should be delayed. Egle agrees. Aminta by this time is in a quandary, not knowing where his best advantage lies. (v) Ormino comes to see Niso mindful that he needs to be paid and rewarded for all his good work before Niso is put to death. Niso gives him a 'bracelet studded with gems' to be given to Egle as a love token, and to Ormino he gives all his weapons. Then suddenly and unexpectedly Nicandro appears. **Final Scene:** Nicandro announces that 'a mighty balsam has restored my body and strengthened my heart'. Egle is ecstatic. Ormino says that first she should accept the gift from Niso. Nicandro recognises it. It belonged to Montano and Niso is therefore Montano's son, and Corinna, his sister. Nicandro explains the significance of the bracelet, Niso was kidnapped at an early stage, and so unaware of his true parents. Nicandro orders Ergasto to untie and release Aminta and Niso. Recognising the brand on Aminta's arm, Nicandro realises this is his long-lost son (mentioned in Act I). A prophecy had predicted a terrible death for Aminta so the mother Energia had the boy marked with a brand and abandoned by the river. Aminta was found

	and brought up by Amaltea, not his real mother, but who on her deathbed said that things would take a turn for the better. Nicandro now declares that he is dying of happiness, to which Egle responds - what about the 'unhappy ones?'. Knowing how his daughter feels, Nicandro declares that repentance from Niso is enough to let the wedding proceed. Corinna now sees that her true love is Aminta and begs to marry him. Aminta is overjoyed, and Egle sees that the prophecy of Meri has come true. The final chorus declares that love conquers all. [Bill Mann, compiled from my libretto translation]

Translation

Gli Amori di Ergasto **Prologo** *La Dea Pale che fà l'Introduzione alla Pastorale.* **Pale:** Non temete, non temete Pastori; di questo simolacro in cui Pale adorate. Io sono il Nume da me prendervi giorni di vostre feste I fortunati auspici; da me saranno accetti i puri incensi i Vaghi fiori eletti. Del Grande Augusto intanto la degna amata Sposa, l'eccelsa Elisabetta, del suo regale aspetta degni onorar il Pastoral diletto ella che riede al Coronato Carlo, tolga pochi momenti in favor nostro ai Vicin suoi concenti tra le braccia dello sposo dopo indugio si penoso come Caro fia'l goder più che tardo giunge il bene più diviene dolce all'alma indi il piacer. **Pastorale dell'Atto 1** Nicandro, Niso, Egle, Ormino, Coro di Paraninfe **Scena prima** **Nicandro:** Ecco, Niso; la Sposa tu la chiedesti, io te la dò d'un figlio	**The Loves of Ergasto** **Prologue** *The goddess Pale who introduces the Pastoral.* **Pale:** Shepherds, do not be afraid Of this altar where Pale worships. I am the goddess who will provide days Of good fortune for your feasts I will accept Pure incense And pretty selected flowers. Meanwhile the worthy loving spouse Of the great the emperor, The illustrious Elisabeth Is awaiting her coronation; [Barcelona till 1713] May she, who returns to the enthroned Charles, Honour this splendid pastoral; Take a few moments in our favour After painful delay To enjoy this concert In the arms of the groom; To relish the beloved The later we wait for love The greater the pleasure for the soul. (delay makes the heart grow fonder). **The pastoral: Act 1** Nicandro, Niso, Egle, Ormino, Chorus of nymphs **Scene 1** **Nicandro:** Behold, Niso; The bride you asked for, I give her to you, and today;

nato appena, a me tolto (ahi rimembranza) oggi prendi le veci; di queste selve intanto i Geni tutelari approvin le pudiche allegre nozze mentre d'Araba fiamma ardon gli altari.	You take the place of a son (ah, sad memory) Taken away from me just born; The protective gods of these woods In the meantime Consent to the chaste and joyful wedding While the flame of Arabia glows on the altars
Coro: Egle bella al vago sposo colla mano porgi il cor te, Niso aventuroso, à gustar ormai prepara nella dolce sposa Cara le delizie dell'amor.	**Chorus:** Beautiful Egle, hand in hand, Give your heart to the handsome groom, The brave Niso, now to relish, prepared By the dear sweet spouse The delights of love.
Nicandro: Dalla fronte di lei, pronti ministri togliete il velo e tu, Pastor sù questa di scelti fiori ornata ara di Pale vieni à giurar la sacra fe.	**Nicandro:** From her brow, ready ministers Remove the veil And you, shepherd on these chosen flowers Adorning the altar of Pale Come to enjoy the sacred feast.
Niso: Non voglio	**Niso:** I don't want to
Nicandro: Che sento!	**Nicandro:** What do I hear!
Egle: Oh me delusa!	**Egle:** Oh, I'm shattered!
Ormino: Oh bello imbroglio!	**Ormino:** Oh, what a mess!
Egle: Di Nicandro la Figlia a tanta pompa in mezzo un rifiuto à soffrir qui si conduce! Padre, del Grave torto prender fù/tù Dei ragione: de' miei scherni il rossore altrove io porto	**Egle:** For Nicandro's daughter What a lot of pomp In the midst of a refusal Which leads to suffering! Father, of this grave injustice You make the judgement: I take the blushes Of my humiliations elsewhere.
Aria: Egle L'oltraggiato mio Cupido move guerra in questo petto; e l'affetto che vi regna, stimolato dall'indegna dura offesa dell'Infido prende faccia dì dispetto	**Aria: Egle** My passion has been outraged. Prompted by the ingrate's Unworthy, offensive insults, The affection that reigns in my breast, Turns to scorn.
Scena seconda Nicandro, Niso, Ormino	**Scene 2** Nicandro, Niso, Ormino (Niso's servant)
Nicandro: Per ingannar le Vergini pudiche se d'offrirsi Niso	**Nicandro:** Thus, Niso presents himself Before our sacred gods of the heart,

innanzi ai nostri Santi Numi à Core, Egli è un profano, un empio, un traditore.	As a deceiver of modest virgins; To Egle he is a blasphemer, a villain, a traitor.
Ormino: Sentite Padron mio: questa vostra incostanza fà le Gente arrabbiar. deh! risolvete à mutarvi una volta. Egle è Vezzosa oggi come sapette (sapete) una moglie che piaccia [choice, will, liking], è bona bona cosa.	**Ormino:** Listen my master: Your fickleness Annoys people. Come on, resolve to change for once. Egle is charming and beautiful; Nowadays, as you know, An attractive wife, Is a good, good thing.
Niso: Ormin tu dici il vero: ma questa moglie oh Dio, non è l'amata; e di rado s'apprezza s'è comoda, s'è pronta una dolcezza.	**Niso:** Ormino, you speak the truth: But this woman, oh god, It is not the beloved; Rarely you appreciate the joy of life If acquired too easily.
Aria: Niso Non può gustar il cor il dolce dell'amor se non è sciolto (free) come di selva in selva per questa è quella belva s'aggira il Cacciator così l'amante va cercando là beltà. Di volto in volto cercando la beltà.	**Aria: Niso** If the heart is not free It cannot savour The sweetness of love; As the hunter wanders from wood to wood From this to that prey, So, the lover goes Searching for loveliness, From one face to another Looking for beauty.
Scena terza Ormino è detti	**Scene 3** Ormino and the others
Ormino: Meglio non si potea respondere certo	**Ormino:** Indeed, you could not give A better answer.
Niso: S'amo la bella Figlia sallo il Cielo, o Nicandro ogni vaghezza accolta Egle ha nel volto mà chè! temo che Niso, sia per sua Colpa overo di destino, cessi d'amar in diventar marito.	**Niso:** If I love your beautiful daughter Heaven knows it, O Nicandro; Egle has in her face every beauty; But I fear that Niso, either for his fault, Or because destiny decided so, In becoming her husband, He might stop loving her.
Ormino: Oh come il Signor mio dice pulito	**Ormino:** Oh, how my master speaks honestly
Niso: Chieggo che differite in sino al novo dì sien queste nozze meglio con il suo amore à consigliar si apprenda in tanto il core	**Niso:** I ask that you to postpone This marriage until tomorrow So that my heart can better Understand its love

