

FROMENTAL HALÉVY'S *LA TEMPESTA*:  
A STUDY IN THE NEGOTIATION OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

by

CHRISTOPHER HENDLEY

(Under the Direction of David Schiller)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation deals with the performance and reception of the opera *La Tempesta*, composed by Fromental Halévy and adapted from Shakespeare by Eugène Scribe. In *La Tempesta*, French grand opera, the London Italian opera tradition, and Shakespearean appropriation collide. Thus its composer, its librettist, its critics, and even its audience become agents of cultural change in the process by which the negotiation of cultural differences is carried out, while the opera itself comes into focus only when seen from all three perspectives. Beginning with the conception of *La Tempesta* in the hands of London's beloved adopted composer Felix Mendelssohn, the study traces the history of *La Tempesta* from its premiere in London to its revival a year later for the Théâtre-Italien in Paris. It examines the opera from two perspectives: as a historical and cultural event, emphasizing the opera's production and reception in London; and as a musical and dramatic work, dealing with such technical aspects as harmony, form and overall dramatic construction. In viewing the opera as an event, the study also addresses its broader contexts, including the history of Shakespearean reception in both England and France, the tradition of Italian opera in London, and the role of cultural prejudices that existed between France and England. Integral to the study is an exploration of how certain genres

of European lyric drama, particularly Italian opera, French grand opéra and opéra comique, and melodrama may have influenced the authors of *La Tempesta* in their effort to create a successful work. The study also includes a complete harmonic and formal analysis of Halévy's music, and a thorough analytic comparison of Shakespeare's text with Scribe's adapted libretto. By relying on the published vocal score and libretto and other primary sources such as the unpublished autograph score, personal memoirs, letters, and contemporary journal and newspaper reviews, this study provides a window on the insular world of London lyric drama, and demonstrates the differences, similarities, and in some cases reciprocal influences among the various national schools of nineteenth-century opera and drama.

INDEX WORDS:     Shakespearean Appropriation, Nineteenth-Century Opera, Halévy, Scribe, Nineteenth-Century English Lyric Drama

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CHRISTOPHER DEAN HENDLEY

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M.M.E.D., The University of Georgia, 1989

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CHRISTOPHER DEAN HENDLEY

Major Professor:	David Schiller
Committee:	Christy Desmet Dorothea Link David Haas Roger Vogel

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso  
Dean of the Graduate School  
The University of Georgia  
May 2005

## DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this document to the memory of my father-in-law, Mr. Harold “Hal” Spencer, who passed away just weeks before the completion of my degree. On my last visit with Hal, he asked that I inform him as soon as I officially became “Dr. Hendley,” as he couldn’t wait to tell his friends that his son-in-law was a doctor. I truly wish this could have happened before Hal left us. Goodbye Hal, I’ll miss you.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION: *LA TEMPESTA* AS WORK AND EVENT

*Come unto these yellow sands,  
And then take hands;  
Curtisied when you have kissed—  
The wild waves whist—  
Foot it featly here and there,  
And, sweet sprites, bear  
The burden. Hark, hark. [Ariel]*<sup>1</sup>

When in 1850 Jacques-François-Fromental-Elie Halévy's *La Tempesta* premiered at Her Majesty's Theatre in London, William Shakespeare had been dead for over two hundred years. Shakespeare's plays, however, were not forgotten, and the middle of the nineteenth century witnessed a great revival of Shakespeare's works on the stages of London, mostly due to the efforts of such innovative producers as Charles Macready and Samuel Phelps.<sup>2</sup> Yet only a handful of Shakespeare's plays were known in Halévy's native France, and most of these were adaptations that resembled the originals only in name.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, it was to two Frenchmen

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<sup>1</sup> William Shakespeare, "The Tempest" (1.2.378-384), in *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), 3066. All quotations throughout this document will be drawn from this edition of *The Tempest*, and references will be cited in the order of act, scene and line.

<sup>2</sup> See chapters 12 and 13 of Oscar G. Brockett, *History of the Theatre* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1974) for an overview of Shakespeare in London in the nineteenth century. See also George C. D. Odell, *Shakespeare-From Betterton to Irving*, vol II (New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1963) regarding nineteenth-century stage productions of *The Tempest*, and in particular, the contributions of Macready and Phelps.

<sup>3</sup> See especially Lillian R. Furst, "Shakespeare and the Formation of Drama in Germany and France" in *Romantic Drama*, ed. Gerald Gillespie (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1994): 3-15. See also Helen Phelps Bailey, *Hamlet in France From Voltaire to LaForgue* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1964) and F. W. M. Draper, *The Rise and Fall of the French Romantic Drama* (London: Constable & Company, 1923).

that the English producer Benjamin Lumley turned for the commissioning of a new opera based on Shakespeare's "The Tempest," and on 8 June 1850, the enthusiastic opera patrons of Her Majesty's Theatre made their way unto the "yellow sands" of Halévy's and Scribe's *La Tempesta*. The event was everything Lumley had hoped for, and according to at least one critic:

[*La Tempesta*], which has for so lengthened a period occupied the thoughts and excited the curiosity and interest of the entire musical world, has at last been produced with triumphant success."<sup>4</sup>

According to the autograph score, Halévy finished composing *La Tempesta* in May of 1850, some fifteen years after the premiere of *La Juive* in Paris.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, until his death in 1862, Halévy continued to compose, and though his compositional activity diminished gradually over the last ten years of his life, his presence in Paris remained strong and his talents were sought after even by the younger generation of librettists.<sup>6</sup> His collaboration with Jules Barbier and Michel Carré in 1856 resulted in a successful opéra comique entitled *Valentine d'Aubigny* that, surprisingly, was heralded by Berlioz as "the music of a Master."<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, as Halévy's career in France was on the wane, his reputation in England was just beginning to be established, and in the earlier part of 1850, his *Val d'Andorre* was

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<sup>4</sup> *Message Bird* (New York), 15 July 1850.

<sup>5</sup> Fromental Halévy, "La Tempesta," autograph score, 1850, Réserve 1013, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris. Subsequent references to this source will be cited as "Réserve 1013."

<sup>6</sup> See Dianna R. Hallman, "The grand operas of Fromental Halévy" in *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera*, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 257, who states: "By the end of his operatic career, Halévy had moved from a position at 'the head of the young school of French composers', as Blanchard wrote in 1843, to the status of an admired, but often overlooked composer whose reputation had been partially eclipsed by Meyerbeer's more widely revered brilliance."

<sup>7</sup> *Journal des débats*, May 1856, cited in Ruth Jordan, *Fromental Halévy: His Life & Music, 1799-1862* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1996), 183.

presented at the St. James's Theatre with mixed reviews. Suffice it to say the critics liked his music as well if not more than any other "foreign" composer's up to that point.<sup>8</sup> London opera audiences of the nineteenth century had particular tastes, and only a small number of composers were regarded as worthy of praise. Regarding English (and in many cases Continental) views on operatic composition, Ronald Pearsall states that "opera, almost by definition, was Italian or German, or, reluctantly, French."<sup>9</sup> In England, France was hardly recognized for operatic contributions until mid-century, and even then the reception was lukewarm.<sup>10</sup>

It was within this historical context that Halévy, along with librettist Eugène Scribe, was commissioned to compose *La Tempesta*, and even from the beginning the opera was an anomaly:

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<sup>8</sup> See *Musical World* (London), 12 January 1850, where the critic writes: "We do not yawn over Halévy's music as over many of the modern Germans, nor laugh at him as in Flotow, nor hold our hands on our ears as at Verdi. We feel the influence of one who, if not gifted, thinks seriously, means to do well, and therefore merits respect."

<sup>9</sup> Ronald Pearsall, *Victorian Popular Music* (London: David & Charles, 1973), 149. See also Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 135, who cites many excerpts from contemporary music journals to the effect that the preferred school for opera was the Italians, followed by the Germans; and Henry F. Chorley, *Thirty Years' Musical Recollections* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), 34, who often refers to the "great school of Italian opera singers;" and Benjamin Lumley, *Reminiscences of the Opera* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1976), who provides vivid descriptions of the Italian-laden opera seasons during his tenure as lessee at Her Majesty's Theatre. See also Rachel Cowgill, "'Wise Men from the East': Mozart's Operas and their Advocates in Early Nineteenth-Century London," in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): 39-64. Cowgill argues that the appreciation for Mozart's Italian operas crossed class divisions among English audiences during the early years of the nineteenth century. Finally, see George Hogarth, *Musical History, Biography, and Criticism* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), 168. Hogarth indicates that although Italian opera had become a fad by mid-century, "the applause which those pieces received at the Italian Opera-house [. . .] was bestowed, not on the insipid music, but on the florid and brilliant execution of the Italian performers."

<sup>10</sup> See Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 135, who states that "while Europe was singing Halévy's praises as the leader of the French school, London turned a deaf ear."



Two Frenchmen recast a sixteenth-century English play as an Italian opera for an English audience.<sup>11</sup> A reviewer for the *Revue et Gazette Musical de Paris* wrote:

What greater proof can there be of cordial agreement among the literature, music and dance of all the countries of Europe, than this Italian opera, composed by two Frenchmen for the capital of England, sung and danced by French, English, Italian and German artists before a cosmopolitan audience! And some say there is nothing new to support under the sun! O Solomon, King of Proverbs, you would be well forced to withdraw that one were you alive!<sup>12</sup>

The premiere was, according to most accounts, an astounding display of music, dance, and spectacle “in [the] presence of one of the most crowded and brilliant audiences that ever assembled within the walls of Her Majesty’s Theatre.”<sup>13</sup> Much of the success was also attributed to the unparalleled cast assembled by Lumley, including baritone Filippo Coletti as Prospero, soprano Henrietta Sontag as Miranda, dancer Carlotta Grisi as Ariel and bass Luigi Lablache as Caliban.<sup>14</sup> Lumley left no details to chance, prompting one critic to remark:

With such a cast, how could the Opera fail; but with such music, such scenery, and such interest, as Scribe has infused into the various characters, how is it possible it could be otherwise than perfectly successful.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 374, who asserts that the libretto was originally presented to Mendelssohn for operatic treatment. According to Chorley, Mendelssohn refused the project because of the “conventional monstrosities” that were “thrust into it.”

<sup>12</sup> *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 16 June 1850: “Quelle plus grande preuve d’entente cordiale entre la littérature, la musique et la danse de toutes les nations de l’Europe, que cet opéra italien composé par deux Français pour la capitale de l’Angleterre, chanté, dansé par des artistes français, anglais, italiens et allemands devant un auditoire cosmopolite! Et qu’on vienne encore soutenir qu’il n’y a rien de nouveau sous le soleil! O Salomon, le roi des proverbes, tu serais bien force de rétracter celui-là, si tu vivais!”

<sup>13</sup> *Musical World* (London), 15 June 1850.

<sup>14</sup> For a complete cast list and description of singers, see Appendix G.

<sup>15</sup> *Theatrical Journal* (London), 13 June 1850.

This unique blend of Shakespeare and grand opera spectacle did not appeal, however, to everyone, and even today *La Tempesta* has its detractors. In his brief article in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Hugh McDonald writes that the events surrounding the collaboration for *La Tempesta* were “uncomfortably bizarre.”<sup>16</sup> Yet despite obvious tension between the authors’ respect for Shakespeare’s creation and their adherence to the conventions of nineteenth-century theatrical and operatic traditions, their adaptation is a work of surprising artistic integrity. In *La Tempesta*, French grand opera, the London Italian operatic tradition, and Shakespearean appropriation collide.<sup>17</sup> Thus, its composer, its librettist and its critics become agents of cultural change and of the process by which the negotiation of cultural difference is carried out, while the opera itself comes into focus only when seen from all three perspectives. This is the thesis that provides the starting point for this inquiry into the history of *La Tempesta* and its cultural significance.

#### METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE

This study examines *La Tempesta* from two fundamental perspectives: as a historical and cultural *event* comprising the opera’s production and reception in London; and as a musical and dramatic *work*, including such technical aspects as its harmony, form, and overall dramatic construction. In viewing the opera as an event, the study also addresses the cultural expectations that helped ensure its success, including the history of Shakespearean reception in both England and France, the tradition of Italian opera in London, and the role of cultural prejudices that existed between France and England.

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<sup>16</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. “Halévy,” by Hugh McDonald.

<sup>17</sup> For discussion on Shakespearean appropriation, see Christy Desmet and Robert Sawyer, ed., *Shakespeare and Appropriation* (London: Routledge, 1999).

Between the years 1800 and 1850, only two French operas are known to have used a Shakespearean play as subject matter. The first was *Macbeth*, adapted for operatic production at the Paris Opéra by Chelard in 1827. The second was *La Tempesta* in 1850, commissioned not for a French theatrical venue, but for the Italian opera in London (tab. 1). Several genres of European lyric drama, particularly Italian opera, French grand opéra and opéra comique, and melodrama appear to have exerted influence on the authors of *La Tempesta* in their effort at creating a successful event. Yet *La Tempesta* is also a work in its own right, created by two men who were recognized by contemporaries as leaders in each of their respective fields. Accordingly this study also provides a complete harmonic and formal analysis of the music, a textual analysis of the libretto, and a comparison of the libretto with Shakespeare's text.

Numerous contemporary accounts, including newspaper and journal reviews, published memoirs, and contemporary essays address *La Tempesta* as an event. London periodicals such as *The Musical Times*, *The Illustrated London News* and *The Musical World* proved most useful for the performances at Her Majesty's Theatre, while *La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* is a primary source for the Paris run of *La Tempesta*. The news of *La Tempesta* even reached the United States as evidenced in articles appearing in *The Messenger Bird*, a nineteenth-century American journal. Halévy's published letters, a detailed essay by Morris Barnett, and the memoirs of Benjamin Lumley, Henry Chorley and other contemporary critics were great help in the collection of first hand information.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> See Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*. The unpublished letters are held in three locations: the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, and the British Library in London. For the published letters, see Marthe Galland, ed., *Fromental Halévy Lettres* (Heilbronn: Musik-Edition Lucie Galland, 1999).

Table 1. French Operas Adapted from Shakespeare  
1790-1880<sup>19</sup>

Year	Title	Librettist/Composer	Shakespearean Play	Theatre
1790-1820	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i> (1792) <i>Roméo et Juliette</i> (1793)	Monnel/Dalayrac De Ségur/Steibelt	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	Feydeau
1820-1840	<i>Macbeth</i> (1827)	Chelard?/Chelard	<i>Macbeth</i>	Paris Opera
1840-1860	<i>La Tempesta</i> (1850) <i>Falstaffe</i> (1856)	Scribe/Halévy Saint Georges & Leunen/Adam	<i>The Tempest</i> <i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>	Her Majesty's (London) Théâtre Lyrique
1860-1880	<i>Béatrice et Benedict</i> (1862) <i>Roméo et Juliette</i> (1867) <i>Hamlet</i> (1868) <i>Les Amants de Vérone</i> (1878) <i>La tempête</i> (1880)	Berlioz/Berlioz Barbier & Carré/Gounod Barbier & Carré/Thomas d'Ivry/d'Ivry Silvestre & Berton/Duvernoy	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i> <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> <i>Hamlet</i> <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> <i>The Tempest</i>	Baden-Baden Théâtre Lyrique Paris Opéra

The textual comparison in chapter 3 uses *The Norton Shakespeare*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, as the source for Shakespeare's text.<sup>20</sup> This edition is both current and reliable, and its folio references are invaluable to an understanding of the early published editions. Finally, the musical analysis of chapter 4 uses the standard method of Roman numeral designation of chord structures to identify keys and key areas, and includes musical examples generated by *Finale* to demonstrate Halévy's melodic and harmonic choices.

<sup>19</sup> Table compiled using Wilson, *Shakespeare and Music* as the source.

<sup>20</sup> *Norton Shakespeare*, 3047-3107.