Nicandro: Questo indugio concesso, Niso ti sia; mà pensa che dello sdegno mio reo ti farai se ad Egle braccio al nuovo di non vai.	**Nicandro:** Let this delay Be allowed to you, Niso; But look! If tomorrow You don't give your hand to Egle, You will make yourself accountable to me.
Aria: Nicandro Del padre è della figlia ti raccomando il Cor dell'uno la speranza, dell'altra la costanza, secondi un fido amor	**Aria: Nicandro** I entrust my soul To the father and to his daughter; May a faithful love bless the hope of the first, And the constancy of the second.
Ormino: Per mia fè non capisco di questo mio Padron la buona sorte della contrada (district) , è vero, egli è il più ricco; mà dire non si può che sia il più bello: e pur chiaro si vede, che più d'una per lui perde il cervello non dico di quelle che sono zitelle, che ogn'uno lo sa; mà parlo dell'altre, che ardite, che scaltre con modo gratioso san far allo sposo cantare il là là	**Ormino:** From my view, I don't understand My master's good luck; It is true, he is the richest in the land But you can't say he is the most handsome: And it's clear to all, that more than one woman Will fall for him; I'm not talking about spinsters, Everybody knows that; But I am talking of the others - the daring, the shrewd, who in a graceful way [cultivated in the graces] Know how to make the bridegroom sing la, la.
Scena quarta [p.39] Corinna, Aminta	**Scene 4** [39] Corinna, Aminta
Aria (continuo) **Corinna:** Alla pena che mi affanna vò cercando pace invano per il monte, per il piano ingannata pastorella là mia stella ch'è tiranna Ah! sempre al fianco ò l'importuno amante.	**Aria** (continuo) **Corinna:** All the suffering which grieves me Searching in vain for peace Through mountains and plains The deceived shepherdess Destiny has been cruel to me Agh! This insistent lover still pursues me.
Aminta: Un genero à Nicandro ed hallo (lo ha) in Niso. dell'amante, ch'è sposo sperare che può Corinna! Sarebbe stravaganza in sen di Ninfa amor senza speranza.	**Aminta:** Nicandro has a new son-in-law [lying] He has found it in Niso. The lover and husband. What hope is there for Corinna! This is a hopeless love An extravagance in the heart of a nymph.
Aria:(continuo) **Aminta** Come rosa, o gelsomino si nudriscon nel giardino dell'Aurora al fresco umor così questo dolce affetto, speme detto, alimento è dell'amor.	**Aria:**(continuo) **Aminta** Like roses or jasmine They feed on the dew In the garden at dawn, In the same way this tender feeling And hope are the food of love.

Ritornello (5 bars) **Corinna:** [43] Un precettor, di massime amorose io non cerco in Aminta poi ché tanto gli lice, senza mia pena alcuna Egle ne goda ah che pur troppo l'invidia il suo destino alla rival felice. **Aminta:** Parlo per la pietà, che ò del tuo Core **Corinna:** Pietade interressata me non obliga punto: provedermi saprò ben io d'amore **Aminta:** Vero è però che un lungo fido servir aspira al guiderdone **Corinna:** Io questo niego; e senti una canzone **Aria: Corinna** [45] Se piace l'amante coll'esser costante sperar può mercè mà in van col servire in van col soffrire mercè va sperando l'amante allor quando gradito non è. **Aminta:** Crudel, si si t'indendo, mà per mia fiera stella ad amarti così io più m'accendo. **Aria: Aminta:** [49] Al dispetto del tuo Core verrà un di che sarai mia; domerà possente amore la tua cruda ritrosia. **Scena quinta** Corinna, poi Niso, Ormino. [52] **Corinna:** Poi che lungi è colui, tutta del cor la debolezza scoppi. Mà Niso à me.	**Ritornello** (5 bars) **Corinna:** [43] I don't look to Aminta As a teacher of loving aphorisms; Because he is allowed to do what he wants Without any of my suffering; May Egle enjoy Niso. Ah! Sadly, I envy The good fortune of my rival [she thinks Egle has married Niso] **Aminta:** I speak out of pity, For your heart. **Corinna:** I do not need your pity: I can find love for myself. **Aminta:** The real reward is someone Who is faithful to you in the long run. **Corinna:** I reject this, And now listen to this song. **Aria: Corinna** [45] If you love your beloved You can hope for his fidelity, But, if you are not loved, You will suffer for him And be subservient - It's all in vain. **Aminta:** Cruel, yes, yes, I understand Because I am doomed to love you, I am more and more in love. **Aria: Aminta:** [49] In spite of your heart The day will come when you will be mine; My great love will subdue Your cruel resistance **Scene 5** Corinna, then Niso, Ormino. [52] **Corinna:** Aminta's day is far off, Let all the weakness In my heart burst out, But Niso is for me.

Niso: Si mia Corinna; io vengo con il mesto insigne d'un sacrifizio dell'amor tuo dovuto. D'Egle lo sposo me così ragiona: all'ira sua gelosa ah? te ne prego me non espor; temi di lei Pastore: lascia la tua tradita al suo dolore.	**Niso:** Yes, my Corinna; I come dejected By giving up the love you are due. As the betrothed of Egle This is what I think: Please do not expose me To her jealous anger - ah? Be afraid of Egle, good shepherd: [aside] Leave the woman you betrayed To her own suffering.
Aria: Niso Occhi, occhi col vostro pianto volete aver il vanto di rendermi fedel se intenerirmi; O Dio per Voi non sentiss'io sarei troppo crudel.	**Aria: Niso** Oh, my eyes and your tears; It affects me That you want to have the power to make me faithful; Oh god, I would be cruel If it was not for my love for you.
Ormino: (to Corinna) [57] Ninfa non gli credete; quello che dice à Voi lò dice à tutte non v'è al mondo un amante che sia esso più falso è più incostante.	**Ormino:** (to Corinna) [57] Nymph, do not believe him; What he said to you, Everyone says this There is not in this world a lover Who is it more false And more fickle.
Niso: Che dice Ormin? [aside]	**Niso:** What is Ormino saying? [aside]
Ormino: Che ardete per lei di vero amore io gli dico signore	**Ormino:** My master, what I am saying is That you burn with true love for her
Corinna: Fedel come poss'io crederti ò Niso? Quando sposo d'un altra	**Corinna:** How can I believe that you are faithful, Niso, when you are when you are the husband of another?
Niso: Ah! che t'inganni. sposo non sono ancor anzi la morte voglio sposar ché ad Egle esser consorte	**Niso** Ah! You are deceived. I am not yet the husband. Indeed, I prefer death, [espouse death] Rather than be married to Egle.
Ormino: Con scandalo comune porger negò la mano è vero Egle: mà da questo Capriccio, ond'ei di meritar pretende molto, nascer prevengo un qualche brutto impiccio.	**Ormino:** It's true, he rejected Egle's hand With a public scandal, but this deceit [aside] From which Corinna hopes to gain, Nothing good will come of it.
Corinna: Ah, se sperar ancora potesse il Cor; gradita sarebbe ogni mia pena	**Corinna:** Oh, if my heart could still hope again, All my pain would be bearable.

Ormino: [to the audience] Oh pazza di catena.	**Ormino:** [to the audience] Oh - the madness of a hatter.
Niso: Spera, ben mio, sì, spera, che nella fiamma ond'ardo, fedel viver prometto.	**Niso:** Yes, you have reason to hope, my beloved. As I burn in this flame, I promise to be faithful.
Ormino: Oh che bugiardo.	**Ormino:** Oh, what a liar.
Aria: (continuo) - **Corinna** Che non 'è fido, il so colui che m'infiammò in seno il Core mà che Egle sempre sia là dolce pena mia legge d'amore.	**Aria:** (continuo) - **Corinna** I do not believe this, He who has set my heart on fire Is not faithful But Egle will be my sweet pain, That is the law of love.
Scena sesta Nicandro, Egle [61]	**Scene 6** Nicandro, Egle [61]
Nicandro: Tanto mi diss'Aminta il rifiuto di Niso all'amor di Corinna è un sacrifizio.	**Nicandro:** Aminta has told me - that's enough! Niso must reject The love of Corinna.
Egle: Una rivale in lei d'aver più volte ebbi nel cor sospetto.	**Egle:** I had in my heart the suspicion That she has been my constant rival
Nicandro: Sciolto d'ogni altr'affetto chi à mia Figlia non vien trovar non pensi un suocero in Nicandro mà perché non o insulto dall'iniquo io pavento dell'indugio concesso ora mi pento	**Nicandro:** He who wants my daughter's hand Must be free of every other affection. Don't think you will find A father-in-law in Nicandro; I now repent the allowed delay
Egle: Oprar à me che giovi imponi ò Padre da te del mio destino stò la legge aspettando	**Egle:** My choice is immaterial Father will decide; My destiny lies with you.
Nicandro: Dell'infido ogn'idea che discacci dal seno io ti comando.	**Nicandro:** I command you to forget about Each thought of the traitor,
Scena settima Egle [63]	**Scene 7** Egle [63]
Arioso: Egle Ora che siamo in libertade ò core sciogliamo il freno ai ritenuti affetti padre, Niso, Corinna, d'amor, d'ira, di pena mille oggetti ravvisa	**Arioso**: **Egle** Now that you, my heart, are free Let the chains of affection be broken: Father, Niso, Corinna, This soul sees in you a thousand things: Of love, of anger, of pain,

in Voi quest'alma dal Genitor cui d'obbedir m'è forza, dell'Amante che adoro in mezzo all'ira dalla rival che abborro.	Of the Father whom I am obliged to obey Of the beloved whom I adore Amidst the anger From rival whom I loathe.
Aria-Arioso: Egle [65]	**Aria-Arioso: Egle** [65]
Egle: Agitato il mio pensiero, che risolvere non sa grida in van grida pietà	**Egle:** My agitated thought, that does not know how to resolve cries in vain for help.
Eco: Pietà	**Eco:** Help
Egle: Grida pietà	**Egle:** Cries for help
Eco: Pietà	**Eco**: Help
Egle: Pietà! mà chi risponde al pianto mio?	**Egle:** Help! But who responds to my tears?
Eco: Io.	**Eco:** I.
Egle: E chi sei tu che vieni à pianger meco?	**Egle:** And who are you that comes to weep with me?
Eco: Eco.	**Eco:** Eco.
Egle: Eco tu sei non posso da te sperar solievo ai miei tormenti.	**Egle:** You are Echo - I can't hope You will relieve my pains.
Eco: Mentì	**Eco:** You are lying.
Egle: Perché mentir? rimane forse alle pene mie qualche speranza?	**Egle:** Why should I lie? Do my pains have perhaps any hope?
Eco: Speranza.	**Eco:** Hope.
Egle: Eco per questa volta la tua mozza favella Egle ingannò.	**Egle:** Eco, for once, your half-tongue has misled Egle. [she ceases to believe]
Eco: Nò.	**Eco:** No.

Egle: D'un sasso al favelar, Egle, non credi!	**Egle:** Egle, don't believe you are talking to a stone!
Eco: Credi	**Eco:** You must believe
Egle: h'io ti creda... ma dove, lassa, mi tragge il dolor mio! Purtroppo gl'è ver che non mi lice pace sperar ai miei crudeli affanni. Padre, amante rivale, voi siete i miei nemici, i miei tiranni.	**Egle:** I believe you, but look where My grief takes me Unfortunately, it's true that I cannot hope For peace for my cruel torments. Father, lover, rival, you are my enemies, my tyrants.
Aria: Egle D'uno speco l'asilo cieco van cercando l'aspre mie pene ch'all'affanno di questo seno porgeranno ristoro almeno mute selve deserte arene.	**Aria: Egle** My pains look for a blind cave As a place of refuge. Silent deserted woodlands, Will at least give relief To my torment.
Scena ottava Nicandro, Coro [72]	**Scene 8** Nicandro, Cor [72]
Nicandro: Dal rifiuto di Niso al profanato altar del nostro nume giovani, turbe, andiamo à porger voti; inniamo ai giuochi usati inni divoti.	**Nicandro:** The refusal of Niso At the desecrated altar of our god. So, young and old, let us go to make sacrifice, To join in familiar entertainments And to sing hymns.
Coro: Del nume rustico per cui si rendono i paschi fertili cantiam gli onor Pale santissima da te si accolgono i voti ferfidi de nostri cor.	**Chorus**: Let us sing to the honour of the rustic God when the meadows become fertile Sacred Pale accept the holy sacrifices of our hearts.
Atto primo fine	**End of Act 1**
Atto secundo	**Act 2**
Scena prima - Egle, Niso, Ormino	**Scene 1 -** Egle, Niso, Ormino
Egle: [p.75] Perdonarti il trascorso à che mi giova? Nega ch'io sia tua sposa offeso il Genitor dal tuo rifiuto il debito di Figlia che sube [?] disca al padre, à me consiglia.	**Egle:** [75] What do I gain if I forgive you? I am not to be your bride, And my father, disgusted by your conduct, Withdraws his consent To our betrothal.
Aria: Egle [76] Vorrei credilo ò Caro, vorrei esser di te; Mà che l'altrui voler (wish) dia (might grant) legge al mio piacer chiedi (ask)Virtù da mè.	**Aria: Egle** [76] Believe me, my dear, I would like to be yours; But for my happiness, Allow me that virtue To be acceptable to the people.

Niso: [80] Dunque manca Nicandro alla promessa? Da lui prima concesso di breve di l'indugio Ei niega adesso? **Ormino:** Moderate Signor la vostra collera. Il colpo è sopportabile: ne voi siete d'umor inconsolabile **Aria: Niso** [80] [recit quasi simile aria] Come l'argine opposto forza aggiunge al torrente così Ormino d'un petto il combattuto ardor divien più forte. Se Nicandro ostinato mi contende colei oggi in Niso Fun disperato. **Ormino:** [81] Disperarvi per ché? Si Egle perdete non vi restan - Corinna, Aglauro, Silvia, Fille, Nice, Amarilli; e mill'altre da Voi Egualmente servite, egualmente ingannate? Disperarvi per ché? Ohibò non fate. **Egle**: [81 foot of page] Al suo fiero tormento di mia virtude o sommi Dei pavento. **Aria: Niso** [82] Pieno d'ira d'affanni d'amore questo core mi freme nel sen. Poi che perdo la speme d'un bene da cui viene al mio Cor ogni ben. **Niso:** [86] Ah Ninfa! Ah cara, Egle adorata! Al mio aspro dolor ti mova qualche pietà, del Genitor averso ai voti miei placa lò sdegno. **Scena seconda** Nicandro, Niso, Egle [86] **Nicandro:** Come! Niso à piè di mia Figlia! Questa è Virtù soffrir l'amante à piedi? **Niso:** Rea non è come vedi Egle, o Nicandro.	**Niso:** [80] So, Nicandro does not keep his promise? He first granted short delay And now stops me? **Ormino:** Moderate your anger my lord. The bad news is acceptable: You can cope with it. **Aria: Niso** [80] [recit quasi simile aria] As the opposite bank Adds force to the torrent So, Ormino, the hard-fought bravery Becomes stronger. If Nicandro obstinately confronts me Today, you will see in Niso a worthy opponent. **Ormino:**[81] You will be desperate for what? If Egle is lost, is there not still - Corinna, Aglauro, Silvia, Fille, Nice, Amaryllis; And thousands of others equally served by you, equally deceived? Desperate, why? Avoid this state of despair. **Egle:**[81] Oh gods! I am afraid He is mocking me. **Aria: Niso** [82] My heart aches with anger And the labours of love. Because I am losing the hope of love Which would make my heart happy. **Niso:** [86] Ah Nymph! Oh dear, Egle adored! My bitter grief moves you to some pity, Your father's hostility treats me with disdain. **Scene 2** Nicandro, Niso, Egle [86] **Nicandro:** What! Niso at the feet of my daughter! Is the kneeling lover A sign of Virtue? **Niso:** As you can see, Nicandro, Egle is guiltless.