## DESCRIPTION OF PRIMARY SOURCES

A study of this nature obviously depends on the availability of reliable primary sources. The only published score for *La Tempesta* is the vocal score of 1851, and a bilingual Italian-English libretto was published in 1850.<sup>21</sup> Fortunately, the unpublished autograph score is extant and is housed in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra in Paris. Moreover, the British Library in London owns four of the orchestral parts for *La Tempesta*, but due to a significant amount of fire and water damage, these parts will be of limited use until the British Library has initiated and completed a full restoration of these items.<sup>22</sup>

The extant orchestral parts for *La Tempesta* are housed in the British Library as part of the King's Theatre Archive, Deposit 9212, box 33. Of the original instrumentation, only five parts survive: viola 3 and 4, clarinet, bassoon, and horn. These parts are bound separately, and often contain divisi sections. In their current condition, the parts are very fragile, and because there are numerous pages stuck together, a thorough examination was impossible. Some pertinent information was gleaned nonetheless.

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<sup>21</sup> See *La Tempesta: An Entirely New Grand Opera, in Three Acts. The Music Composed by Halévy; the Poem by Scribe. Founded on "The Tempest" of Shakespeare, and Composed Expressly for Her Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket* (London: J. Mitchell, Royal Library, 1850). This publication, according to the title page, was presumably a memento for audience members as it was "published and sold at Her Majesty's Theatre." Subsequent references to this publication will be cited as "Libretto." See also Karin Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and French Opera of the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 387, who states that *La Tempesta* appears in the Dentu Edition of the Complete Works of Eugène Scribe (Paris, 1875) "only in the form of scenarios, prose summaries in French of the Italian texts used by the composers." The libretto, in French, can be found in Eugène Scribe, "La Tempête," in *Œuvres Complètes* (Paris: E. Dentu, Librairie-Éditeur, 1876). With the exception of a few minor changes, this edition adheres closely to the 1850 publication.

<sup>22</sup> Fromental Halévy, "La Tempesta," orchestral parts, 1850-51, Deposit 9212 (King's Theatre Archive), Box No. 33, British Library, London. Held in this box are four separate parts for violas, clarinet (in both A and Bb), bassoon and horn. When appropriate, any information taken from these parts will be cited as BL 9212.

In the viola 3 part (the most readable of the two), the word “wind” had been penciled in at various points in the score. This indicates that sound effects were likely used in *La Tempesta*, and that the sound effect often served as a musical cue. Also, the parts contain a large number of cuts, defined by either slashes in grease pencil or by fragments of paper pinned to cover large sections of music. Moreover, the clarinet and bassoon parts both have the date “11 February 1851” penciled in lead on the opening page. Since *La Tempesta* was also performed in Paris in February of 1851, but with most of Act III and smaller portions of the other acts cut, it can be deduced with some certainty that these orchestral parts were used for the Paris performance and represent the changes made at that time.

The autograph score exists in three volumes, bound in red leather with marbled green front and back covers. On the front is a diamond shaped portion of red leather embossed with gold letters that reads “Madame F. Halévy.” The inside front cover identifies the binder as Papeterie-Relieure de A.<sup>te</sup> Lard-Esnault, Rue Feydeau No. 23 A Paris. The facing page reads “*la Tempesta in 3 atti, con prologo atto I*” and is signed by Halévy in brown ink (fig. 1). There is no date on the final page of Act I, but Halévy dated the completion of Act II as Monday, 15 April 1850, at 4:00 a.m. He was not as specific in dating the completion of Act III as it only reads “fine Act III, 1 May 1850.” A table of contents for Halévy’s manuscript can be viewed in Appendix I at the end of this document.

As can be viewed in the following timeline, significant changes were made between the time of completion of the manuscript and the publication of the vocal score (tab. 2). Moreover, the numerous reviews of *La Tempesta* published in contemporary periodicals reveal a number of discrepancies which indicate that additional changes were made between the initial performances at Her Majesty’s Theatre in 1850 and the publication of the vocal score sometime in 1851. The

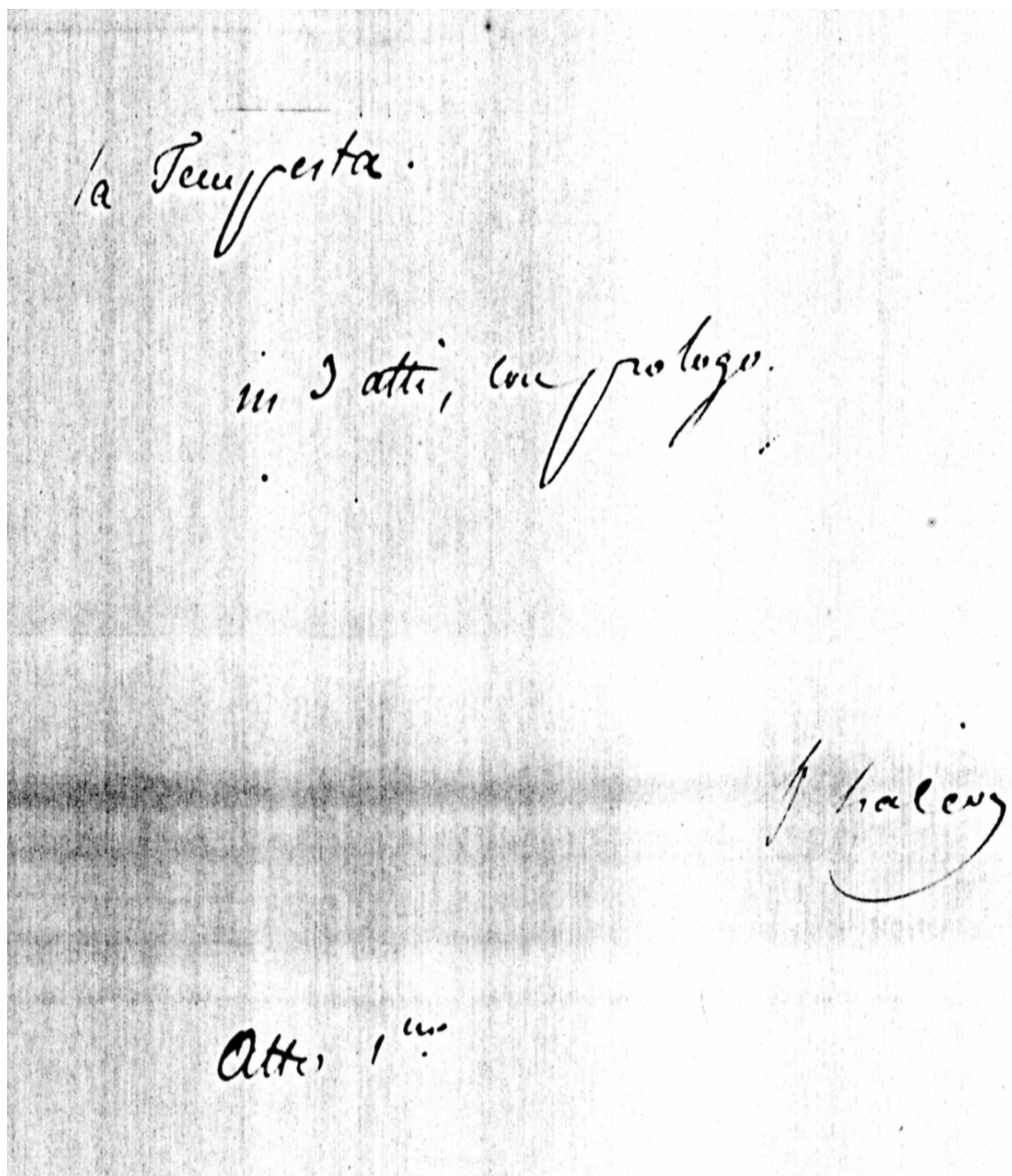


Figure 1. Title page of Autograph Score.

Table 2. Timeline for *La Tempesta* from Date of Composition to Premiere

Date	Event
16 January 1850	Halévy contracts with Her Majesty's Theatre as composer for <i>La Tempesta</i> <sup>23</sup>
15 April 1850	Halévy finishes Act II <sup>24</sup>
1 May 1850	Halévy finishes Act III <sup>25</sup>
7 May 1850	Halévy arrives in London to supervise rehearsals <sup>26</sup>
15 May 1850	Scribe arrives in London to supervise rehearsals <sup>27</sup>
25 May 1850	<i>Illustrated London News</i> announces that Ariel will be "enacted" by Carlotta Grisi <sup>28</sup>
6 June 1850	Original date announced for premiere <sup>29</sup>
8 June 1850	Actual date of premiere <sup>30</sup>

autograph score was completed on 1 May 1850, and the premiere occurred on 8 June 1850; yet the vocal score was not published until the following year. The libretto, however, was sold in conjunction with the performances at Her Majesty's Theatre, thereby establishing this source as

<sup>23</sup> Jean Claude Yon, *Eugène Scribe: la fortune et la liberté* (Librairie Nizet, 2000), 269.

<sup>24</sup> Réserve 1013, final page of Act II (vol. 2).

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., final page of Act III (vol. 3).

<sup>26</sup> Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 138.

<sup>27</sup> Yon, *Eugène Scribe*, 269.

<sup>28</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 25 May 1850.

<sup>29</sup> *Musical World* (London), 1 June 1850.

<sup>30</sup> See *Times* (London), 6 June 1850 and 7 June 1850.



the principal literary source for the 1850 London production. A published libretto for the Paris production either does not exist or has not been located, and the vocal score, while published closer to the Paris production, still does not reflect the significant cuts that occurred in the Paris revival as described in contemporaneous reviews.

The changes, additions, and deletions occurring between the manuscript and the published vocal score are rather numerous, as would be expected with any working piece of theater. These changes are summarized in Appendix J, and tabulated in detail in Appendix H. The majority of changes simply represent the necessary additions or deletions that must occur as a result of production demands. There are, however, two very significant differences that impact this study. First, in both the published libretto and the published vocal score, the character of Ariel was cast as a dancing role and was required to communicate only through gesture; yet in the autograph score the role of Ariel was intended to be sung. The second significant change involves Halévy's interpolation of Thomas Arne's *Where the bee sucks* into the score. In Act I of the vocal score, Halévy incorporated the famous English tune in the dance music for Ariel, a fact substantiated by the various reviews, most of which lavish praise upon Halévy for his ingenuity.<sup>31</sup> The autograph score, however, contains no such melody. Thus although the autograph score carries the authority of the composer, it is the published vocal score that more accurately represents both the event and the work that was produced in 1850.

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<sup>31</sup> For example, see *Times* (London), 10 June 1850, where the critic compliments Halévy's "good taste and judgment," while another critic for *The Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850, describes Halévy's innovation as "a most happy idea of the composer's, who deserves no less praise for the manner in which it [*Where the bee sucks*] was introduced than for the admirable relief given to it by the instrumentation." See also Lumley, *Reminiscences*, 280, who describes the audience's reaction saying: "Each hummed a melody. The melody was invariably the same. It was that of Arne. Poor Monsieur Halévy must have winced under it, even in the midst of his glory."

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

As far as can be determined, no in-depth study of the cultural reception and general musical merits of *La Tempesta* has been attempted. Ruth Jordan's book *Fromental Halévy: His Life & Music*, published in 1994, which remains the single authoritative biography on Halévy, devotes one chapter to the circumstances surrounding the creation and performance of *La Tempesta* and Halévy's experience in London during this period, but makes only cursory references to the actual music.<sup>32</sup> In the opening pages of chapter 15, entitled "Seven Weeks in London," Jordan describes a London public essentially unfamiliar with either Halévy or his work, except in the form of English adaptation. The majority of the chapter centers around Halévy's and Scribe's time spent in London, and includes discussion dealing with the supervised rehearsals of *La Tempesta* as well as the visit Halévy made to the exiled Louis Philippe. Jordan uses the remainder of the chapter to offer contemporary reactions to the opera. The present study not only considers a much broader spectrum of contemporary expectations and reactions, but also refers more specifically to *La Tempesta* as a work in interpreting them.

Since the publication of Jordan's book, research dealing with the work of Halévy has increased somewhat. The publication of Halévy's letters in 1999 also helped to bring Halévy's work to the forefront of *grand opéra* research, and as Sarah Hibbard notes:

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<sup>32</sup> Jordan's work builds on the biographical information provided by two prior articles on Halévy: John W. Klein, "Jacques Fromental Halévy (1799-1862)" in *The Music Review* 23 (1962): 13-19; and Curtiss, "Fromental Halévy," 196-214. See in particular chapter 15. Also, a short article dealing with *La Tempesta* can be found on the Meyerbeer Fan Club Website, but no bibliographical information is provided. For more information, see the Meyerbeer Fan Club URL located at [www.meyerbeer.com](http://www.meyerbeer.com).

In the light of this sidelining of a composer who was so clearly at the centre of operatic (indeed theatrical) culture in nineteenth-century Paris, this volume of letters, published to commemorate the bicentenary of his birth in 1799, is particularly welcome.<sup>33</sup>

Tom Kaufman's article, "Jacques Fromental Halévy: More Than a One-Opera Composer," also contributed greatly to the reintroduction of Halévy to the current scholarly and performing public. Kaufman points out that Halévy was indeed a prolific composer of not only French grand opéra, but also of opéra comique, providing brief synopses of many works performed during the "heyday of French *grand opéra*."<sup>34</sup> Robert Ignatius Letellier's article, "Meyerbeer, Halévy and Auber: Some New Perspectives on the World of Mid-Nineteenth-Century French Opera," while limited in scope, provides some interesting insights into the relationship among these three great composers using entries from Meyerbeer's published diaries.<sup>35</sup>

More important still is the work of Dianna R. Hallman at the University of Kentucky. Her book *Opera, Liberalism, and Antisemitism in Nineteenth-Century France: The Politics of Halévy's La Juive*, published in 2002, is a monumental study not only of the cultural implications of *La Juive*'s overtly Jewish subject and characters, but also of Halévy's personal

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<sup>33</sup> Sarah Hibberd, review of *Fromental Halévy: Lettres*, ed. Marthe Galland, in *Music and Letters* 82, no. 1 (February 2001): 118-120. Hibberd also addresses the neglect of Halévy's contributions until now to an overshadowing by the work of Meyerbeer, the composer "who is generally recognized as the quintessential creator of the genre [*grand opéra*]."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Tom Kaufman, "Jacques Fromental Halévy: More Than a One-Opera Composer," in *The Opera Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (Autumn 1999): 660.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Ignatius Letellier, "Meyerbeer, Halévy and Auber: Some New Perspectives on the World of Mid-Nineteenth-Century French Opera," in *Opera Journal* 34, no. 2 (June 2001): 3-25.

musical language.<sup>36</sup> Her subsequent article “The grand operas of Fromental Halévy,” appearing in the recent publication of *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera*, offers a comprehensive glimpse of Halévy’s “strong but embattled reputation as a composer of grand opera.”<sup>37</sup> In this article, Hallman introduces the reader to a select number of Halévy’s Paris operas and provides an unprecedented analysis of the composers musical methods. Moreover, Hallman includes independent sections that deal specifically with Halévy’s compositional style, form, and orchestration. Likewise, the current study examines the particular stylistic contributions of Fromental Halévy by analyzing the harmonic and formal content of *La Tempesta*. It also follows Hallman’s lead by analyzing Halévy’s harmonic and melodic choices in light of the dramatic elements found in Scribe’s libretto. While Hallman includes insights into Halévy’s abilities and contributions as an orchestrator, the role of orchestration lies outside the scope of this study.

This newly emerging body of literature represents an exciting time for studies dealing with French opera, and more specifically Halévy. The present cultural study of Halévy’s *La Tempesta* adds another chapter to this body of literature, and suggests that further research dealing with the musical and operatic contributions of Fromental Halévy is indeed merited.

#### **ORGANIZATION AND SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS**

In keeping with the perspective of this study as outlined earlier, chapter 2 deals with *La Tempesta* as event. The chapter opens with a survey of cultural *expectations* that were relevant to the ultimate success or failure of the opera. It then presents the story of *La Tempesta* chronologically, beginning with its conception originally in the hands of Mendelssohn and

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<sup>36</sup> Diana R. Hallman, *Opera, Liberalism, and Antisemitism in Nineteenth-Century France: The Politics of Halévy’s La Juive* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>37</sup> Hallman, “grand operas,” 233.