Nicandro:
Il difensor dì lei (her, you)
d'ardir (dare) se stesso (same) accusa;
e diventa (becomes) la colpa molto più grave
in temeraria (reckless) sensa
altrove, indegna: è sia
questo l'ultimo istante,
che soffrir gl'occhi tuoi osin l'Amante.

Aria: Egle: [88]
Là figlia in che peccò?
dimelo, ò Genitor;
ch'io non tradì nò,
il mio dover saprai, Padre,
se creder sai al pianto del mio cor.

Scena terza
Niso, Nicandro [95]

Niso:
Và, che l'alma ti segue;
del suo cor le ragioni Egle diffenda.
E difender le mie ora mi givi.
Per che Nicandro toglie la sposa à Niso?

Nicandro:
Un seduttor di Ninfe non pretenda d'aver
Egle per moglie.

Aria: Nicandro [95]
Della Figlia sia lo sposo
chi nell'alma à un solo affetto.
non è fido, ne amoroso
chi ogni volto à per oggetto.

Niso: [97]
Mà la promessa?

Nicandro:
Escir credei d'impegno
quanto in faccia de nostri eccelsi Dei
negar la mano ad Egle io ti vedei.

Niso:
Diferite, non sciolte che fossero ne nozze
intesi allora: à ciò Nicandro stesso assenso
diede: è sé né penti adesso?

Aria: Niso [98]
Se manchi di fè, pensar che degg'io?
Al duolo conforto ragione del torto
tu cerchi da me offeso amor mio.

Nicandro:
Her protector blames himself
For being too foolhardy;
And his fault becomes greater
As the situation gets worse
And so, proves insufferable
This is the last time
You plead for your lover.

Aria: Egle: [88]
Tell me, Father,
How I have offended you;
I won't betray you,
I need to know, Father,
If you understand my feelings?

Scene 3
Niso, Nicandro [95]

Niso:
Go – follow your feelings;
May Egle follow the dictates of her heart
And now I will express my feelings;
Why does Nicandro object to Niso as groom?

Nicandro:
A seducer of nymphs is not going to have
Egle as his wife.

Aria: **Nicandro** [95]
My daughter's betrothed
Should love only her in his heart.
Those who lust after other women
Are neither in love, nor can be trusted.

Niso: [97]
But your promise?

Nicandro:
I withdrew my consent when I saw you refuse the
hand of my daughter, Egle,
In front of our illustrious gods.

Niso:
Postponed, not withdrawn, that was the intended
Marriage plan; Nicandro himself consented to this;
he regretting it now?

Aria: Niso [98]
My feelings have been insulted,
And now I ask what redress is there
For the wrong done to me.

Nicandro: [101] Col tuo garrir, t'inganni, Pastor, se d'ottener pensi la figlia. Và, raduna di tutta quest'ampia selva intorno i noti abitator; ministrin essi a te ragion...	**Nicandro**: [101] With your ramblings, you are mistaken, shepherd, If you think you will get my daughter. Go, gather all the dwellers of this vast forest, And acquaint them with your views ....
Niso: Da te, Nicandro, chiedo la ragion dell'offesa. Dalle tue case à forza trarrò, s'anche resisti, Egle vezzosa.	**Niso:** From you, Nicandro, I ask the reason For the offence. I will take the beautiful Egle from your home, Even if you try to stop me.
Nicandro: La temeraria impresa impunita non fia. E l'autor del delitto da mille dardi caderà trafitto.	**Nicandro:** The foolhardy enterprise Will not be unpunished. And the author of the crime, by a thousand darts will fall stabbed.
Niso: [102] [he stabs Nicandro] D'un impossente sdegno (disdain) le minacce (menace) che ponno? Io volo ad esseguir (fulfil?) il mio disegno.	**Niso:** [102] [Niso stabs Nicandro] Threats are useless In front of my immense disdain. I will go ahead with my plan.
Nicandro: Vola, ma colla vita questa mortal saetta il piè trarresti (fermo?).	**Nicandro:** Go, then, You have stopped my mortal life With this stab.
Niso: E il provedermi giorni al mio periglio.	**Niso:** And protect my days from danger.
Scena quarta Nicandro ferito, poi Corinna, Aminta [foot of p.102]	**Scene 4** Nicandro wounded, then Corinna, Aminta [foot of p.102]
Nicandro: Ah, crudel, ma che reca (bears) socorso al viver mio vicino à morte? L'aspra ferita, oh Dio...	**Nicandro:** Ah, cruel one, but what will help me to live, so close to death? The cruel wound, oh god ..
Corinna: Cieli, che incontro!	**Corinna:** Heavens, what a meeting!
Aminta: Nicandro in terra.	**Aminta:** Nicandro on the ground.
Corinna: Il Padre dell'odiata rival di sangue intriso?	**Corinna:** The father of my hated rival soaked in blood?
Aminta: Il feritor?	**Aminta:** Who's responsible?
Nicandro: Fu Niso.	**Nicandro:** Niso did it.

Corinna: Di Corinna l'amante! Ohime che sento,	**Corinna:** Corinna's lover! Alas, what do I hear?
Corinna, Aminta: ò caso atroce! O fiero avenimento!	**Corinna, Aminta**: An atrocious event! An outrageous event!
Aminta: Ergiti, ch'io ti reggo ò buon Nicandro; à tempo amici presto, alle vicine case trasferite il Pastor. Di tua vendetta sopra il Rivale intanto di procurar sarà mia cura il vanto. Se colui more, à quante Fiere vicende (incidents) esposto è il caro Amante.	**Aminta:** Lift yourself up, and I will support you My good Nicandro; quickly friends, Carry him to the nearest shepherd's house. Meanwhile, if Nicandro dies, I will revenge his death, And the lover, Niso, will be exposed To many punishments.
Aminta: Ninfa, del tuo dolor un manifesto segno ti leggo in viso; Ma viappiu (along side) che Nicandro, ben so, che dal tuo cor compianto (pitied) è Niso.	**Aminta:** Nymph I can see sorrow in your face, But more than for Nicandro, But granted, Your heart pities Niso.
Aria Aminta: [105] Il periglio dell'amante di spavento empie il mio sen. E turbando và di quelli occhi belli il divino almo seren. [Monteverdi bk.1]	**Aria Aminta:**[105] My heart fears the threat of danger For my lover Trouble besets those beautiful eyes Full of divine and noble serenity
Scena quinta [108] Corinna poi Ormino	**Scene 5** [108] Corinna then Ormino
Corinna: Di sciagura in sciagura, fiero destin tu mi conduci; e prova questo misero Core tutto il rigor d'uno spietato amore.	**Corinna:** From woe to woe, You lead me proud destiny; And this wretched Heart Feels all the pain.
Ormino: Infauste (inauspicious) nuove, o Ninfa	**Ormino:** Bad news, oh Nymph
Corinna: Noto pur troppo, oh Dio! Em mi'l caso fatal; ma dove è Niso?	**Corinna:** Good god - unfortunately, I already know About this terrible event. But where is Niso?
Ormino: Se voi non lo sapete men sallo Ormino: in traccia io mi sfiato di lui, perché l'affare che prenda buona piega à me non pare!	**Ormino:** If you don't know, Ormino will know even less. I don't think this approach Will help us much.
Aria Ormino: [109] Tante volte gli ò detto gli ò detto padron mio state in cervello (wit, mind); ohibò ohibò! Di me sempre ei si burlò;	**Aria Ormino:** [109] So many times, I told him, I said, Master, use your head; Tut, tut! He always made fun of me;

et à marcio (corrupt, vile) mio dispetto dietro a tutte belle ò brutte ha voluto far il bello.	To annoy me, he pursued all women, Attractive or not.
Corinna: Dimmi, Ormino; che fia? [113]	**Corinna:** Tell Me, Ormino; what will happen? [113]
Ormino: A mio Giudizio sarà ch'essendo Capo Nicandro del Paese ogn'un la prenderà contro di Niso. Tutto à quest'ora in arme. Voi sapete che razza sono questi Villani: ne guardi put il Ciel dalle lor mani.	**Ormino:** In my opinion, Nicandro, Being senior in the land, Everyone will turn against Niso. Everyone at this point will take arms. You know what kind of people these peasants are: May the gods protect us from them.
Corinna: Infelice Pastor della tua sorte pietade ò inquisa che ne vado à morte.	**Corinna:** I have begged compassion for your fate, Unhappy shepherd, so I beg pity to allow me to die.
Ormino: [114] Stà à veder la ragazza! O che diventa matta, o che s'ammazza.	**Ormino:** [114] Just look at the girl! She'll go mad or kill herself.
Aria (continuo)**: Corinna** Che farò? tu dillo, dillo tuo Amore che farò? Agitata navicella dà improvvisa ria procella entro il petto è questo Core.	**Aria** (continuo)**: Corinna** What shall I do? Tell, tell your love What shall I do? My heart is like a boat, buffeted by A sudden storm between breast and heart.
Ormino: Vado; per tenerezza l'anima si spezza.	**Ormino:** I go, my soul breaks with tenderness.
Corinna: Vattene, Ormino; in selva, in monte, in piano cerca del tuo Signor. Tolga al furore del popolo iritato, se pur lice, il capo amato.	**Corinna:** Begone, Ormino; Into the woods, the mountain, the plains, In search of your master, May he save his life, if it is possible From the fury of the irate people.
Scena sesta - Corinna [116]	**Scene 6 -** Corinna [116]
Corinna: Mà che? Lassa, qual puote sperar difesa un contro tanti? ah, certo del amato Pastor pur troppo è il rischio! dell'ira di Nicandro veggo, veggo i ministri.	**Corinna:** But what? Alas, what hope of defence has One person against many? Ah, certainly the beloved shepherd is Unfortunately, in danger! I see the wrath of Nicandro, I see the ministers.
Arioso: Corinna E veggo l'amante avvinto le piante da fune crudel; ah, tiranni, torcete à questa parte il piede, a me quelle ritorte à me quei lacci della colpa di Niso io son la rea, di Nicandro le furie,	**Arioso: Corinna** And I see my lover caught By the cruel ropes of fate; Ah, tyrants, bind me with those ropes, Give me those twisted ropes, Give me those shackles; I am the cause of Niso's guilt, If possible, I will appease

se lice, io placherò con il mio sange: mà risparmiate, oh Dio! - il caro Pastor mio, se in voi regna pietà, che pietà non si debba pietade à un infedel che m'à tradita.... Nò, nò, tornate a Niso:	Nicandro's fury with my blood. But, god, if you can bestow mercy, Save my dear shepherd. But - the ingrate (Niso) who betrayed me Does not deserve mercy…… No, no, I must go to Niso: [*she becomes delirious*]
Del ferito, ò del morto la vendetta affrettate si trascini colui à straggi, o scempi, esangue squallido il teschio (skull) recca si del traditor....misera..'	Hasten the revenge of the wounded or dead; May he be dragged to slaughter and disaster, Bring me the lifeless squalid skull of the traitor…wretched…
Mà che parlo? Dove son? contro Niso tanto furor perché? Ah, nò. si cerchi, ben che infedel, di salvar lui da morte. Tutto, tutto si tenti.	But what am I saying? Where am I? Why this anger for Niso? Ah, no. Save him from death, even if he is an ingrate. Everything, everything be attempted.
Scena settima Aminta, Corinna	**Scene 7** Aminta, Corinna
Aminta: Tutto si tenti: e che tentar? di vita poco resta à Nicandro. Si cerca in ogni lato per che scampo non abbia l'omicida crudel, che dalla legge parimente à morir vien condannato.	**Aminta:** Everything should be attempted: But what can we do? Nicandro's life is fading. Look everywhere So that the cruel killer may not escape; Because even the law Condemns him to death
Corinna: [124] Ne fia concesso di scolparsi il reo?	**Corinna:** [124] Is the condemned not allowed to defend himself?
Aminta: Dove certa è la colpa è vana la discolpa.	**Aminta:** Where there is certain blame, defence is in vain.
Corinna: Dunque morrà colui. Aminta, ascolta! In favor del mio bene cieca menzogna ordir mi giovi. Un dono, s'egli è vero che m'ami, io ti fò del cor mio. Mà di sua fede la salvezza di Niso è la mercede. Tu non rispondi Aminta! Che m'ami, ah! Non lò credo. Non bilancia un istante a compiacer l'amata un vero amante.	**Corinna:** Then he will die. Aminta, listen! (*aside*) to help Niso it's in my interest to dissimulate. I'll give you my heart as a gift if it's true That you love me. But with your help in saving Niso, There is the reward. You do not answer Aminta! Does Niso loves me! I don't believe it. A lover does not hesitate For an instant to please the beloved.
Aminta: Salvar il Rivale con qual animo andro? E chi l'offerta che tu mi fai del amor tuo, m'accerta?	**Aminta:** What motive do I need to save my rival? Can you assure me That the love you offer is real?
Corinna: Quanto v'a di più santo in Cielo è al mondo degli spergiuri miei umile à voi perdon io chieggo, o Dei.	**Corinna:** I am asking heaven and earth To forgive my modest lie. Oh gods, please forgive me.

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Duo: Corinna e Aminta [126]

Corinna:
Che fida son io tel dice il cor mio;
no devi temer.
Non senza mercede sarà la tua fede
nò non fia ver.

Aminta:
Che fida non sei mel dice il cor mio;
m'è forza temer.
Non senza mercede t'impegno mia fede
io voglio goder.

Scena ottava
Aminta poi Niso, Ormino [129]

Aminta:
In quale, oh Dio, necessità
mi pone un amor sconsigliato (ill judged)
del ritual contro cui
di Nicandro in difesa,
di questi abitator,
svegliate ò Sire, oppor dovrommi al rischio.

Ormino:
Voga, voga, Tiren.

Aminta:
Che veggo!

Ormino:
Saldo, saldo in barca Signor;
che v'è pari pericolo.
Oh spirasse buon vento!
Si che andar si potesse à salvamento.

Aria: Niso
Secondate il fido abete, aure liete,
secondate il mio fuggir.
Che se illeso all'altra sponda,
e dell'onda fausti Numi,
trarè il pie mi concedete,
ostie elette, almi profumi
io prometto a voi d'offrir.

Ergasto:
Ferma, Tireno: restar debbe colui in poter mio

Ormino:
Ah, voga...

Niso: [135]
In seno dell'onda, pria di ceder
voglio berver là morte:
et tu da cento dardi

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Duet: Corinna and Aminta [126; 3/2 metre]

Corinna:
My heart tells me you can trust me;
There is no need to fear.
Your loyalty will not go without reward,
But this will not be true.