Scribe, and continuing through to the successful premiere and reception at Her Majesty's Theatre in 1850 London. Among the various expectations discussed are: the history and cultural role of Italian opera in London; nineteenth-century French grand opéra and opéra comique; Shakespearean reception in England and, to a lesser degree, in France; and the traditions of melodrama and pantomime in France and England.

Chapter 3 focuses on the libretto of *La Tempesta* as a work, and includes an analysis of its dramatic construction in relation to contemporary operatic and dramatic conventions. It also analyzes Scribe's libretto by comparing it to Shakespeare's text. These comparisons reveal that Scribe made certain changes to Shakespeare's text in an effort to adapt both text and plot to conventions associated not only with nineteenth-century opera in general, but also with London's Italian opera stage in particular. The chapter addresses the cuts and additions found in the published score as compared to the published libretto, and provides explanations regarding the rationale for such amendments whenever possible. It also analyzes how trends in nineteenth-century interpretations of Shakespeare influenced the choices Scribe made for the libretto of *La Tempesta*, and considers the crucial role of contemporary performances of Shakespeare's *Tempest* in London.

Chapter 4 deals with *La Tempesta* as a musical work and includes both a harmonic and formal musical analysis of the opera. The analysis is presented in conjunction with narrative details of the plot, and includes musical examples that illustrate Halévy's compositional style. Where applicable, contemporary critical reviews of Halévy's music are incorporated into the narrative, helping to further illustrate how Halévy was viewed among nineteenth-century London critics.

Finally, chapter 5 completes the story of *La Tempesta* by examining its afterlife in the London burlesque *La! Tempest! Ah!* and in the unsuccessful revival in Paris. The last part of the chapter provides conclusions that can be drawn from evaluating this particular opera both as a work and as an event, and offers an assessment of what can be learned about the vicissitudes of French and English taste as a result of this detailed study of one work and its reception.

## CHAPTER 2

### ***LA TEMPESTA IN LONDON: EXPECTATIONS, PRODUCTION, AND RECEPTION***

*And when I have required  
Some heavenly music—which even now I do—  
To work mine end upon their senses that  
This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,  
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,  
And deeper than did ever plummet sound  
I'll drown my book. [Prospero]<sup>1</sup>*

From its inception, the odds were not in favor for a successful reception of *La Tempesta*. The project, which should only have taken a year to complete, ultimately took four years to mount.<sup>2</sup> The reasons for this were twofold: adverse reactions to Scribe's libretto by Mendelssohn, the composer originally contracted for the opera, and managerial problems inherited by Benjamin Lumley at Her Majesty's Theatre. Yet in spite of mixed reviews among the press and disdain from Shakespearean purists, *La Tempesta* enjoyed a short-lived but surprisingly successful run during the summer of 1850. It is therefore curious that this work, with its moments of extreme deviation from Shakespeare and its inescapably French authorship, should have found a way to work its "airy charm" on a public so well-versed in Shakespeare and so accustomed to opera by only Italian composers. In an attempt to understand this cultural paradox, this chapter examines *La Tempesta* as an event. It explores the circumstances surrounding the creation, production, and reception of the opera at Her Majesty's and, more

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<sup>1</sup> Norton *Shakespeare* (5.1.51-57), 3099.

<sup>2</sup> See Lumley, *Reminiscences*, particularly chapters 13 and 19.

specifically, its *Erwartungsrichtung*, the “trajectory of expectations” applicable to *La Tempesta* as an event in time.<sup>3</sup>

### TRAJECTORIES OF EXPECTATIONS

According to Hans Robert Jauss, the reception of a particular work of art relies on “a tradition or series of previously known works, and from a specific attitude, mediated by one (or more) genres and dissolved through new works.”<sup>4</sup> Three such trajectories of expectations are critical to *La Tempesta*: Italian operatic conventions in London; the legacy of Shakespeare in England and the contemporaneous reception of Shakespeare in France; and the burgeoning influence of popular drama—burlesque, pantomime, and melodrama—in London and on the continent alike. As both Halévy and Scribe were innovators in the creation and development of French grand opéra, this exploration into the reception of *La Tempesta* also takes into account the potential influences of other national schools, particularly the French, beginning with a brief overview of the state of European opera in 1850.

### EUROPEAN OPERA AT MID-CENTURY

By the middle of the nineteenth century, European opera was at a pivotal stage in its development as a lyrical genre, with almost every national school in some period of transition. In Italy, Giuseppe Verdi had begun a shift away from the populist conventions associated with *Nabucco* (1842) and *I Lombardi* (1843) and towards a decisively more dramatic style.<sup>5</sup> As David

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<sup>3</sup> Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 79.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> See Christopher Headington, Roy Westbrook, and Terry Barfoot, *Opera: A History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 194, who state “the stirring patriotic chorus of the Hebrew slaves [...] from *Nabucco* [...] had already become a rallying call for Italian nationalism, and now the Lombards' yearning for their native vineyards in Act IV of *I Lombardi* was a successful attempt to stir the same emotion.” See also David Kimbell, *Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 495, who states that both *Nabucco* and *I Lombardi* “are saturated in an atmosphere of popular, indigenous music-making,” and that this atmosphere is manifested in the music by “a thrusting forward momentum, propelled by strutting and stamping rhythms, coloured by the snarl of brass and the thud of percussion, punctuated from time to time by brutal explosions of noise.”



Kimbell points out, “Verdi had tired of the monumental and statuesque, and was in search of something ‘very fiery, packed with action [,] and concise.’”<sup>6</sup> Interestingly enough, Verdi’s quest for more “drama-packed” literary sources led him away from his native Italy and towards works indigenous to France, England, and Germany. *Ernani*, based on the play by Victor Hugo, premiered in 1844; *Macbeth*, derived from Shakespeare, followed in 1847; and *Louisa Miller*, drawn from Schiller’s *Kabale und Liebe*, was produced in 1849. In turning to foreign sources for his librettos, Verdi embarked on a path towards a conception of opera as a vehicle of “dramatic truth that might deepen and enrich contemporary opera.”<sup>7</sup> In the case of *Louisa Miller*, Verdi revealed a marked interest in the potential for melodrama as a means towards verismo:

With *Louisa Miller* and *Don Carlos* the aim of setting ‘real’ characters in a ‘real’ world is more fully achieved: Verdi does recreate something of a lifelike complexity in the relationship between the realm of personal feelings and that of social organization.<sup>8</sup>

Verdi’s idea of verismo was achieved completely in his masterpiece *Rigoletto*, which premiered at the Teatro La Fenice in Venice on 11 March 1851. For the libretto, Verdi turned once again to Victor Hugo and adapted his melodrama *Le roi s’amuse*, which contained realistic people dealing with realistic situations.<sup>9</sup> According to Kimbell, Gilda was perceived by Verdi as more realistic than “the aristocratic *grandes dames* who normally took the principal roles in Romantic opera,” and the deformed Rigoletto was “a character ‘worthy of Shakespeare.’”<sup>10</sup> With such realistic characters to work with, Verdi employed innovative techniques and forms in his pursuit

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<sup>6</sup> Letter to Domenico Bancalari, 11 December 1843, Franco Abbati, *Giuseppe Verdi* (Milan, 1959), cited in David Kimbell, “Romantic Opera 1830-1850: Italy” in *Romanticism*, ed. Gerald Abraham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 167.

<sup>7</sup> Kimbell, *Italian Opera*, 491.

<sup>8</sup> Kimbell, “Romantic Opera: Italy,” 173.

<sup>9</sup> See Kimbell, *Italian Opera*, 498, who states that “Hugo’s characters are melodramatically overdrawn, and seem entirely at home in the emotional confessional of aria and ensemble.”

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 500.

of dramatic and musical characterization. The result was an operatic form composed of “an unbroken chain of duets,” with no real arias and no large choral finales.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the “melodramatically overdrawn” characters of Hugo’s play provided the inspiration for musical treatment that would not impair the dramatic momentum of the opera. With *Rigoletto*, Verdi managed to achieve an unprecedented formula of musical continuity by which the music exhibited a “thrusting, forward momentum” and in which “everything is controlled and driven forward on orchestral themes or figurations.”<sup>12</sup>

Continuous opera, however, was not exclusively Italian. Mid-century Germany was also in a transitional period which would pave the way for a genre of continuous lyrical drama of its own: the music drama. Prior to the innovations of Richard Wagner, German opera was characterized as “romantic,” and was epitomized in Weber’s masterpiece *Der Freischütz*. Like Verdi, Wagner’s early opera *Rienzi* (1842) was composed using conventions that would appeal to the contemporary public, and resulted in “a grand opera in the fashion of the time, with just enough novelty to make it extremely popular.”<sup>13</sup> He followed this a year later with *Die fliegende Holländer*, a numbers opera with highly romantic elements that nonetheless exhibits a slight change in the relationship between the text and the music.<sup>14</sup> Though still a numbers opera,

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid. See also Headington et al, *Opera*, 198, who states that *Rigoletto* is “an innovative score: there are no big choral numbers, no grand finales, few conventional aria structures, and an astonishing gallery of characters.”

<sup>12</sup> Kimbell, *Italian Opera*, 512.

<sup>13</sup> Donald J. Grout, *A Short History of Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 395.

<sup>14</sup> See Grout, *Short History*, 396, who states that “the historical interest of *Der fliegende Holländer* lies [ . . . ] in the quality of the themes themselves, in the individualities of their harmonies, and the way they seem to embody the essential dramatic idea, completing its expression and giving it depth and emotional power.”

*Tannhäuser* (1845) is closer still to Wagner's idea of *Gesamtkunstwerk*. The breakthrough may be said to have occurred with *Lohengrin*, which premiered in Weimar in 1850 under the direction of Liszt. As Grout points out:

From the formal point of view *Lohengrin* has shed many traces of the traditional division into numbers, as well as much of the distinction between aria and recitative. The new free declamation is the normal style in this work, except in a few places like Elsa's "Einsam in trüben Tagen"—and even here the three strophes of the solo are separated by choruses and recitatives—*Lohengrin*'s narrative in Act III, the Bridal Chorus, and the duet following this.<sup>15</sup>

Wagner's new operatic aesthetic, born out of Beethoven's *Fidelio*, centered around "the significance of motive [. . .] in creating a new kind of musical order."<sup>16</sup> The result, according to Warrack, was what Wagner labeled "*unendliche Melodie* and the freedom of melodic utterance, guided by words and meaning."<sup>17</sup> In *Lohengrin*, Wagner relied more heavily than ever before on the use of motive for dramatic purposes in an attempt "to let plot and characters evolve in a way that was dramatically convincing and musically cohesive."<sup>18</sup>

The ideals of Verdi in Italy and of Wagner in Germany however, were still in the inchoate stages of development as of mid-century, and before Verdi's and Wagner's contributions had become internationally recognized, the eyes of the operatic world were on France. The first half of the nineteenth century was dominated by France, and Paris "was virtually the European capital of opera."<sup>19</sup> The Italian school, which had for so long dominated

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 401-402.

<sup>16</sup> John Warrack, *German Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 393.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 392.

<sup>18</sup> Headington et al., *Opera*, 149.

<sup>19</sup> Grout, *Short History*, 299.

operatic activity in eighteenth century Europe, had been overshadowed by that of the French to the point where “it seemed almost as if the Italians had been driven from German opera houses only to be replaced by the French.”<sup>20</sup> The French Revolution in 1789 resulted in a significant change in the social and political structures of not only France, but also the whole of Western Europe. After the Revolution, the bourgeois yearned for an art form that they could relate to. The opéra comique was the appropriate choice due to its use of spoken dialogue and because “it had dealt [. . .] with the emotions of men and women whose predicaments the audience could recognize as not too remote from their own.”<sup>21</sup> The Opéra Comique, split between the Théâtre Favart and the Théâtre Feydeau, merged in 1801, and five years later an imperial decree designated that only the Paris Opéra could produce works with recitative, while works with spoken dialogue were directed to the newly organized Opéra Comique.<sup>22</sup> Thus this distinction, not subject matter, determined genre.

While the opéra comique and its themes of revolution flourished among the middle classes, Napoleon attempted to revive the majestic *tragedie lyrique*. His predilection for Italian opera provided the catalyst for an influx of Italian artists, including composers Luigi Cherubini and Gaspare Spontini. Cherubini achieved more success with his opéras comiques, while Spontini seemed perfectly at home at the Paris Opéra (renamed *Academie Imperiale de Musique* in 1804 by Napoleon). *La Vestale*, his first *tragedie lyrique*, premiered in 1807. In addition to incorporating Italian features into the French form, Spontini also made a major contribution to

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 391.

<sup>21</sup> Winton Dean, “French Opera,” in *The Age of Beethoven: 1790-1830*, ed. Gerald Abraham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 31.

<sup>22</sup> When capitals are used in the term “Opéra Comique,” the reference is to the actual company. Lower case letters designate the genre.

the future of grand opéra with his use of large forces and expansive scenes.<sup>23</sup> Spontini's opera was a triumph in the eyes of Napoleon as it "inherently symboliz[ed] the 'grandeur' of the state."<sup>24</sup>

In 1829, Daniel-François-Esprit Auber's *La Muette de Portici* followed Spontini's example in its use of large crowd scenes and spectacular sets, providing the model for grand opéra, though in *La Muette*, spectacle was stretched to the limit with the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in the finale. The opera also draws on opéra comique for its revolutionary content, a theme which resurfaced a year later in Gioachino Rossini's *Guillaume Tell*.<sup>25</sup> *Tell* represented Rossini's first genuine French opera and proved to be a perfect vehicle for grand opéra. Opportunities for spectacle were available in the vast landscapes of the Alpine mountain range, the raging storm on the lake, and the colorful sunrise depicted in the finale. The productions of *La Muette* and *Guillaume Tell* were soon followed by other landmark grand operas, including Fromental Halévy's *La Juive* (1835) and Giacomo Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* (1836). The impact of grand opéra was great and far-reaching, and was "sufficiently powerful to continue developing in time and space: through the 1840's and beyond, and across an increasing number of countries."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See Dean, "French Opera," 79. Dean states that "Spontini's strength lay in his manipulation of big scenes of dramatic confrontation and in his enriched treatment of chorus and orchestra."

<sup>24</sup> David Charlton, "Romantic Opera" in *Romanticism: 1830-1890*, ed. Gerald Abraham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 85.

<sup>25</sup> See Ibid., 87.

<sup>26</sup> Charlton, "Introduction" in *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera*, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1.

By mid-century, however, French opera, like Italian and German, found itself in a state of transition. While grand opéra was still the most popular venue of lyrical drama, as demonstrated by the overwhelming success of Meyerbeer's *Le prophète* (1849), a new genre of French opera was in the making.<sup>27</sup> In 1851, Charles Gounod's *Sapho* premiered at the Paris Opéra, but was not deemed a success.<sup>28</sup> Yet it contained many of the elements which would characterize *opéra lyrique*, a hybrid genre somewhere between grand opéra and opéra comique.<sup>29</sup> Essentially, the goal was to scale down the spectacular elements of grand opéra so as to produce a genre "that should give scope to the French national genius for measured and refined lyrical expression or serious (or, at all events, not exclusively comic) subject matter, combined with a certain amount of ballet and similar stage entertainment."<sup>30</sup> As more emphasis was placed on drama than on spectacle, the popularity of grand opéra was eventually overshadowed by this hybrid genre, and with the premiere of Gounod's *Faust* in 1859, a new chapter in the history of French opera was begun.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> See Steven Huebner, "Le Prophète" in *The New Grove Book of Operas*, ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 513, who attributes much of the success of *Le Prophète* to "the popular uprising of June 1848."

<sup>28</sup> See Headington et al., *Opera*, 126.

<sup>29</sup> See Grout, *Short History*, 339, who defines opéra lyrique as [compared with grand opéra] "more inward in the emotions expressed, smaller in dimensions, and more unified in mood." See also David Charlton, "Opera 1850-1890: France" in *Romanticism: 1830-1890*, ed. Gerald Abraham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 340, who states that *Sapho* may be categorized as "the first *opéra lyrique* of its period."