Aminta:
My heart says I can't trust you
I am forced to fear
I pledge my loyalty for a reward;
I want to enjoy you.

Scene 8
Aminta, then Niso, Ormino [129]

Aminta:
Oh god, in what a dilemma
This ill-judged love places me -
Whether to ignore justice
In Nicandro's defence [by colluding with Corinna]
Or to satisfy popular demand;
Rouse yourself, sir, you have to take the risk

Ormino:
Row, row, pull the oars.

Aminta:
What do I see?

Ormino:
Master, flee, escape in the boat
Because there is danger.
Oh, grant you good wind!
If so, this could be your salvation.

Aria: Niso
Gentle breezes, assist the trusted bark,
Assist my escape.
If you illustrious gods,
Can allow me to put my feet
On the other shore unscathed,
I promise to offer you
Sacred gifts and scented perfumes

Ergasto:
Stop boatman: stay, he must remain in my power.

Ormino:
Ah, row ...

Niso: [135]
Before surrendering to the bosom of the waves, I want to embrace death:
And you, insolent peasant

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insolente Villan morrai trafitto	You will die pierced by a hundred darts.
Ergasto: Da infortunio la testa Id dio mi guardi.	**Ergasto:** My goodness, protect me from injury
Coro: Al Pastore, al pastore..	**Chorus**: Shepherd, shepherd.
Ormino: Coraggio Padron mio.	**Ormino:** Courage master
Aminta: O digrazia!	**Aminta:** Oh misfortune!
Niso: O periglio!	**Niso:** Oh danger!
Ormino: Ormin addio.	**Ormino:** Ormino, goodbye.
Aminta: Oh passasser de miei... Batto damone à me.	**Aminta:** Oh, if only I had …. Someone to defend me
Coro: Al pastore, al pastore.	**Chorus:** Shepherd, Shepherd.
Ergasto: Con nodose ritorte si leghino costoro	**Ergasto:** With gnarled twisted rope Tie up these people.
Niso e Aminta: O fiera sorte	**Niso and Aminta**: Oh, harsh destiny.
Aria: (continuo) **Ergasto** [137] Con questa degna impresa famoso ad esser vò. Stracco della contesa con il liquor di Bacco vigor al sen darò.	**Aria:** (continuo) **Ergasto** [137] With this worthy undertaking I will be famous. Exhausted by this arrest The liquor of Bacchus Will revive me again.
Coro: di Pescatori e Villani Sciogliamo il piè sciogliamo in lieta danza il piè. Punito fia l'ardito, per cui piagato (wounded) muor Nicandro il buon pastor; Nicandro, a cui dobbiamo l'intera nostra.	**Corus:** of fishermen and peasants Let's move our feet, We will free the feet in happy dance Let the guilty be punished, By whose hand the good shepherd Nicandro, Has been wounded, and has died; Nicandro, to whom we owe everything.
Atto III	**Act III**
Scena I Egle poi Meri [142]	**Scene I** Egle, then Meri: [142]

Aria:Egle Fra l'orror di queste piante all'incerto sia tremante regga i passi il Dio d'amor. E tu vinto dalla doglia sovra quella orrenda soglia non mancarmi in petto, ò Cor.	**Aria**: **Egle** May the god of love give me strength Since I am shaking with fear and trembling. And you my heart, defeated by sorrow Do not fail me as I cross this horrible threshold, For goodness sake.
Egle: [146] O tu, ch'entro quei marmi ove regna un funesto alto silentio vivi fuor de viventi; saggio Meri à me vieni vieni à me, s'egli è vero che in questo basso mondo tutto è palese al tuo saper profondo.	**Egle:** [146] Oh you, who live within these marble halls Where a fatal, ominous silence reigns, Wise Meri comes to me, Come to me, if it is true That in this lower world Everything is clear To your profound wisdom.
Meri: Qual disegno ti guidi à questo sacro limitar, ò ninfa? Ormai m'è noto in queste frondi ch'io spargo al vento, del tuo destin legger potrai l'evento.	**Meri:** What desire guides you to this sacred space, Oh nymph? By now it is known to me That in these leaves, scattered to the winds, You will be able to read your fate
Aria: Meri: [147] Leggi dagli alti dei Ninfa se casta sei loggi il voler allor che parla il Nume, unir ha per costumi il dubbio al ver.	**Aria**: **Meri:** [147] Oh nymph, if you are chaste, Take advice from the gods on high When the god speaks, Confide your wish in him; His is the power to bring together doubt and truth.
Egle: [149] *Quando ricovri il Genitor il Figlio* *la sorella il fratello,* *da queste selve avrà il dolore essiglio.[exile]* *Lassa allor che perdo è Padre, e sposo,*	**Egle:** [hears the oracle, or reads the message] *Even if I lose the father and the beloved,* *The sorrow will be removed from these woods* *When the father, the son, the brother, the sister* *Are found again,*
Dirmi che mai pretende l'Oracolo richiesto? Fatale, oscuro senso che più conturba i miei pensieri è questo.	What does the oracle I have consulted, Want to say to me? This is the fatal, Obscure feeling that still disturbs my thoughts.
Coro de' spiritelli: [150] Di Meri possenti il cenno la mente da legge, dà impero al tutto quaggiù; a petto mortale i cieli non diero nò, no, non eguale virtu?	**Chorus of the spirits**: [150] The powerful Meri prescribes the law, That governs everything down here; Did the heavens not give us, poor mortals, The same privileges?
Scena 2	**Scene 2**
Niso: [guardato da vilani] A che tanti custodi? Chi voluntario more al suo morir scampo d'aver non cura. Viva o pera Nicandro, non mi si dei perdono: ferito ho d'Egle il Padre; basti à me ciò per meritar la morte;	**Niso**: [guarded by the peasants] What's the point of so many guards? He who volunteers to die does not care To be saved. Let Nicandro live or die, Let me not be forgiven. I wounded the father of Egle; for me this is Enough to deserve death.

placar potessi almen l'alma in fuggir dal sen dell'amata bella l'acerbo sdegno. Ah, nò, ch'io non son degno di si dolce destino. Contro della mia colpa l'odio, l'ira, le furie Egle raddoppi questi sieno i più fieri ministri di mia morte: quest' all'orrendo tormentara verno l'ombra mia furibonda accompagnin col flagello del rimorso mio crudel.	I could at least appease my conscience in fleeing The bitter scorn of the beloved's contempt . Ah, no, I am not worthy of this sweet mercy. For my crime, Let Egle redouble hate, rage, fury; Might these be The proud agents of my death: Let these tormentors Pursue my soul to the tortures of hell With the whip of my cruel remorse.
Ma perché si ritarda il momento fatal del mio supplizio? D'ore il Palo, ove son gli archi, gli strali che mi sguarcino il petto? Se in così fiero indugio si pensa farmi grazia io la ricuso. Questa mi si conceda, che una morte spedita venga me, disperato, à trar di Vita.	But why delay the fatal moment Of my torture? At the hour of Palo, where are the bows, The arrows that will tear my breast apart? With this haughty delay They think to give me grace, but I refuse that. Allow me this that I may have a speedy death; I'm determined to give up my life.
Aria: (adagio) **Niso** Col mirar solo un momento ò placata, ò minaciosa la mia sposa io contento morirei. Ma diniega ingrata sorte tra le angoscie della morte questo bene a gl'occhi miei.	**Aria: Niso** With a momentary sight of my beloved Either forgiving or threatening, I would die happy; But ungrateful fate denies, In the anguish of death, This comfort to my eyes
Niso: Ahi, vien la mia diletta...	**Niso:** Ah, come my beloved...
Scena 3	**Scena 3**
Egle, Ergasto, con guardie è Aminta in mezzo. [157]	Egle, Ergasto, with the guards and Aminta in the middle. [157]
Egle: I vengo sì, ma per la mia vendetta. A qual cimento, oh Dio! Posta la virtù sua vede il cor mio.	**Egle:** I come, yes, but for vengeance. To this trial, oh god! I wish my heart could see his soul
Ergasto: Presto o Ninfa, de rei la sentenza fatale esca da labri tuoi che tanto al Padre, e tanto devi à noi.	**Ergasto:** Hurry nymph and utter the fatal sentence Because you owe this much, Both to your father, and to us.
Aminta: Sù di questi inumani si compiaccia al furor del mio delitto, se pure ch'io sia reo non mi discolpo: e di mia cruda morte senza pena o spavento attendo il colpo.	**Aminta:** Before these unworthy peasants May the Nymph find pleasure in her revenge For my crime; even if I were guilty, I could not Prove my innocence, so I await the final blow Of my execution without pain or fear.

Italian	English
Egle: Alza, crudele, un guardo; et il giudice mio in me rimira la figlia di Nicandro la tua (lo vò pur dir) amante o sposa à morir – ahi che pena.	**Egle:** Raise your eyes, you brute And may my judge see in me The daughter of Nicandro And you, (let me say it) lover or wife – Go to your death – ah, what sorrow.
Niso: A' morir mi condanna. Deh! Ninfa, non lasciar che nel tuo Core trionfi la pietà verso d'un reo: che non una ma cento fiere morti si danno al mio falire. Spogliati d'ogni affetto, che in favor mio loco in tuo seno (unclear) pronunzia la sentenza et io l'aspetto.	**Niso:** She condemns me to death. Ah! Nymph, do not let your heart Have compassion for the offender: May I die a hundred times A fierce death for my guilt; Forget all affection for me That you may have in your breast, And pronounce the sentence that I wait for.
Aminta: [160] Potessi almen veder quella spietata per il di cui consiglio posta è mia Vita in così rio (reo) periglio	**Aminta:** [160] If I were able, at least, to confront That cruel woman whose judgement Has put my life in such terrible danger.
Egle: Indegno, è ver, d'ogni pietade o crudo ti rende la colpa: io stessa, anima infida, esser dovrei il ministro crudel del tuo supplizio; tutto tutto mi parla contro del tuo delitto. In te veggo un iniquo, un traditore. Ma perder non ti può questo mio Core.	**Egle:** It is true, guilt makes you unworthy Of all compassion, you brute: I myself, treacherous soul, That I should be the agent Of your cruel torture; Everything speaks to me of your crime. In you I see an evil person, a traitor. But you cannot lose my heart.
Niso: Perché dunque non sigla di tante colpe mia la giusta pena? Ah Ninfa! Non conosci poiché lenta sei tanto à condannarmi il merito e il piacer della vendetta pensa che t'ho tradita; pensa ch'il Padre esce per me di Vita.	**Niso:** Why is my punishment not in proportion To my guilt? Ah nymph! You are so slow in condemning me You do not know The merit and pleasure of revenge Think that I betrayed you; Think that your father lost his life because of me.
Duo: Egle, Niso [162]	**Duet**: **Niso, Egle** [162]
Egle: Penso che m'ai tradita, e che tu dei morir: fia pena il tuo perir.	**Egle:** I think you have betrayed me, and that you should die: your death is retribution.
Niso: Pensa che t'ho tradita e che degg'io morir: se voi mi condannate o care labra amate fia gloria il mio morir.	**Niso:** I think that I have betrayed you and I must die: If your beloved lips condemn me My death is glorious retribution.
Ritornello (8 bars)	**Ritornello** (8 bars)

Ergasto: Tosto ò ministri: al fiero Palo ignudi si traggono i malvagi...	**Ergasto:** Quick ministers: bring the naked criminals To the noble Palo....
Scena 4 Corinna è detti	**Scena 4** Corinna and the same
Corinna: [166] [happy?] Ah! Non per anche abbian morte costoro di montano alla figlia. Di montano à voi sacro, anchor che morto, cedete i rei: che seppur d'ambi il sange a Nicandro è donato, di dargli in cambio il mio io non rifiuto.	**Corinna:** [166] Ah! Don't let them die; give back the guilty men To the daughter of Montano. Montano, you hold sacred, Give the guilty ones to Montano Even after his death; To Nicandro, I do not refuse To give my blood in exchange.
Ari: Corinna [167] All'amante ed al Rivale fate gratia per pietà. E sia prezzo del perdono questa Vita che abbandono alla vostra crudeltà.	**Aria: Corinna** [167] Please show compassion To the lover and the rival. And may this life Which I consign to your cruelty Be the price of forgiveness.
Niso: [171] A far maggiore il dolor mio mancava quel di costei: deh, ninfa, non impedir la morte mia di tante frodi amorose è questa una Vendetta.	**Niso:** [171] Her sorrow is making My sorrow even greater . Oh nymph, do not prevent my death; This is vengeance for all my betrayals of love.
Aminta: Della crudel diletta se rimiro, sento più fiero il mio mori. Deh, porta de nostri casi ò Ninfa, altrove il duolo. E venga [let] una volta la morte a finir tante pene.	**Aminta:** If I look at my cruel beloved [Corinna] I feel more Proud of my own death. Ah, take the grief of our affairs elsewhere, Oh nymph, and let death come at once To finish so much pain.
Egle: Oh Fato!	**Egle:** Oh Fate!
Corinna: [172] Oh sorte! Egle, la tua Rival udir ti piaccia se con quel dell'amante vuoi misurar del caro Padre il risochio [rischio] qual più temer à te conviene? Incerta di Nicandro è la morte; mancar non può quella di Niso. Ah, torna al Genitor languente, che se sperar salvo ti lice il Padre, dalla di lui pietade, salvo sperar tu puoi l'amante ancora. Và, ninfa, và, si tronchi ogni dimora.	**Corinna:** [172] Oh fate! Egle, please hear your rival If you want to compare the fate of your beloved Against the fate of your father Which is the one you should fear most? The death of Nicandro is uncertain; Which is not the case with Niso. Ah, go back to your languishing father, Because you can still hope that your lover , If you father allows it Can be saved by his clemency. Go nymph, go, end this quarrel.
Egle: [173] All'amor di Corinna Egle compiaccia; il supplizio de' rei resti sospeso intanto	**Egle:** [173] May Egle respond to Corinna's compassion; The death of the guilty is suspended for the moment