<sup>30</sup> Grout, *Short History*, 339.

<sup>31</sup> See *Ibid.*, 341.

## LONDON AND THE ITALIAN OPERATIC TRADITION

For London audiences attending either Her Majesty's Theatre or the Royal Opera at Covent Garden at the middle of the nineteenth century, the opera was *Italian opera*. This is not to say that operas in German, French and even English were not part of the operatic repertoire of mid-century London. Indeed, audiences were exposed to these genres not only through travels abroad, but also within the very theatres of London. Seldom, however, were operas performed in any language other than Italian.<sup>32</sup> Theatre managers knew that their audiences preferred their opera in Italian, and "the translation of operas was often a requirement written into a theatre's license."<sup>33</sup> English productions of continental operas were often Italian translations or adaptations of the originally foreign sources, and as Sara Hibberd points out:

Essentially, Italian was a language associated with cultivation, while English was more generally linked to the popular, less-educated classes. For much of the [nineteenth] century French and German operas appeared in their original language only when performed by visiting troupes.<sup>34</sup>

If an import other than Italian had a chance, it would have been German, and French opera was only just beginning to find an audience in London at mid-century.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> See Daniel Nalbach, *The King's Theatre: 1704-1867* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1972), 116-117; and Harold Rosenthal, *Opera at Covent Garden: A Short History* (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1967), 18-19.

<sup>33</sup> Sara Hibberd, "Grand opera in Britain and the Americas" in *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera*, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 404.

<sup>34</sup> Hibberd, "Grand opera in Britain, 404.

<sup>35</sup> Pearsall, *Popular Music*, 149, remains useful. See also Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 149-150, who writes regarding the year 1844: "The Italians since the days of Rameau have, as a nation, set their faces against French opera; and our dilettanti have no less foolishly confined themselves to the pleasure derived from two schools of music, in place of enjoying three. Only very lately has the Chinese Wall of such prejudice been forced down in a place or two." See also Nalbach, *King's Theatre*, 117, who cites *Fidelio* and *Der Freischütz* as "notable exception[s] to the practice of giving operas in Italian regardless of the language of either the source of the libretto or the libretto itself."

Italian opera had been popular on the London stages since the time of Handel and the great *castrati* of the eighteenth century, when “the fashion of opera being sung in Italian by imported singers began.”<sup>36</sup> The English predilection for Italian opera was perpetuated by Charles Burney who, according to Pearsall, “affirmed that the only good opera was Italian opera, and the nineteenth-century aristocracy turned this into dogma.”<sup>37</sup> Here we need to take special note of the use of the word “aristocracy.” The reception we are studying stems from a century-long tradition that was associated specifically with the musical habits of London’s upper class. As Herman Klein tells us, “the opera was, as it always has been, the amusement of the wealthy, and one of the principal resorts of fashion.”<sup>38</sup> By mid-century, however, patronage by the aristocracy was on the wane, and, according to Rachel Cowgill, “a general shift in the social and dynamic make-up of Italian opera audiences in London” revealed a strong interest in Italian opera by London’s middle-class citizens.<sup>39</sup> The motivations for attending the Italian opera for the middle class were not the same as those of the upper class, and it is necessary to consider briefly these differences.

The tastes of the upper class were tied closely to the traditions associated with the Italian opera of eighteenth-century London, which revolved around “pasticci, borrowings [,] and

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<sup>36</sup> Rosenthal, *Covent Garden*, 13.

<sup>37</sup> Pearsall, *Popular Music*, 150. See also William B. Boulton, *The Amusements of Old London* (London: 1901) quoted in Theodore Fenner, *Opera In London: Views of the Press 1785-1830* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 65, who concludes that “Italian opera became a ‘plaything of the aristocracy’ from 1720 to 1728 and indeed ‘has remained so since.’”

<sup>38</sup> Herman Klein, *The Golden Age of Opera* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), xvi.

<sup>39</sup> Cowgill, “Wise Men,” 62.



ornamental singing.”<sup>40</sup> Indeed, as late as 1830, “there were no fewer than *three* English versions of Rossini [operas].”<sup>41</sup> The practice of arranging foreign operas for the English stage stretched as far back as the early eighteenth century, but it was primarily through the efforts of Henry Bishop that London first heard many Italian masterworks. Rosenthal explains that:

[Bishop] also ‘arranged’ a number of foreign operas for the English stage including Boïeldieu’s *Jean de Paris* (1814) and *Don Giovanni* (1817) which was given at Covent Garden as *The Libertine*, ‘founded on the interesting story of Don Juan, in which will be introduced the celebrated music of Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*’.<sup>42</sup>

It was this practice of adaptation, according to Hogarth, that “strengthened the growing taste for foreign dramatic music, and created that demand for Italian and German productions which ultimately injured his [Bishop’s] own popularity.”<sup>43</sup>

Moreover, this cultivation of Italian opera served as the catalyst for a phenomenon that scholars refer to as the *star system*, whereby:

One star singer—usually the prima donna seria—tended to dominate the company, commanding a high salary and wielding great influence over production decisions, while the remainder of the company was made up of third-or fourth-rate singers.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England* (London, 1952) quoted in Fenner, *Opera in London*, 85. See also 67-68, where Fenner states: “It cannot be overstressed, then, that most of the *opere serie* we are dealing with in this study were pasticcio,” and that “this practice was confined largely to commercial houses and arose from the power of the impresarios to diminish the risk of failure, for example, by selecting arias that had already won favor with the public.” See also Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 17, who describes London’s introduction to Donizetti: “Donizetti, however, was not an utter stranger here [London]. A duet of his, introduced into a pasticcio opera by Bochsa, called *I Messicani*, had, a season or two earlier [1829], excited attention.”

<sup>41</sup> See Fenner, *Opera in London*, 490, who identifies the three “versions” as *Cinderella*, based on *Cenerentola*; *Ninetta*, based on *Gazza Ladra*; and *Hofer*, based on *Guillaume Tell*.

<sup>42</sup> Rosenthal, *Covent Garden*, 19.

<sup>43</sup> Hogarth, *Musical History*, 168.

<sup>44</sup> Cowgill, “Wise Men,” 45.

As Cowgill goes on to describe, these singers wielded an incredible amount of power within the theatre, and the source of this power lay in the adoration of London's aristocracy. There is no reason to doubt that a certain percentage of London's upper class patrons may well have been drawn to an opera strictly for its musical-dramatic merits, but historical evidence suggests that the majority of them attended simply to be in close proximity to the singers they adored.

According to Rosenthal, "the adulation of leading singers by the public that had started in Handel's time [. . .] increased, encouraged not only by influential figures in society, but also by the young men of fashion."<sup>45</sup> Thus a night at the opera meant two things for the aristocracy: an opportunity to hear their favorite singer and, perhaps even more important, the opportunity to see and be seen.<sup>46</sup> As Fenner describes, "the nobility did not usually arrive until the performance was well under way [. . .] and there was much chatter and visiting during the performance [. . .] though the guests occasionally paused to listen to a favorite prima donna sing a favorite aria."<sup>47</sup> Indeed, the adulation of Italian singers was so powerful that it was not uncommon for the upper class patrons "to enlist fashionable prima donnas for their private concerts."<sup>48</sup>

There were some, however, who objected to the indifferent attitude displayed by the upper-class patrons at the Opera. In 1829, a critic for the *Examiner* noted that:

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<sup>45</sup> Rosenthal, *Covent Garden*, 26.

<sup>46</sup> See Fenner, *Opera in London*, 85, who states: "The main interest of the boxholders—the principal source of revenues for the King's—lay less in the performance than in the aristocratic society around them." See also Jennifer Lee Hall, "The Re-fashioning of Fashionable Society: Opera-going and Sociability in Britain, 1821-1861" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1996), 4.

<sup>47</sup> Fenner, *Opera in London*, 85.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

Mr. Laporte, or his blessed understrappers, perhaps judge, and we think they judge correctly, in setting down one half of the audience at the Italian opera as wholly incompetent to give an opinion upon music, and the other half as utterly indifferent to everything within the walls except the drama, and the exhibition of their own precious persons, which passion almost absorbs the other.<sup>49</sup>

While the writer may have been correct in his estimation of the audience's musical taste, opera house managers would nonetheless continue to cater to the fashionable whims of society until mid-century, even though a noticeable change in the make-up of the audience had begun to occur.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Her Majesty's Theatre was *the* home to Italian opera in London, and as Daniel Nalbach tells us, "the history of Italian opera in London is virtually the history of the King's (later Her Majesty's) Theatre" (fig.2).<sup>50</sup> Her Majesty's Theatre claimed the credit for introducing Italian opera to London, and as Frederick Petty explains:

Among the several institutions which encouraged the foreign musician, the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, as the domicile of London's Italian opera, stood preeminent. Built in 1705 by the architect-dramatist Sir John Vanbrugh and christened the Queen's Theatre in honour of Queen Anne, it was here, with the production of *Almahide* in 1710, that London witnessed its first opera "*wholly in Italian, and by Italian singers* [Petty's italics]."<sup>51</sup>

Throughout the eighteenth century, Her Majesty's Theatre presented the brightest and best new operas, imported directly from the Italian stages. In his grand essay on the musical history of Western Europe, George Hogarth provided a rundown of Italian composers who

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<sup>49</sup> *Examiner* (London), 1829, cited in Fenner, *Opera in London*, 92.

<sup>50</sup> Nalbach, *King's Theatre*, remains useful for a history of Her Majesty's Theatre, formerly known as The King's Theatre. See also Hall, "Re-fashioning," 10, who confirms that "before 1843, Her Majesty's Theatre was the only theatre in London licensed to perform operas in Italian."

<sup>51</sup> Frederick C. Petty, *Italian Opera in London, 1760-1800* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 22.

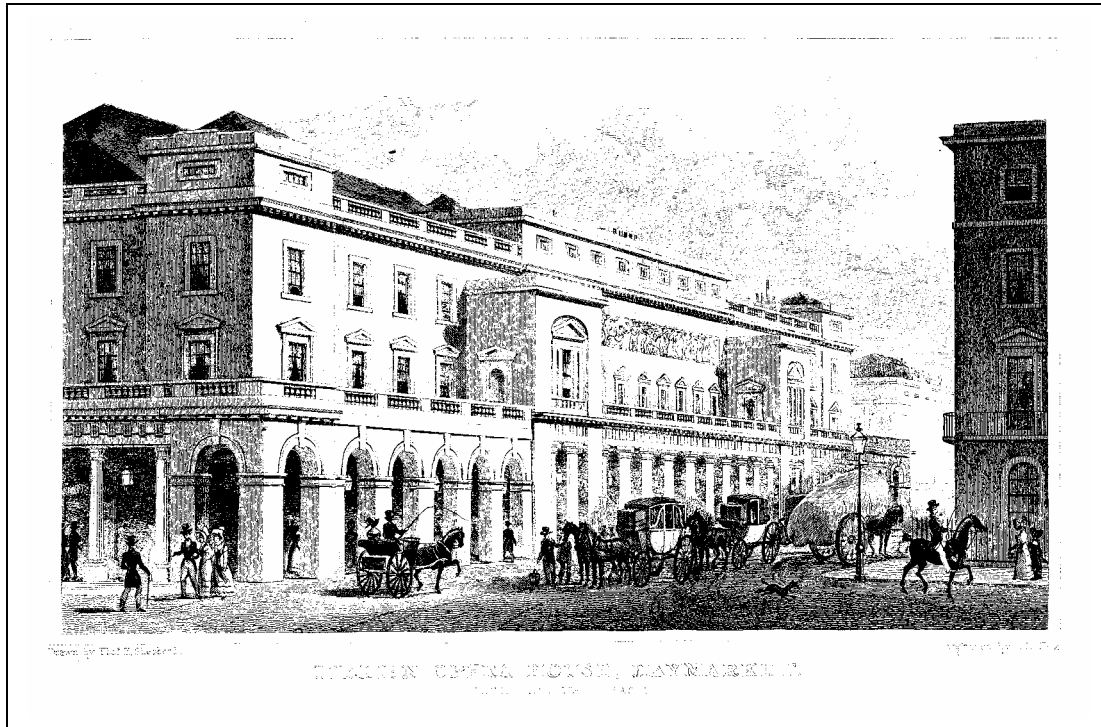


Figure 2. Her Majesty's Theatre at the Haymarket, after 1819,  
used by permission of Jennifer Hall-DeWitt.

found favor among an eighteenth-century London public:

The composers [Steffani, Clari, Durante, Marcello, Porpora, Perez, Hasse, Leo, Vinci, Feo and Pergolesi] [. . .] were employed, nearly contemporaneously, in advancing the state of Italian music, toward the beginning of the last century. They were followed by another generation, whose labors were likewise nearly contemporaneous, among whom were Galuppi, Jomelli, Piccini, Sacchini, Guglielmi, Traetta, Terradellas, and others; and these, again, were succeeded by a third generation, which is distinguished by possessing the names of Paesiello and Cimarosa.<sup>52</sup>

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, London was virtually “a satellite of Italy, and works were of course imported directly from Italian theatres.”<sup>53</sup> The aristocratic patrons of the Italian Opera were well aware of this status, and their preoccupation with Italian opera established Her Majesty’s Theatre as “the social resort of the nobility” of London.<sup>54</sup>

During the initial decades of the nineteenth century interest in Italian opera became even greater than before, due in part to the “enormous popularity of Mozart and Rossini.”<sup>55</sup> While the initial reception of Mozart’s operas in London was tepid, his works, particularly *Don Giovanni*, had become a mainstay of the Italian Opera by 1830.<sup>56</sup> Indeed by mid-century, composers of Italian opera then in vogue found their works being measured against the standard of Mozart’s dramatic genius. Referring to Mozart’s concerted treatment of the orchestra, particularly within the ensemble finales, Hogarth concludes:

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<sup>52</sup> Hogarth, *Musical History*, 74.

<sup>53</sup> Petty, *Italian Opera*, 37.

<sup>54</sup> Cowgill, “Wisemen,” 42.

<sup>55</sup> Fenner, *Opera in London*, 93.

<sup>56</sup> See Cowgill, “Wisemen,” 43-51; and 61, who states: “It was the phenomenal success of the long-awaited King’s Theatre premiere of *Don Giovanni* in 1817 that decisively established Mozart in the Italian opera repertoire of London.” See also Fenner, *Opera in London*, 140-141, who states that “*Don Giovanni* was only the crest of the Mozartian wave that lasted from 1816-1820, when his operas averaged nearly 50 percent of all performances.”

This method, accordingly, was so attractive, that its universal adoption has made all the older musicians of the stage appear meager and unsatisfactory; and modern audiences will hardly listen with patience even to the masterpieces of Gluck, Piccini, or Paesiello;—an unhappy, but necessary consequence of the ceaseless changes to which every description of music—save the highest of all—are liable.<sup>57</sup>

Rossini was put to a similar test. When his *Il barbiere di Siviglia* premiered at the King's Theatre in 1818, a critic for the *Morning Chronicle* wrote:

As a whole, this Opera is much too long; it might be curtailed of some pieces, amongst which are two that have, we suspect, been interpolated, and may easily be pointed out. It has also too much of the same colouring throughout, and notwithstanding the merit that it really possesses, has been over-rated, particularly by those mischievous friends who have been so extravagant in their praise, as to institute something of a comparison between this and the operas of Mozart.<sup>58</sup>

London critics were not won over easily, but by 1819 Rossini's operas "were offering a challenge to Mozart's."<sup>59</sup> While Rossini's operas remained a staple of the Italian opera repertoire at Her Majesty's Theatre through mid-century, the years 1820-1830 represent London's Rossini period, and this time it was Rossini whom critics used to measure the stylistic merits of others:

The vivacity of his style, the freshness of his melodies, the richness (for an Italian) of his combinations, the room and verge afforded to the singers, make up a whole in comparison with which the brightest splendours of Cimarosa and Paisiello and Paër (to whom Signor Rossini is indebted for many of his forms) are but so many faded and pale emanations from luminaries of a second order.<sup>60</sup>

As late as 1848, Rossini still had an ardent admirer in critic George Hogarth, who expressed his displeasure with the current state of Italian operatic composition by saying:

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<sup>57</sup> Hogarth, *Musical History*, 106.

<sup>58</sup> Cited in William C. Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London: 1789-1820* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1955), 152.

<sup>59</sup> Fenner, *Opera in London*, 141. See also 149, where Fenner states that "with the opening of his melodrama *La Gazza Ladra* in 1821, the popularity of Rossini began to snowball."

<sup>60</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 24.

The present Italian composers are mere imitators of Rossini, and are much more successful in copying his defects than his beauties. They are, like him, full of mannerism; with this difference, that his manner is *his own*, while theirs is his. [. . .] This general description applies to them all. Paccini, Mercadante, Bellini, and Donizetti are all alike—“*fortem Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum*”—and have not a single distinctive feature.<sup>61</sup>

Bellini made his London debut with his *Il Pirata* in 1830, and Donizetti was introduced a year later with his *Anna Bolena*, but neither found immediate favor in London.<sup>62</sup> Chorley described Bellini as “little more than an amateur, promising an artist [*sic*],” and Donizetti as “essentially a second-rate composer.”<sup>63</sup> The fickle tides of London operatic taste however, were destined to change, and by mid-century the operas of Bellini and Donizetti represented the standard by which Verdi, the newest composer on the scene, was measured. In 1847, one critic for *The Musical World* asserted:

It may, with a show of reason, be said that Verdi is the popular composer of the day. We cannot think it. We consider the Verdi-mania to be on a par with the Lind-mania, which a few seasons will dissipate, leaving not a rack of reputation behind to comfort the neglected composer. Who would calmly think of comparing Donizetti with Verdi? Donizetti *is* a musician.<sup>64</sup>

Years after his death, Bellini’s music finally found favor, and a critic for *The Illustrated London News* proclaimed that “with Bellini the modern Italian opera school may be stated to have expired, as Verdi’s works are still a vexed question.”<sup>65</sup>

Most of London, however, had made up its mind about Verdi. While Chorley certainly acknowledged the merits of Verdi’s style, he was just as quick to point out the composer’s faults:

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<sup>61</sup> Hogarth, *Musical History*, 157.

<sup>62</sup> See Fenner, *Opera in London*, 143; and William Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 66.

<sup>63</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 69 and 104.

<sup>64</sup> *Musical World* (London), 16 October 1847.

<sup>65</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 22 February 1851.

There is a mixture of grandeur in portions of Signor Verdi's operas, alternated with puerilities, which is impossible to be outdone in its triteness and folly.<sup>66</sup>

In the summer of 1847, Verdi traveled to London to supervise the rehearsals for the premiere of his *I Masnadieri*, commissioned by Lumley and expressly composed for Her Majesty's Theatre.

The premiere was deemed a success by most accounts, but its success was more a result of the star power of the singers than from any real appreciation of Verdi.<sup>67</sup> William Weaver reports that while Queen Victoria was much moved by the performances of soprano Jenny Lind (Amelia) and tenor Italo Gardoni (Carlo), Verdi's music was not at all to her liking.<sup>68</sup> *The Musical World* issued an abrasive rebuke to Benjamin Lumley and proclaimed him guilty of lowering the standards of the Italian Opera at the behest of the power of the star system, saying:

But Mr. Lumley had his subscribers to propitiate; and these are for the most part aristocrats and fashionables; and aristocrats and fashionables are fond of Verdi's *music* (MUSIC!!) and therefore Mr. Lumley is entitled to the thanks of his subscribers for the spirit which induced him to lay out about £1200 (£1000 for Verdi, and £200 for mounting his *I Masnadieri*) to secure for them such an exquisite treat as three whole acts of new inspirations from the most popular (and the worst) composer of modern Italy.<sup>69</sup>

The failure of *I Masnadieri* left London audiences with little admiration for Verdi's style, particularly in light of London's newfound fondness for Donizetti and Bellini.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 182.

<sup>67</sup> The cast included soprano Jenny Lind as Amelia, bass Luigi Lablache as Massimiliano, and tenor Italo Gardoni as Carlo. See William Weaver, *The Golden Century of Italian Opera from Rossini to Puccini* (NY: Thames and Hudson, Inc., 1980), 134-135; and Roger Parker, "I Masnadieri" in *The New Grove Book of Operas*, ed. Stanley Sadie (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 405, who states that the "triumphant success [was] aided by the fame of the singers, especially Lind and Lablache, one of the great names of the previous generation of Italian singers."

<sup>68</sup> Weaver, *Golden Century*, 134.

<sup>69</sup> *Musical World* (London), 28 August 1847.

<sup>70</sup> See Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 190, who states that at the same time that Verdi's initial operas were experiencing failure, "two of Donizetti's operas new to England were also introduced [...] and both of them successful." See also Parker, "I masnadieri," 405, who states that "Verdi felt out of touch and out of sympathy with the English environment and may have been unsure of the audience's taste and requirements."



While Henry Chorley’s predilection for the operas of Rossini may have clouded his judgment regarding the stylistic contributions of Donizetti and Bellini, he nevertheless correctly predicted in 1831 that “the time of Donizetti and Bellini, though at hand, was still to come.”<sup>71</sup> Indeed “the time of Donizetti and Bellini” did arrive, but even then their works fell under the shadow of Mozart and Rossini, whose operas had by that time become an integral part of operatic culture in London. Even after the Mozart and Rossini fevers had run their course, their works continued to dominate the stage until 1850 (tab. 3).

Table 3. Popularity of Italian Operas by Mozart and Rossini in London, 1830-1850<sup>72</sup>

Title of Opera	Number of Seasonal Representations
<i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i> (Rossini)	16
<i>La Cenerentola</i> (Rossini)	10
<i>Così fan tutte</i> (Mozart)	2
<i>La donna del lago</i> (Rossini)	8
<i>La Gazza ladra</i> (Rossini)	11
<i>Don Giovanni</i> (Mozart)	18
<i>Otello</i> (Rossini)	13
<i>Semiramide</i> (Rossini)	14

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<sup>71</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 18.

<sup>72</sup> Information for this table was drawn from Chorley, *Thirty Years*.

The next trajectory of expectations to be considered is that of Shakespearean reception and appropriation. In the first chapter of his book *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, Michael Booth describes the theatrical habits of Queen Victoria around the time of her coronation, stating that:

[I]n a few excursions to the theatre the Queen nicely spanned almost the whole spectrum of the Victorian popular theatre: farce, pantomime, melodrama [,] and animals on stage. Add to this a penchant for opera, Shakespeare [,] and comedy, and it can be seen that in her own person Victoria was the true embodiment of the theatrical taste of her subjects.<sup>73</sup>

Booth's reference to the English penchant for Shakespeare confirms that the nineteenth century had not forgotten Shakespeare, who "by the late eighteenth century [had] been apotheosized as England's greatest writer."<sup>74</sup> By mid-century, England's reverence for the bard was seemingly immeasurable, and in 1841 Thomas Carlyle made the following proclamation regarding Shakespeare:

Here, I say, is an English King, whom no time or chance, Parliament or combination of Parliaments, can dethrone! This King Shakespeare, does not he shine, in crowned sovereignty, over us all, as the noblest, gentlest, yet strongest of rallying-signs; *indestructible*; really more valuable in that point of view than any other means or appliance whatsoever? We can fancy him as radiant aloft over all the Nations of Englishmen, a thousand years hence.<sup>75</sup>

Yet the early decades of the nineteenth century experienced a "general retrograde movement in drama," and as the state of drama gradually deteriorated, the frequency of Shakespeare's works

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<sup>73</sup> Michael Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1.

<sup>74</sup> See Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, "Introduction" to *The Arden Shakespeare: The Tempest* (London: Thomson Learning, 2001), 85.

<sup>75</sup> Thomas Carlyle, 'The Hero as Poet' in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), 149.

on the stages of London became significantly diminished.<sup>76</sup> It was not until the revivals, mounted first by Charles Macready in the 1830's and continued throughout the 1840's by Samuel Phelps and the 1850's by Charles Kean, that Shakespeare's plays once again became a mainstay in the repertoire of the London theatres.<sup>77</sup> One reason for the seeming lack of interest in Shakespeare's plays stemmed from early nineteenth-century interpretations of the Licensing Act of 1737, which resulted in increased competition some popular drama, as discussed in the next section of this chapter. Perhaps more importantly, the advent of romanticism in the early years of the nineteenth century spawned a wave of Shakespearean criticism, resulting in monumental shift that encouraged the evaluation of Shakespeare's works as private literary masterpieces rather than public stage productions.

Thus one reason for the shortage of Shakespearean plays at the beginning of the nineteenth century can be attributed to the debate between those who championed Shakespeare's works for the stage and those who believed Shakespeare's genius could only be revealed on the page. As romanticism spread throughout Western Europe, the literati were quick to identify authors who could accurately represent the elements and ideals of romanticism. For many, that author was William Shakespeare. According to Lillian Furst:

In the crystallization of a new dramatic ideal, Shakespeare was the primary activating catalyst, the "yeast" which triggered the process of assessing and renewing dramatic theory and theatrical practice.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 58.

<sup>77</sup> See especially the introduction to Richard W. Schoch, *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>78</sup> Furst, "Formation," 4.

In England, the ideals of romantic drama during the first half of the century were espoused by such influential critical writers as Charles Lamb and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, whose essays on Shakespeare “helped develop a mode of interpreting Shakespeare which privileged putatively ‘transcendent’ reading over the vicissitudes of live performance.”<sup>79</sup> Allardyce Nicoll asserts that:

For Coleridge, the critic, Shakespeare was a pure poet and a creator of character; concerning the playwright’s dramatic construction the author of *Biographia Literaria* is silent. Hazlitt has a somewhat clearer view of what is wanted in a drama, but even he fails; while for Lamb a play is evidently good when it possesses one or two passages of lyrical beauty.<sup>80</sup>

Adherents to the ideals of Lamb and Coleridge believed Shakespeare’s genius was lost in live performance, and could only be revealed in the written word. As Robert Sawyer points out:

The distinction between Shakespeare on page and stage quickened in the early nineteenth century, partly due to the romantic championing of unmediated access to the “author’s” mind, and this notion may further explain why Shakespeare on the page predominates over dramatic Shakespeare during this time.<sup>81</sup>

Moreover, the debate between Shakespeare on the page and on the stage was accompanied by a general movement not unlike the Italian opera phenomena described above by Cowgill. Just as the influx of middle class opera patrons represented a new “composer-centered” approach to opera-going, so did the literary world of nineteenth-century England experience a “romantic shift from audience-centered to author-centered poetics.”<sup>82</sup> This trend of “literary Shakespeare” would continue to dominate in England until mid-century, when the Shakespearean revivals of

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<sup>79</sup> Diana E. Henderson, “Othello Redux?: Scott’s *Kenilworth* and the Trickiness of ‘Race’ on the Nineteenth-century Stage” in *Victorian Shakespeare*, ed. Gail Marshall and Adrian Poole (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 22.

<sup>80</sup> Nicoll, *English Drama*, 61.

<sup>81</sup> Sawyer, *Victorian Appropriations*, 15.

<sup>82</sup> Jonathan Arac, “The Media of Sublimity: Johnson and Lamb on *King Lear*” in *Studies in Romanticism* 26 (Summer 1987): 215.

Macready, Phelps and in particular, the historically authentic productions of Kean, would reinstate Shakespeare on the boards of London stages.<sup>83</sup>

In France, meanwhile, Shakespeare was all but unknown. In the eighteenth century, the French predilection for neoclassical drama, with its strict adherence to the three unities of time, place, and action precluded any real appreciation for Shakespeare, and he was simultaneously praised and reviled by Voltaire.<sup>84</sup> Near the turn of the century, as Romanticism was making its way into France, it looked as if Shakespeare might have a better chance of being accepted by French writers and audiences. But the ascension of Napoleon and his reinforcement of French national values and traditions discouraged the dissemination of works by foreigners and encouraged instead the works of natives such as Corneille and Racine. Moreover, the revolution of 1830 not only renewed the spirit of French nationalism, but also produced an aversion for all things English, Shakespeare included.<sup>85</sup>

Between 1822 and 1844, English touring companies attempted to introduce their Shakespeare to the French public. The Kemble family was the first group of English actors to make any real headway, and the uniquely emotional acting styles of this company helped to support the aesthetic of the budding French Romantics. But this was only a small group of admirers. The majority of French audiences still preferred less abrasive subject matter and

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<sup>83</sup> See especially chapter 15 of Brocket, *History*, 502-506.

<sup>84</sup> Furst, "Formation;" Bailey, *Hamlet*; and Draper, *Rise and Fall*, remain useful.

<sup>85</sup> Furst, "Formation," 6. Regarding Shakespeare in France, Furst writes: "[Shakespeare] was approached with the suspicion due to a representative of the inveterate foe, and with the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars this enmity was greatly intensified."

language, and as Furst concludes, “the strident tone and atmosphere of strife continued to surround Shakespeare in France throughout the Romantic period.”<sup>86</sup>

#### POPULAR DRAMA IN LONDON: BURLESQUE, PANTOMIME, AND MELODRAMA

While Shakespeare’s works met with resistance in France, they were also conspicuously absent from the stages of London in the early part of the nineteenth century, though not for the same reasons. The effects of the French Revolution were still felt in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the emerging middle class had begun to exercise its independence from the aristocracy in matters of artistic taste. As Oscar Brockett points out:

By 1800 London was the world’s largest city, and by 1843 its population had doubled—to two million. During these years the working classes began to attend the theatre in large numbers for the first time and to exert important influences on it.<sup>87</sup>

Michael Booth offers a similar picture regarding the influx of middle class audiences into the London theatres:

When the metropolitan audiences came into the entertainment market there was nothing for them to buy. Serious drama was sadly out of touch with the new masses. In tragedy, the exhausted Augustan and pseudo-classical plays of the previous century were not at all to their taste. Shakespeare was too literary, and the important writers of the day either refused to participate in the (to them) degrading rough-and-tumble of the contemporary theatre, or were simply more interested in poetry and the novel.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Furst, “Formation,” 8.

<sup>87</sup> Brockett, *History*, 454. See also Robert Sawyer, “Introduction” in *Victorian Appropriations of Shakespeare* (London: Associated University Press, 2003), 14-15, who states that the middle class of nineteenth century London was “a group that became particularly important to the theater,” and that reasons for the increased participation by the middle classes included “the growth of the railroads [. . .], the invention of gas lighting, and a unified police force.”

<sup>88</sup> Michael Booth, “Introduction” in *Hiss the Villian: Six English and American Melodramas* ed. Michael Booth (New York: Benjamin Bloom, Inc., 1964), 15-16.

Moreover, as mentioned above, the Licensing Act of 1737 was reinterpreted in the early part of the century, and government officials began to grant minor theatres permission to perform “lesser forms” of drama, “so long as they did not infringe upon the rights of the patent houses.”<sup>89</sup> The minor theatres increasingly began to present melodramas, the popularity of which became so great that the patent theatres were forced to present melodramas in lieu of “serious drama” just to remain competitive.<sup>90</sup> Thus, “as the repertory of the major theatres changed [. . .], a number of the former spectators deserted the drama for the opera at the King’s Theatre, [. . .] and by 1843 it was widely believed that Shakespeare’s plays brought ruin at the box office.”<sup>91</sup>

As the bourgeois migrated to the theatres of post-revolutionary London, the new compositional make-up of the audiences resulted in a significant change in the repertory of the theatres. As Nicoll describes:

The nineteenth[-]century theatre opened badly. Conflagrations which destroyed the two patent theatres within a space of twelve months were serious enough, but worse for the drama was the audience which playwright and player alike had to appeal to and please. All contemporaries are agreed on one thing: the spectators in the larger theatres during the first decades of the century were often licentious and debased, while those in the minor playhouses were vulgar, unruly and physically obnoxious.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Brockett, *History*, 454-455. See also Schoch, *Shakespeare’s Victorian Stage*, 27, who states that “[w]ith the passage of the Theatres Regulation Act of 1843, the longstanding monopoly of the patent houses was broken and managers of all licensed theatres were free to perform the national drama.”