Corinna, Egle: Secondate il mio zelo, o sommi Dei.	**Corinna, Egle:** The gods have approved our decision.
Aminta: Mio core, o tu m'inganni o si rendon men gravi i nostri affanni.	**Aminta:** My heart, or you deceive me Or our troubles are rendered less serious.
Aria Aminta: Un raggio di speme balena per me. L'alma che teme, non sa dargli fè.	**Aria Aminta:** [174] A ray of hope sparkles for me. But it cannot inspire confidence to my fearful soul. The soul that fears cannot have confidence.
Scena 5 Ormino, Niso, Aminta, Ergasto	**Scena 5** Ormino, Niso, Aminta, Ergasto.
Ormino: [176] Ah Signor voi ci siete e me ne crepa il Cor sorte perversa per che in fuggir lasciarvi al inimico in preda. ma poi ché il mal senza rimedio. Ah! Siate (might you be) pria di gire à Caronte ricorda vel di me. Ben voi sapete che fedelmente v'ha servito Ormino che rubato non v'à come tant altri che v'an guardato il grege e che buono v'è stato à qualche cosa più che molti à cui dato avete il pane. Io l'onorato cener vostro in tanto mi preparo à bagnar d'eterno pianto.	**Ormino:** [176] Ah, master There you are and my heart breaks for this Perverse fate, that I left you As prey to our enemies. But then what is pain without a cure. Ah! Before turning towards Charon Please remember me. Well you know Ormino has faithfully served you; And he has not stolen as many others have done While guarding the flock; And that he has done something good for you, and more than others to whom you have given bread, I prepare myself to wet your ashes with my eternal tears.
Aria Ormino: [178] Voi mi lasciate in calde lagrime pè gli occhi m'esce l'afflitto cor. Nella gola mi stroza la parola la forza del dolor.	**Aria Ormino:** [178] You make me shed warm tears From a broken heart. My words choke in my throat With the force of grief.
Niso: [182] Prendi, Ormin questo Cerchio tempestato di gemme ad Egle il porta. Questo dell'amor mio ultimo pengno (pegno) ella gradisca. A te che in ogni tempo fosti fedele al tuo signor, de miei noti migliori armenti io faccio dono, così ti sien propizi ogn'ora i dei.	**Niso:** [182] Ormino, take this bracelet Studded with gems to Egle's door. May she appreciate This last pledge of my love. As you were always faithful to your master, I give you my best and famous weapons So that the gods may always protect you.
Ormino: Pronto v'ubbedirò: ne voi dovete dubitar del mio zelo così vi assista al fatal punto il Cielo ma che...	**Ormino:** I am ready to obey; you must not doubt my zeal, So that heaven may assist you To the fatal place in the skies, but what...
Niso, Aminta: Nicandro a noi!	**Niso, Aminta:** Oh look, it's Nicandro!

Scena ultima Nicandro, Egle, Corinna è detti	**Final Scene** Nicandro, Egle, Corinna, and the rest.
Nicandro: [183] O balsami possenti in sen ritorna ai primi uffizzi il core; e della piaga mia lieve è il dolore.	**Nicandro:** [183] O mighty balsam Has restored my body and strengthened my heart, and my wound causes only slight pain.
Egle: Tratto da fiera morte ecco, amici, Nicandro. Destini di costoro egli è la sorte.	**Egle:** Nicandro is seized from proud death, friends; He will decide the fate of the accused people.
Ormino: Prima d'ogn'altra cosa, questa gemma prendete o bella Ninfa: del mio Signore è un dono e ve l'invia	**Ormino:** Before all else, take this bracelet O beautiful nymph: It is a gift my lord Sends to you.
Nicandro: Celi, che osservo mai! Ahime che fia	**Nicandro:** Heavens, what do I see! Alas what's happening.
Egle, Corinna, Nicandro: [184] Ahime che fia?	**Egle, Corinna, Nicandro:** [184] Alas, what's happening?
Aminta: Perché si muta il vechio in volto?	**Aminta:** Why is there a change in the old man's face?
Nicandro: Ah figlia dell'almo Pale al Dio defonto sacerdote dolce amico montano questo cerchio appartien ma ciò non basta vedi nel mio nemico il di lui figlio.	**Nicandro:** Ah daughter of the great god Pale This bracelet belongs to the dead priest, My good friend Montana But this is not enough, In my enemy, you see his son.
Corinna: [185] A' me Niso Fra-	**Corinna:** [185] Niso, my bro-
Nicandro: Con questa gemma colui fanciullo ancora alla madre involò strega malvagia	**Nicandro:** With this bracelet the wicked sorceress Stole my child from his mother.
Niso: Cieli, che sento Io dunque del saggio incantator estinto Mosso figlio non sono ben che da lui nudrito Privo colui di Prole onde avesse un erede certo rapir mi fece. Di questo ignoto caso il cerchio è fede.	**Niso:** Heavens, what do I hear Therefore I am not the son Of the cunning enchantress, now dead; Even though I was nourished by her, But she, without offspring, In order to have a son she kidnapped me; The bracelet is evidence of this mystery.
Nicandro: Ma, che scorgo in Aminta? Ah, sciogli, Ergasto, i due Pastori e tu ne vieni in queste braccia dell Genitor	**Nicandro:** But what do I behold in Aminta? Ah, Ergasto, untie the two shepherds And you, Aminta, come to the arms of your father.

Aminta: Come? Son io Figlio di Nicandro!	**Aminta:** What? I am the son of Nicandro!
Egle: A me, Germano [brother] Aminta	**Egle:** And come to me my brother, Aminta.
Nicandro: [187] Con quest'orma di fuoco, ond'ai segnato il fianco in riva al fiume Ergeria madre tua bambin in te spose dagl'auguri avertita che dovevi morir infamamente sfuggir così pensò l'infamia.	**Nicandro:** [187] Your mother, Ergeria, Warned by the gods that you were destined To die a miserable death, Marked your side with a firebrand Before abandoning you in the riverbank; In doing so she thought to avoid this fate.
Aminta: Oh Dio, nella saggia Amaltea la pietade del Cielo io scovoro adesso tolto al furor dell'onda costei dunque nudrirmi? Intiera avendo del avenir contezza, '*Figlio*', in morir ella però mi disse '*quant'ho possiedi io moro*': *Al sommo Giove ah! piaccia di cangiar* *la crudele stella fatal* *che i giorni tuoi minaccia.*	**Aminta:** Oh god, do I find in the wise Amaltea The compassion of the heavens, and did she Save me from the dangerous waves to nurse me? Since she knew my entire destiny, *'My son'* she said as she died, *'Everything I own is yours - I am dying'*: *Ah! May Jupiter be merciful* *And reverse the cruel fate* *That now threatens your life.*
Aria Nicandro: [189] Non più; di contento mi sento morir. Che diletto il cor ch'ò in petto non basta à capir.	**Aria Nicandro:** [189] No more; I am content to die of happiness. The heart in my breast Cannot understand this happiness.
Egle: Padre che fia degl'infelici? [192]	**Egle:** Father what about the unhappy ones? [192]
Nicandro: In Niso s'ei delle colpe sue pentirsi puote Egle torni allo sposo.	**Nicandro:** Should Niso show repentance for his sins Egle can return to his betrothed.
Niso: Oh me contento! Che si dolce fortuna m' concesso (m'è concesso?) comrar (commorar?) col pentimento	**Niso:** Oh I am happy! That I have been granted This sweet fortune By way of my repentance.
Corinna: D'un malinteso affetto io ravveduta al tuo piacer gioisco. D'Aminta ora la fede, se il Genitor n'agrado della mia destra il dono abbia in mercede.	**Corinna:** I recognise misplaced affection I rejoice at your pleasure. May the faith of Aminta be the gift of his father If he is agreeable.
Nicandro: Del caro amico spento che la figliuola à me sia nuora assento	**Nicandro:** I approve that the daughter of my dear dead Friend will be my daughter in law.
Aminta: Non mingannò la speme; poi che goder poss'io d'un tanto bene.	**Aminta:** Hope did not betray me; that I may enjoy Much of the good.

Egle: Ecco del saggio Meri, l'oracolo attempito. Ricovra il Padre il figlio la sorella il fratello così da queste selve ogni dolor va in bando, così al fin d'Imeneo nel dolce laccio Ninfa contenta il mio diletto abbraccio. **Coro ultimo:** Dell'incostanza d'un cor amante oggi trionda il dio d'amor è fassi premio di fe costante il bell'acquiso d'un casto Cor, del dolce vanto godono intanto leggiadra ninfa gentil Pastor. **Giacomo Greber**	**Egle:** You see the prophecy of Meri, the ancient oracle: 'Find the father, the son, The sister, the brother So that in these woods Every sorrow is banished' As Hymen desires, I happy nymph Embrace my beloved In my loving arms. **Final Chorus:** From the inconstancy of a lover's heart The god of love triumphs today; And the fine gift of a chaste heart Becomes the token of constant loyalty; Meanwhile, enjoy sweet glory, Graceful nymph and gentle shepherd. **Giacomo Greber**