<sup>90</sup> See Booth, *Victorian Age*, 151, who states that “[f]or working class audiences they [melodramas] offered characters and settings from urban working-class life and perhaps for some an escape from the mean streets and long hours of labour, a refuge, however brief, in romantic fantasy;” see also 150, where Booth states that “[t]he serious drama that *did* satisfy the taste of the time, whether of the pit and box audience of the patent theatres, the new theatres of the East End and the Surrey side of the Thames, or the touring portable theatres and the provincial Theatres Royale, was melodrama.”

<sup>91</sup> Brockett, *History*, 456.

<sup>92</sup> Nicoll, *English Drama*, 7-8.

With such a dynamic shift in audience and public taste, a change in repertory was inevitable. The burgeoning of middle- and lower-class citizens resulted in what has been described as an overall decline in drama, such that “[e]ven Shakespeare had to bow to the prevailing mood and spirit of the time.”<sup>93</sup> This decline is immediately recognizable in the reduction of performances of legitimate drama, such as tragedies and comedies, and in the rapid increase of performances of popular drama, particularly the burlesque, the pantomime or farce, and the melodrama. This is not to suggest that legitimate drama ceased to exist, for it was certainly represented in what Nicoll refers to as the “poetic plays, those dramas written by the romantic poets, sometimes with the stage in view, sometimes with no thought but the publisher, [and] which never saw actual embodiment in the theatre.”<sup>94</sup> Thus the stages were filled with various genres of popular drama and as mentioned earlier, legitimate drama found its home in reading versions of plays, a trend that will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

The history of burlesque in England has been traced as far back as Chaucer, but it wasn’t until the seventeenth century that burlesque began to be regarded as a genre of theatre in its own right.<sup>95</sup> The English theatre had long established the tradition of burlesque, and its function was fully accepted by the general population. According to V. C. Clinton-Baddeley:

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 27. See also Booth, ed., *Hiss the Villian*, 16, who states that “[t]he absence of upper classes from the popular theatre was one of a complex of factors contributing to the poor artistic quality of nineteenth-century drama.”

<sup>94</sup> Nicoll, *English Drama*, 59.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 16 and 29. For a brief but comprehensive history of burlesque in England prior to 1660, see especially pages 14-28.



Burlesque has a licence in Britain to laugh obliquely at sacred things—not laughing in reality at the things themselves, but at those enthusiasts who make a noble thing undignified by the warmth of their admiration.<sup>96</sup>

Moreover, burlesque of the eighteenth century became inextricably bound with the history of operatic reception in England with the premiere of *The Beggar's Opera* in 1728. As Clinton-Baddeley points out, *The Beggar's Opera* not only represents a contemporary satire on class structures and politics, but it was in every way “a burlesque of the Italian opera.”<sup>97</sup> As the function of burlesque was purportedly “to get closer to the essential truth” of the work being “burlesqued,” burlesque served as an appropriate vehicle for the shaping of contemporary political and social ideals for many members of its audience.<sup>98</sup>

Like burlesque, the pantomime had been an established theatrical tradition in England for over a hundred years, and its function and character evolved over time such that by 1850, the pantomime was inextricably associated with holiday theatre and was characterized by “eccentric, fantastic, and often lavish entertainment.”<sup>99</sup> The central character of most holiday pantomimes was Harlequin, a direct descendant of the Italian *commedia dell'arte* who, along with his fellow *commedia* characters Columbine and Pantaloon, would transport the audience to a fantastic world inhabited by fairy-tale and nursery rhyme characters. The characters were placed in a variety of stock situations that by mid-nineteenth century were solidified into a set format. The

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<sup>96</sup> V. C. Clinton-Baddeley, *The Burlesque Tradition in the English Theatre After 1660* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1952), 13.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>98</sup> Clinton-Baddeley, *Burlesque Tradition*, 5.

<sup>99</sup> Booth, *English Plays*, 1. See also page 4, where Booth states that “at the major theatres pantomimes were offered at Christmas and Easter (early in the century, in November as well); at the minor at Easter and midsummer.” See also R. J. Broadbent, *A History of Pantomime* (New York: Benjamin Bloom, Inc., 1901), particularly chapter 14.

more popular pantomimes were “practically the same each year,” and pantomime audiences would have known the basic plots almost as well as the performers.<sup>100</sup> This basic plot centered around an authoritarian father figure who is “set on frustrating the desire of his beautiful daughter or ward to marry the young man of her choice.”<sup>101</sup> To complicate matters, “a benevolent spirit or fairy intervenes” and transforms the lovers into Harlequin and Columbine in an effort to keep them hidden from the father-figure.<sup>102</sup> Then after several episodes of “chase, trickery, and literally knockabout low comedy,” which may have included a rival for the daughter’s love, the spirit returns, magically sets everything to right, and the pantomime ends “with a choral finale celebrating love and happiness, set in a spectacular scene representing a temple or palace.”<sup>103</sup>

Similarly, melodrama offered early nineteenth-century London audiences a palate of familiar stock characters, and conformed more or less to the following formula:

A virtuous hero (or heroine) is relentlessly hounded by a villain and is rescued from seemingly insurmountable difficulties only after he has undergone a series of threats to his life, reputation, or happiness; an episodic story unfolds rapidly after a short expository scene; each act ends with a strong climax; all important events occur on stage and often involve elaborate spectacle (such as battles, floods, earthquakes) and local color (such as festivals, dances, or picturesque working conditions); the typical plot devices include disguise, abduction, concealed identity, and strange coincidence; strict poetic justice is meted out, for, although he may succeed until the final scene, the villain is always defeated; comic relief is provided by a servant or companion to one of the principal characters; song, dance and music provide additional entertainment or underscore the emotional values of scenes.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Broadbent, *History of Pantomime*, 195. See also David Mayer, “English Life in London Pantomimes, 1806-1836” (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1961), 42.

<sup>101</sup> Booth, *English Plays*, 3.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Brockett, *History*, 348.

According to Michael Booth, the pantomime and the melodrama shared mutual characteristics as well as mutual appeal, and “the same audiences enjoyed both genres, and both found common ground in a general hostility toward constituted and inherited authority.”<sup>105</sup> Melodrama was also akin to burlesque as it often dealt with domestic situations and realistic characters, a feature highly favored by post-revolutionary audiences. As Booth explains:

Essentially, melodrama is a simplification and idealization of human experience dramatically represented. For its audiences melodrama was both an escape from real life and a dramatization of it as it ought to be; uncomplicated, easy to understand, sufficiently exciting to sweep away pretty cares. [. . .] Although melodrama is full of violence—stabbing, shooting, hanging, strangling, poisoning, suicide, fire, shipwreck, train wreck, villains of extreme savagery, revenge-seeking ghosts, heroes and heroines who experience a series of fearful physical catastrophes and domestic agonies—these are all signposts along the road to ultimate happiness, the triumph of virtue, and defeat of evil.<sup>106</sup>

While it is generally accepted that melodrama “emerged simultaneously in France and England,” the genre has roots in the *Sturm und Drang* dramas of the German playwright Kotzebue, and was further developed in France by dramatist Guilbert de Pixérécourt.<sup>107</sup> From the beginning, melodrama, a child of the French Revolution, was theatre for the bourgeois who “adopted it as a sort of substitute franchise and a vehicle for the criticism of life.” Melodrama was an immediate hit with the French public, and its anti-classicist elements of “supernatural subjects, thrilling horror plots, and all the attendant stage effects” soon made their way into the world of French opera.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Booth, *English Plays*, 6.

<sup>106</sup> Booth, *Hiss the Villian*, 9.

<sup>107</sup> Frank Rahill, *The World of Melodrama* (University Park, PN: Pennsylvania University Press, 1967), xiv. See also Brockett, *History of Theatre*, 304-306 and 348-349.

<sup>108</sup> Pendle, *Eugène Scribe*, 25.

The popularity of melodrama quickly spread to England, at first in the form of translations of works by Kotzebue and Pixérécourt.<sup>109</sup> These continental influences combined with the eighteenth-century English traditions of sentimental comedy and domestic tragedy, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, melodrama had become one of the most popular genres of theatre in England.<sup>110</sup> In fact, the melodramatic tradition had such appeal to English audiences that many French grand opéras were first introduced to London in the form of melodramas, including Halévy's *La Juive*.<sup>111</sup> Through adaptations of French melodramas and grand opéras, the English public became thoroughly familiar with the work of Scribe, whose libretti "made spectacular English melodramas."<sup>112</sup> Interestingly enough, it was within the domain of French opera that Eugène Scribe, in the early years of the nineteenth century, developed and adapted his principles of the well-made play to operatic libretto writing.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> See Brockett, *History*, 334-336, and Rahill, *World of Melodrama*, 103-110; and Michael Booth, *English Melodrama* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1965), 40-46. Both Booth and Rahill emphasize that while French melodrama predates English melodrama only by a few years, and that the French (and German) influence was felt, English melodrama owed as much to its own native traditions as to the contributions of Pixérécourt and Kotzebue.

<sup>110</sup> For an overview of melodrama in England, see Booth, *English Melodrama*. As for the rise of melodrama in Victorian England, see especially chapter 2.

<sup>111</sup> The history of foreign adaptations in London was mentioned in chapter 1. For more information, see Fenner, *Opera in London*. See also Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 143, who states that *La Juive* was first presented in London in 1835, and had been adapted from "a five-act opera into a two-act 'melodramatic spectacle' from which all music but two choruses had been excised;" and Rahill, *World of Melodrama*, 125. Finally, see Booth, *English Melodrama*, 49, who states that adaptation "was much quicker and much cheaper" than the commissioning of a completely new work.

<sup>112</sup> Booth, *English Melodrama*, 49.

<sup>113</sup> For a definitive description of Scribe's well-made play formula, see Pendle, *Eugène Scribe*, 85-86.

The significance of Scribe's work in the field of French opera as it relates to melodrama lies in the similarities between melodrama and opéra comique.<sup>114</sup> The opéra comique inherited by Scribe was typical of European comic opera genres: it utilized spoken dialogue instead of recitative; its plots dealt with a variety of subjects including romantic comedy, farce, fairy tale, intrigue and sentimental drama; dance scenes heightened by local color; and tuneful airs and ensemble finales.<sup>115</sup> As a spoken drama with music, melodrama resembles opéra comique in its overall structure, yet it also contains other similar elements including sentimental plots dealing with ordinary people, popular songs, ballet and local color.<sup>116</sup> In Scribe's hand, the elements of melodrama and opéra comique coalesced, and according to Karin Pendle, by 1823 "Scribe [had] arrived at most of the dramatic characteristics of the well-made libretto: carefully prepared action, delayed-action plot, contrived entrances and exits, ups and downs in the fortunes of the hero, and the like."<sup>117</sup>

Similarly, French grand opéra is also influenced by melodrama. According to a study by Frank Rahill, the origins of French grand opéra can be found in the melodramatic tradition as much as in the wave of Romanticism that swept France in the early nineteenth century, and "in

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<sup>114</sup> See Rahill, *World of Melodrama*, 125, who discusses how England, building upon its own tradition of ballad opera, adopted the French style of opéra comique circa 1800, the productions of which resembled melodrama to the point that it "was not always easy to draw a line of demarcation between the two forms."

<sup>115</sup> See Grout, *Short History*, 257-259.

<sup>116</sup> See Brockett, *History*, 348.

<sup>117</sup> Pendle, *Eugène Scribe*, 87. See also page 26, where Pendle carefully points out that "Scribe himself did not cultivate the genre of melodrama. Yet as an intelligent man of the theatre, one who made his life the stage, he could not help but be aware of the contributions being made by Pixérécourt and others."

the hands of Rossini and Auber, [grand opéra] was becoming more and more melodramatic.”<sup>118</sup> In fact, Rahill traces the development of both grand opéra and opéra comique to the aftermath of the French Revolution and demonstrates this connection between the rescue plots of early opéra comique with the “essential elements” of melodrama.<sup>119</sup> The spectacle, local color and dramatic music of grand opéra surpassed that of the opéra comique, drawing inspiration from the dramatic “scenic effects of melodrama” that inevitably “left their mark on the spectacular staging of grand opera.”<sup>120</sup> The “musical storms and noisy crescendos” of Rossini contain melodramatic roots, as does the mute heroine of Scribe’s *La Muette di Portici*.<sup>121</sup> Mime, in fact, is introduced to opera for the first time in *La Muette*, and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gesture was viewed as the articulation of “the most impassioned movements of the soul.”<sup>122</sup> Pantomime and gesture endowed the orchestra with a voice, and the combination of gesture and music resulted in scenes of extraordinarily heightened emotion.<sup>123</sup> Similarly, music was used in melodrama “whenever the dramatist wanted to strike a particular emotional pitch or coloring and lead the audience into

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<sup>118</sup> Rahill, *World of Melodrama*, 126.

<sup>119</sup> See Ibid., who cites Beethoven as instrumental in the fusion of melodrama and *opéra comique*. Rahill states that by adapting Bouilly’s *Léonore ou l’amour conjugal* for his opera *Fidelio*, Beethoven had created an opera that was “pure melodrama.” See also Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 14.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>121</sup> Rahill, *World of Melodrama*, 126.

<sup>122</sup> *Supplément to the Encyclopédie*, vol. 4, s.v. “Pantomime” (Paris and Amsterdam, 1777), cited in Brooks, *Melodramatic Imagination*, 65. See also Hibberd, “La Muette,” 154.

<sup>123</sup> See Hibberd, “La Muette,” 157.

a change or heightening of mood,” a function that eventually found a home in grand opéra, “where melody and harmony, as much as the words, are charged with conveying meaning.”<sup>124</sup>

#### A CRISIS AT HER MAJESTY’S AND THE PRODUCTION OF *LA TEMPESTA*

As mid-century approached, the divergent trajectories of expectations associated with Italian opera and popular drama began to pose a threat to the viability of Her Majesty’s Theatre. In his *Reminiscences of the Opera*, Benjamin Lumley described the state of the Italian Opera in London in 1864:

The Opera House—once the resort and the “rendezvous” of the *elite* of rank and fashion, where applause received its direction from a body of cultivated, discriminating “cognoscenti,” and the treasury of which was furnished beforehand by ample subscriptions in reliance upon the provision to be made by the manager—now mainly depends for support upon miscellaneous and fluctuating audiences; audiences composed in great part of persons who, in hurried moments of visits to the metropolis, attend the opera as a kind of quasi-duty, in order to keep pace with the musical chit-chat of the day.<sup>125</sup>

What Lumley was referring to as “miscellaneous and fluctuating audiences” was the increased numbers of middle class patrons at Her Majesty’s Theatre. According to Cowgill’s study, this trend had been escalating since the early decades of the nineteenth century when the middle classes, “having both the opportunity and financial resources to explore new Continental music of their own accord, were developing a degree of independence from aristocratic taste.”<sup>126</sup>

Similarly, Jennifer Hall argues that “as members of the middle classes acquired more time and

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<sup>124</sup> Brooks, *Melodramatic Imagination*, 49.

<sup>125</sup> Lumley, *Reminiscences*, viii.

<sup>126</sup> Cowgill, “Wise Men,” 62. Cowgill asserts that the rise in popularity of Italian opera among middle class citizens was due at least in part to their reverence for the operas of Mozart. Further, she argues that it was the increased attendance by the middle classes which “softened institutional resistance to his [Mozart’s] works, creating a propitious climate for the first productions of his operas on the King’s Theatre stage.” See also C. L. Gruneisen, *The Opera and the Press* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1869), 4, who states that by 1869, Italian Opera had been “popularized to the extent that nearly all classes of the community [had] the opportunity . . . to hear great lyric productions.”

money for leisure, they challenged one of the bases on which the elite's authority rested."<sup>127</sup> As a result, the 1840's witnessed a definite change in the make-up of Italian opera audiences in London, and the upper-class patrons were forced to confront "a much-expanded middle-class audience and a set of music critics who promoted what they perceived to be bourgeois interests."<sup>128</sup>

Moreover, Fenner asserts that through the "large-scale introduction of fortepianos [ . . . ] into middle-class homes," the bourgeois had become a musically literate force among the audience, and "the family came to know Italian arias sometimes even before they were heard at the King's [Theatre]."<sup>129</sup> Those middle-class patrons who had studied and performed works from the leading Italian operas, albeit in amateur settings, became very familiar with the compositional styles of their favorite composers, generating in turn increased attendance at the opera. As Cowgill points out, the bourgeois, unlike their aristocratic counterparts, attended the opera "because of their enthusiasm for the composer [ . . . ] rather than through force of habit, or to follow a particular singer."<sup>130</sup> This shift seems to indicate a more universal change in audience behavior that was taking place around mid-century. As Hall argues, the 1840's and 1850's witnessed "a shift from an understanding of music as a social event to music as an inward experience" that was "fundamentally associated with the bourgeoisie."<sup>131</sup> The increase in middle

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<sup>127</sup> Hall, "Re-fashioning," 4.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>129</sup> Fenner, *Opera in London*, 92-93.

<sup>130</sup> Cowgill, "Wise Men," 63.

<sup>131</sup> See Hall, "Re-fashioning," 257, who defines the opposing motivations as "event-approach," whereby audience members attended for the purpose of socializing, and "work-approach," whereby audience members attended for their own personal edification. See also 261, where Hall uses as support of her argument Dahlhaus' theory of the "twin styles" associated with the "parallel polarities encapsulated in the works of Rossini and Beethoven; operatic versus instrumental music, Italian versus German compositional styles, and virtuosity versus profundity."



class patrons, however, was not sufficient grounds for seasonal planning at Her Majesty's, for "the opera continued to be a place in which members of fashionable society displayed their status."<sup>132</sup> To the managers, the star system was still the best bet for financial security, and it was this system and its adverse side-effects that plagued Benjamin Lumley during his tenure as manager of Her Majesty's.

In his *Reminiscences of the Opera*, Benjamin Lumley voiced the following complaint:

But amid the various causes which, I regret to think, contribute to the lessened importance of the Opera in general estimation, none, taken singly, is more deeply seated than the fact of there being no new first-rate composer in Europe. The dearth of good singers, again, recognised as it must be by all, operates scarcely less heavily upon the theatre. Perhaps even the finest operas of modern date, such as the "Huguenots" and "Le Prophète," are dependent for their attraction upon singers of commanding talent. And these become more and more rare, alas! The orchestra, having been augmented in proportion as vocal talent has waned, now constitutes the leading feature, especially at Covent Garden, where its masses of sound serve but to cover the deficiencies of artists whose voices it should assist and support.<sup>133</sup>

While Lumley may have been partially correct in his estimation of the state of Italian opera in London of the early 1860's, his cynicism was more likely a result of his bitterness over the closing of Her Majesty's Theatre and his eventual removal as lessee.<sup>134</sup> Moreover, Lumley's remarks reveal a distinctively disparaging attitude towards the Royal Italian Opera at Covent Garden, an institution which probably had the greatest impact on the state of the Italian Opera at mid-century and that essentially spelled doom for Her Majesty's Theatre.<sup>135</sup> While this new

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<sup>132</sup> See *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>133</sup> Lumley, *Reminiscences*, ix.

<sup>134</sup> Nalbach, *King's Theatre*, 110.

<sup>135</sup> See Gruneisen, *Opera and the Press*, 4, who credits the formation of the Covent Garden Opera House with aiding in the establishment of lyric productions "not exclusively confined to an Italian repertory, but materially extended to the masterpieces of the master minds of all countries."

venue obviously meant trouble for Her Majesty's in the form of split revenues, the trouble was exacerbated by the fact that patronage was simultaneously on the decline. But perhaps the most interesting development associated with the opening of Covent Garden is the fact that the company established there consisted of a large number of disgruntled artists from none other than Her Majesty's Theatre. In order to understand the complexities of this event, we must go back a few years to Lumley's appointment as manager of Her Majesty's Theatre.

In 1842, Benjamin Lumley succeeded Pierre Laporte as manager of Her Majesty's Theatre in London.<sup>136</sup> In addition to the responsibilities associated with the day-to-day business of running an opera house, Lumley also inherited a vociferous company of singers who had become so popular with the public that they were more inclined to give than to take direction. This group was headed by music director Michael Costa, and included singers Giulia Grisi, Fanny Persiani, Pauline Viardot, Giovanni Mario, and Antonio Tamburini. Rosenthal explains that:

This strong company [. . .] certainly made the Royal Italian Opera at Her Majesty's one of the most renowned lyric theatres in Europe; but it also contained in it the seeds of its own destruction, or rather of the destruction of Laporte. In Grisi, Mario, Persiani, Tamburini [,] and Costa, the company possessed five very strong personalities who eventually led the revolt against Laporte's successor, Benjamin Lumley, and set up the rival Royal Italian Opera at Covent Garden. This group of artists became known as 'La Vieille Garde.'<sup>137</sup>

Thus in 1847, Covent Garden, with Costa and the other members of *la Vieille Garde* at the musical helm, opened its doors to the London public "for the purpose of rendering a more perfect performance of the lyric drama than [had] hitherto been attained in [England]."<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> For a thorough discussion of the Tamburini Row, which was what instigated the troubles associated with Lumley's tenure as manager, see Rosenthal, *Covent Garden*, 25-28; and Nalbach, *King's Theatre*, 102-104.

<sup>137</sup> Rosenthal, *Covent Garden*, 28.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

The new Royal Italian Opera at Covent Garden, as it was called, “slowly became England’s main opera-house,” and the inexorable decline of Her Majesty’s Theatre began.<sup>139</sup> Lumley, however, was not willing to go down without a fight. In an attempt to recover from the devastating loss of the majority of his company, Lumley set out to secure other means of drawing power for his theatre. He achieved his coup in 1847, making the following announcement in the prospectus for the 1847 season:

The following outline of the arrangements for the season 1847 is respectfully submitted to the nobility, patrons of the opera, and to the public. It is presented with the confident hope that the successful exertions made to secure, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, a company still more worthy of the first theatre in Europe, and of its distinguished patrons, will ensure the continuation of their support. Engagements for the Opera:—Mlle. Jenny Lind, Made. Del Carmen Montenegro, Mlle. Sanchioli, Mlle. Fagiani, Made. Solari, the Contralto, Mlle. Vietti, Mlle. Daria Nascio, and Made. Castellan; Signor Fraschini (the great tenor of Italy), and the favourite tenor, Signor Gardoni, Signor Superchi, Signor F. Lablache, Signor Borella, Signor Corelli, Signor Bouche (of La Scala, his first appearance) Herr Staudigl, and Signor Lablache. In addition to the above, arrangements are pending with Signor Coletti, of the Italian Opera of Paris. That great composer, the Chevalier Meyerbeer, has arranged to visit this country to bring out “The Camp de Silésie:” the principal parts in the Camp de Silésie by Mlle. Jenny Lind and Signor Fraschini. The celebrated Dr. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy will likewise visit England, and produce an opera expressly composed for Her Majesty’s Theatre, the Libretto, founded on “The Tempest” of Shakespeare, written by M. Scribe. Miranda, Mlle. Jenny Lind; Ferdinand, Signor Gardoni; Caliban, Herr Staudigl; Prospero, Sig. Lablache.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 177. See also Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 203, who provides a very vivid description of the downfall of Her Majesty’s: “The Opera [Her Majesty’s Theatre] was virtually in a state of downfall and deterioration. The departure of one long before known as among the best musical conductors in Europe, and with it the dilution of orchestra and chorus, passed over seemingly without any change in public favour [*sic*]. Nothing, apparently, could be more prosperous, more popular, or beyond the power of revolt or opposition to interfere with.”

<sup>140</sup> *Times* (London), 2 February 1847. See also *Illustrated London News*, 30 January 1847; and Lumley, *Reminiscences*, 159, who admits the announcements were made to help boost the box sales for the upcoming season, saying: “Two of the principal announcements, made in the interests of Her Majesty’s Theatre, respectively referred to the engagement of Mademoiselle Jenny Lind, the celebrated ‘Swedish Nightengale,’ and to the composition of an opera by the famous composer, Dr. Felix Mendelssohn, expressly for Her Majesty’s Theatre, an opera, founded upon the subject of Shakspeare’s “Tempest,” with a *libretto* from the pen of Monsieur Scribe.”

Announcements such as this one caused the desired stir among the public, but when taken in conjunction with the previous difficulties associated with *la Vieille Garde*, it was inevitable that the rival company would retaliate. According to Lumley, “there had never been known such acrimony, such furious disputes, or such an unscrupulous paper war as marked the commencement of the operatic year of 1847 in London” (fig. 3).<sup>141</sup>

The ensuing paper war centered around two items in Lumley’s prospectus: the engagement of Jenny Lind and the new opera by Mendelssohn.<sup>142</sup> Lumley was accused of making these promises before he had actually engaged the artists, but of course, he denied these allegations. The controversy over Lind’s engagement came to a screeching halt on 4 May 1847 when the “Swedish nightingale” made her first appearance at Her Majesty’s Theatre in the role of Alice in Meyerbeer’s *Robert le Diable*.<sup>143</sup> But there was still the matter of Mendelssohn’s opera based on Shakespeare’s *Tempest*. In his *Reminiscences*, Lumley staunchly defended his claim:

The other announcement, first put forward by papers supposed to be cognisant [*sic*] of the fact, and afterwards repeated in the prospectus for the coming season, but strenuously and acrimoniously contradicted by the hostile party, referred to the composition of an opera founded on “The Tempest” of Shakespeare, by Mendelssohn, “expressly for Her Majesty’s Theatre.” In making this announcement to my subscribers, as may be seen from my correspondence with the great composer, I was as fully borne out by legitimate expectations as in my promise of Mademoiselle Lind’s appearance.<sup>144</sup>

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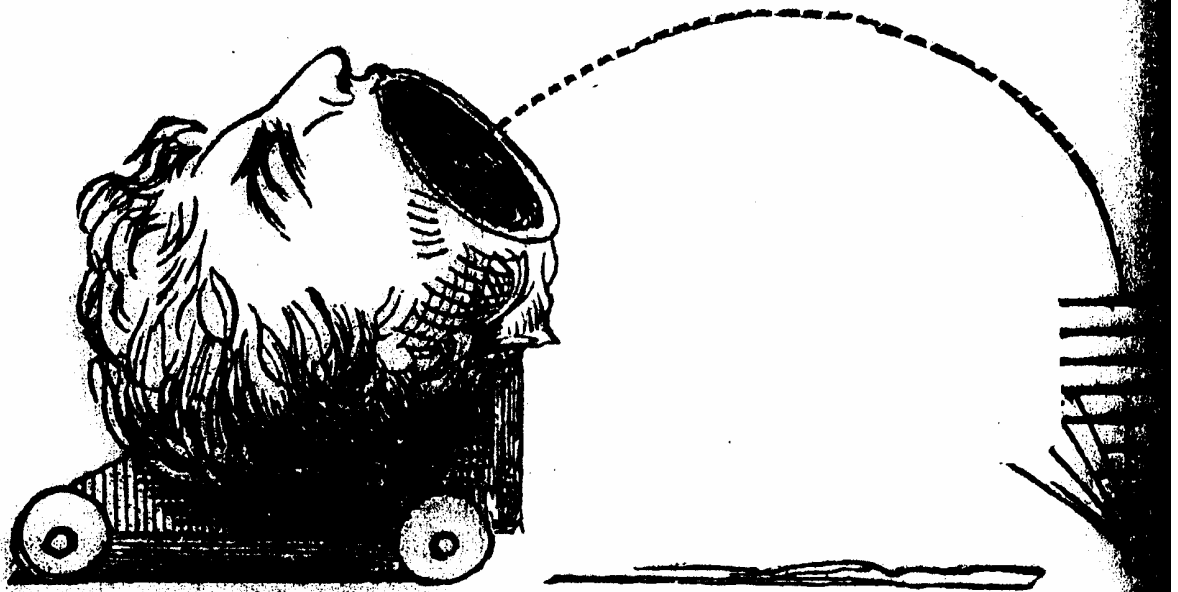
<sup>141</sup> Lumley, *Reminiscences*, 156.

<sup>142</sup> See *Musical World* (London), January through March 1847.

<sup>143</sup> See Henry Scott Holland, *Memoir of Madame Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt: Her Early Art-Life and Dramatic Career, 1820-1851* (London: John Murray, 1891), 67-69; for details surrounding the difficulties of Lind’s engagement, see especially chapters one and two. See also Lumley, *Reminiscences*, chapters 13-15; and Nalbach, *King’s Theatre*, 106-108. Finally, see *Musical World* (London), 30 January 1847, which officially announced the arrival of Lind for sometime after Easter of 1847.

<sup>144</sup> Lumley, *Reminiscences*, 166.

## THE BATTLE OF THE OPERAS.



### LUMLEY'S MONSTER MORTAR.

The "Battle of Life" between Bow-street and the Haymarket is progressing fiercely, and each party is confident of success. The Haymarket depends on its *basso monstre*, the throat of which has the power of throwing off notes which usually burst on a house with terrific effect. At either place, the intendant assistant, who gives the tone to the audience, by directing —

Figure 3. Caricature of Luigi Lablache, originally published in the *Illustrated London News*, 6 February 1847.

Chorley, however, who had also been in contact with Mendelssohn, provided a decidedly different version of the story:

It may be doubted whether anything beyond the merest preliminary negotiations had been entered into with [Mendelssohn]. The subject of Shakespeare's delicious faëry dream had always attracted Mendelssohn. [...] But in the autumn of this year in question, 1847, during the two memorable days I spent with him at Interlaken, a few weeks before his decease, he spoke with earnest displeasure at the unwarrantable manner in which his name had been traded on by the management of a particular theatre. He had, he told me, positively rejected the book as written by M. Scribe, and had declined to compose it until it was wholly remodeled. Yet after this the venture was made of advertising it in the theatre as in his hands; of specifying the artists included in the cast—nay, and of circulating printed illustrations of the principal scenes. In no case has the tampering with expectation gone further.<sup>145</sup>

While the sequence of events is sketchy, there is little doubt that Mendelssohn experienced a certain amount of frustration with Lumley's announcement, as he clearly points out in a letter dated 10 March, 1847: "Of this I think I may be sure, that Mr. Lumley will not continue his advertisements of my Opera [*La Tempesta*] after he heard that I had taken the resolution *not to write* the 'Tempest,' for the season [of] 1847."<sup>146</sup>

Nevertheless, the announcements were made, and as Chorley pointed out, "such a parade of promises was possibly a desperate necessity, because, under the existing state of affairs, a large amount of novelty was a matter of life and death."<sup>147</sup> Indeed, a critic for *The Musical World* went so far as to propose that Mendelssohn's opera was the only thing that could revive the

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<sup>145</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 190.

<sup>146</sup> Letter to Mr. Bartholomew, cited in Elise Polko, *Reminiscences of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy* (Macomb, IL: Glenbridge Publishing Limited, 1987), 199-200.

<sup>147</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 190. See also Nalbach, *King's Theatre*, 106, who says "the appearance of Jenny Lind did enable Lumley to keep the doors of the theatre open longer than would otherwise have been possible. Furthermore, Lumley had no choice—his ensemble had defected to the competition."

Italian Opera, “which of late years ha[d] been gradually dying of its own dullness.”<sup>148</sup> Moreover, the critic concluded that:

Cimarosa and Paiesiello could sustain the Opera on its legs—Rossini could do it also, and without assistance—Mercadante, Donizetti, and Bellini, could effect it after a manner—but Verdi, and the like of him, cannot. The disease of the Italian Opera has grown into a head, and Verdi is the fungus to which all the bad humours [*sic*] have flowed from the various parts. To re-establish health, this fungus much be lopped off, and a wholesome plaster be applied. The plaster will be Mendelssohn—but beware of applying it before the cancerous tumor, in which all the most virulent poisons of the disease are concentrated, be removed. It will not do for Mendelssohn to patch up Verdi—he must sit upon his vacant throne. Verdi must abdicate and Mendelssohn reign in his stead.<sup>149</sup>

But the opera failed to be produced during the season of 1847. Indeed, *The Musical World* sarcastically announced:

We can find no record of the reception accorded to *The Tempest* by the British public, and we draw, therefrom, the conclusion that it never came out, and that the celebrated Dr. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, although he arrived in England in the month of May, had forgotten to bring the score of his opera—supposing him to have written one—and, consequently, that it was impossible to produce it.<sup>150</sup>

Lumley was adamant, however, that negotiations had indeed been underway. He argued that Mendelssohn “had long had *The Tempest* in view as a subject for operatic treatment,” and insisted that it was Mendelssohn himself who recommended Scribe as librettist.<sup>151</sup> Yet it seems that Scribe was not the first choice, as indicated in a letter Lumley wrote to Mendelssohn, dated 21 November 1846:

The Chevalier Felice Romani—the celebrated *librettist*, and best living poet of Italy—the author of the best and most successful Italian *libretti*, such as *Norma*, *Lucrezia Borgia*,

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<sup>148</sup> *Musical World* (London), 23 January 1847.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* This blatant hostility to Verdi was discussed earlier in the chapter, and will be addressed again in the final chapter.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 August 1847.

<sup>151</sup> See Lumley, *Reminiscences*, 166, who writes: “He [Mendelssohn] then told me that he had in his possession a *scenario* of ‘The Tempest,’ which did not please him, adding, ‘Scribe is the only man who could treat this subject suitably for music.’”

*La Sonnambula*, *L'Elisir d'Amore*, *Romeo e Giuletta*, *Anna Bolena*, etc., etc.—has been solicited in vain, for the last ten years and more, by all composers and directors of Italy, to write a *libretto*, but has sturdily refused all kinds of offers. [. . .] I took Turin on my way home; and having at heart this affair, I used every entreaty, and he has consented to furnish the *libretto* [*The Tempest*].<sup>152</sup>

For reasons unknown, the negotiations with Romani never came about, and a month later

Lumley wrote:

A day or two after my letter from Paris [. . .], I saw Scribe; and he undertook to consider the subject, and draw out the business of each scene. I have seen him several times; and he enters heartily and takes great interest in it, and has promised me to complete it by the end of this week, having placed other things aside.

I have also hastened the departure of a poet from Italy; and he will do the needful under the eye and direction of Scribe.

You are quite right in your appreciation of Scribe. His knowledge of the scene, and his life of mind as applicable to it, and to its connection with music, is extraordinary; and he is a most agreeable and painstaking man. I will send you a copy of the *scenario* as soon as I get it. I have just heard that the plans for the ventilation have reached London. Within a few days from my arrival, I will give them my attention.

I shall leave Paris, as soon as the plot, or *scenario*, is completed; but it will be more satisfactory to me to get it settled, if possible, before I leave.<sup>153</sup>

By the end of December, the *libretto* was completed, as indicated in another letter from

Lumley.<sup>154</sup> Moreover, in a postscript of the letter, Lumley outlined the proposed cast of characters, including Jenny Lind as Miranda, and a “contralto, a mezzo-soprano, [or] soprano” for the part of Ariel.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Letter to Felix Mendelssohn, cited in Holland, *Memoir*, 128-129. The *Romeo e Giuletta* that Scribe is referring to is likely the opera *Giuletta e Romeo* by Nicola Vaccai, which premiered in Milan on 31 October 1825. It should be noted, however, that Bellini's *I Capuleti ei Montecchi* (1830) was also based on Romani's *libretto*.

<sup>153</sup> Letter to Felix Mendelssohn, 13 December 1846, cited in Holland, *Memoir*, 129-130.

<sup>154</sup> See letter to Felix Mendelssohn, 28 December 1846, cited in Holland, *Memoir*, 130-131.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*



A month after receiving Scribe's libretto, Mendelssohn wrote a letter to Lumley in which he expressed reservations regarding "certain situations" in the second act.<sup>156</sup> Chorley defined one situation as "the odious pursuit of Prospero's daughter by Caliban," but also identified several other problems which dealt mostly with deviations from the original poem.<sup>157</sup> Chorley concluded:

Though the drama itself had fascinated Mendelssohn, such conventional monstrosities as these thrust into it, by the most skilled of handicraftsmen, were rejected by him at once. He declared that he would not treat the opera book as it stood—this, after his progress in the work, and its date of positive production, and pictures of the performers in character, had been advertised in the London papers!—and, in fact, he never composed a note to it; and threw the matter aside, in displeasure at the engagements entered into without his concurrence.<sup>158</sup>

Apparently, Mendelssohn indeed could not resolve his issues with the libretto and ultimately turned down the project as a result of what Lumley referred to as irreconcilable differences between poet and composer:

The German and French natures were in conflict. The more strictly logical and analytical spirit of the former seemed strangely hypercritical to the latter. The facile imagination of the Frenchman, however fertile in scenic resources (as was evidenced by the changes he proposed) found no response in the less flexible tenets of the German. Great in true poetical feeling as was the mind of Mendelssohn, he clung, in this instance, to a rigidity of sequence which it was impossible for the French dramatist to admit or comprehend, in a subject of "féerie." And so the two went asunder.<sup>159</sup>

Lumley then faced the daunting task of finding another composer suitable to the task. While Lumley wrote that "no other composer could probably have been found to undertake the task of treading upon the hallowed ground of Shakespeare's poem with more reverence than

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<sup>156</sup> Lumley, *Reminiscences*, 277.

<sup>157</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 274.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> Lumley, *Reminiscences*, 168; also see 277, where Lumley states that the matter was "entirely laid aside upon the death of the illustrious composer."

Monsieur Halévy,” he did not provide any information regarding the circumstances surrounding Halévy’s engagement. Henry Chorley, however, believed there were few composers to choose from:

To supply his [Mendelssohn’s] place was not easy, especially for a management which had, by promise, confidently undertaken other duties for M. Meyerbeer. The number of possible successors was not large. Among skilled living musicians, there was no one to be found more available than M. Halévy.<sup>160</sup>

Exactly what happened between approximately 4 November 1847, the date of Mendelssohn’s death, and January 1850, when Halévy was contracted as composer, is unclear.<sup>161</sup> What is clear is that Lumley had a failing opera house on his hands, and the two events scheduled to put Her Majesty’s back on its feet were not working out. As it turns out, Jenny Lind did indeed appear at Her Majesty’s for a short time, but the initial fervor for her performances was quelled during the season of 1849 by the unexpected announcement of her retirement.<sup>162</sup> Lumley vividly recalled the audience’s reaction to Lind’s final concert performances:

Where was the well-known ‘Jenny Lind’ crush? The house was comparatively empty. Where was the customary enthusiasm amounting to a mania? The applause was cold and feeble. The singer, who had been accustomed to hear those same walls ring with plaudits, could not but feel chilled at the faint and rare echoes of that night, so different from the noisy demonstrations of the previous year.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 274.

<sup>161</sup> See Jean Claude Yon, *Eugène Scribe: Eugène Scribe: la fortune et la liberté* (Librairie Nizet, 2000), 269, who states: “Halévy est choisi et c’est avec lui qu’un traité est signé la 16 janvier 1850.” [Halévy was chosen and a contract was signed with him on 16 January 1850.] As for the lost time between Mendelssohn’s death and Halévy’s contract, it would be prudent to remember that it was during this time that Lumley was in the middle of the legal battle over contractual disagreements between Drury Lane and Her Majesty’s.

<sup>162</sup> See Nalbach, *King’s Theatre*, 107-108. who states that “the seasons of 1847 and 1848 were the most prosperous for Her Majesty’s Theatre, despite the huge salary paid to its leading attraction and the large sum required to settle the case of Bunn vs. Lind.”

<sup>163</sup> Lumley, *Reminiscences*, 244.

The star system thus having failed him, it seems the production of *La Tempesta* became somewhat of an eleventh-hour effort to save Her Majesty's Theatre from financial ruin.<sup>164</sup> Yet Lumley turned once again to the star system in the casting of *La Tempesta*, and while his efforts did not fail him this time, the success of *La Tempesta* would not last, and the doors of Her Majesty's Theatre would finally close two years later.<sup>165</sup>

The premiere of *La Tempesta* was, according to Ruth Jordan, "awaited with unprecedented curiosity."<sup>166</sup> This anticipation was due in part to the beloved subject matter, but, as Lumley writes, mostly to the star-studded cast:

The 'cast' announced was of grand promise. Sontag figured as *Miranda*, Lablache as *Caliban*, Coletti as *Prospero*, Beaucarde as *Ferdinand*, *Trinculo* and *Stephano* fell to the lot of Ferraris and Mademoiselle Parodi. The conspiring princes were represented by Lorenzo and Federico Lablache. *Sycorax* and *The Spirit of the Air* (although very minor parts)[,] were to be sung by Ida Bertrand, the contralto of the season, and Madame Giuliani; whilst the 'dainty spirit *Ariel*' was to be embodied by Carlotta Grisi. It would be difficult to conceive a 'cast' of greater power or of greater promise, to imagine how the excitement on the subject of the new opera could be otherwise than intense in musical circles. To increase the importance of the event, both Monsieur Halévy and Monsieur Scribe arrived in London in order to superintend the last rehearsals of their work, and were received on all occasions with the homage due to their names.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> See Nalbach, *King's Theatre*, 108, who asserts that Lind announced she would retire after the 1848 season, and that "the departure of Lind led to the collapse of Her Majesty's Theatre after three seasons."

<sup>165</sup> See *Musical World* (London), 29 June 1850, where the critic writes: "The *Tempesta* continues to blow rich argosies into the port of Mr. Lumley's theatre. The audiences have scarcely fallen off from the immense crowd at the first performance, and the enthusiasm increases nightly." See also Nalbach, *King's Theatre*, 108-109.

<sup>166</sup> Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 140.

<sup>167</sup> Lumley, *Reminiscences*, 278-279. Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, also remains useful as chapter 15 contains a somewhat detailed account of Halévy's and Scribe's arrival in London, the supervision of rehearsals and their reception by London's cultural elite, including a visit to the exiled King Louis Philippe.

This description of *La Tempesta* is very different from the one originally conceived by Lumley, Scribe and Mendelssohn. Of course, with the retirement of Jenny Lind, the role of Miranda had to be recast, and as was customary, Lumley went in search of a star to fill the shoes of Lind. This was indeed no easy task, yet Lumley achieved another coup in coaxing legendary soprano Henrietta Sontag, by then known as the Countess Rossi, out of retirement, and contracted her for “the remainder of 1849 and the entire year of 1850.”<sup>168</sup> Luigi Lablache, originally slated to play Prospero, had been recast as Caliban, and Beaucarde replaced Gardoni as Ferdinand. But the most significant change centered on the role of Ariel.

As Lumley had indicated in his correspondence with Mendelssohn, the role of Ariel had been intended for a singer.<sup>169</sup> Apparently, this was still the intention when Halévy signed on, for the autograph score of *La Tempesta* contains singing parts for Ariel.<sup>170</sup> Moreover, there is no indication that Ariel was meant to be anything but a singer, as the dance music published in the vocal score for Ariel’s scenes is nowhere to be found in Halévy’s autograph score. *The Illustrated London News* corroborated this fact as late as March of 1850, announcing that “Halévy is writing the music of the dainty *Ariel* for Miss Catherine Hayes.”<sup>171</sup> Two months later, *The Illustrated London News* positively announced that “Carlotta Grisi [. . .] will enact the

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<sup>168</sup> See Frank Russell, *Queen of Song: The Life of Henrietta Sontag* (New York: Exposition Press, 1964), 191. See also Lumley, *Reminiscences*, chapter 18.

<sup>169</sup> See footnote 155.

<sup>170</sup> Réserve 1013.

<sup>171</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 16 March 1850. See also Basil Walsh, *Catherine Hayes, 1818-1861: The Hibernian Prima Donna* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000), 154, who explains that Catherine Hayes was scheduled to sing the part of the Spirit of the Air, but the part was actually performed by a Madame Giuliani. Walsh speculates that Hayes “was either indisposed or she had had second thoughts about singing such a small role opposite Sontag, who was the featured star of the performance.”

‘delicate *Ariel*.’”<sup>172</sup> For reasons unknown, the role of Ariel had been completely reconceived as a dancing/miming role, and with the publication of the vocal score in 1851, we see that a great deal of dance music had been added. Apparently, this additional music was intended not only to accompany Ariel in the ballet scenes, but also to augment and accompany the numerous gestures demanded of Ariel in the unfolding of the story.<sup>173</sup>

The expanded ballet scene of the published vocal score also contains a second feature that is significantly different from the autograph score. In what would be touted by the press as an ingenious coup, Halévy integrated the famous English tune *Where the bee sucks*, attributed to Thomas Arne, into the new ballet music for Ariel.<sup>174</sup> The obvious implication is that Halévy was attempting to ingratiate himself with an English public renown for its fastidiousness. The ploy worked, however, as this particular scene was described as “most splendidly orchestrated and varied,” and it reportedly “wound up the delight of the audience to enthusiasm.”<sup>175</sup> Yet there is no trace of the tune in the autograph score. The implication of this information is twofold. First, it can be assumed that sometime between 15 April and 8 June 1850, Halévy not only made significant revisions to Ariel’s character, including the interpolation of the Arne melody into the score, but he also composed quite a bit of new dance music in a short amount of time (c.f. tab. 2). While most of the pieces for Ariel were reassigned to the Invisible Voice for the vocal score, there were actually arias and duets that were cut from the performance and the subsequent vocal

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<sup>172</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 25 May 1850.

<sup>173</sup> See Libretto. These gestures are clearly part of the action as indicated by the stage directions found in both the published vocal score and the published librettos.

<sup>174</sup> See *Times* (London), 10 June 1850, where the reviewer writes that “M. Halévy has made very skillful use of D[r.] Arne’s celebrated melody, ‘Where the bee sucks,’ originally introduced into Purcell’s opera of *The Tempest*.”

<sup>175</sup> *London Illustrated News*, 15 June 1850.

score.<sup>176</sup> One of the most interesting aspects of this change is that there seems to be no mention of it in any other source identified thus far. Moreover, the change was made very quickly as Act II (and presumably Act I) were completed on or around 15 April 1850, just under two months prior to the premiere on 8 June 1850.<sup>177</sup>

Second, as Halévy did not originally conceive of either of these changes, one question emerges: whose idea was it? While primary evidence is lacking at this time, it seems plausible to suggest that the change was a managerial decision made by Lumley. As has been alluded to, Lumley was an astute businessman very much in tune with the tastes and whims of his audiences. Lumley was keenly aware that the financial future of his theatre hinged on the success of *La Tempesta*. His reliance on the star system had not failed him thus far, and as Grisi was a favorite dancer among the London public, it makes sense that Grisi was one sure way to ensure a successful production. Moreover, with all the negative press surrounding Mendelssohn's rejection of the opera, Lumley was probably concerned over the public's reaction to Halévy. Again, who would have known better than Lumley how the public would react to hearing a favorite English tune emerge out of this brand new operatic adaptation of a favorite English play?

Regardless of who made the changes that appeared between the autograph score and the vocal score, the fact remains that changes were made, and in May of 1850, Halévy and Scribe

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<sup>176</sup> Contemporary descriptions of the performance confirm the fact that these parts were sung by an "Invisible Voice."

<sup>177</sup> Of course this is assuming that Halévy had the parts for Acts I and II sent to London before he completed Act III. I have found no evidence to suggest this, but it would seem reasonable to assume considering the amount of rehearsal time needed to learn a completely new work.

traveled to London to “supervise the rehearsals of *La Tempesta*.”<sup>178</sup> The trip was not pleasant according to Madame Halévy, who described the experience as “an abominable crossing, a real tempest indeed.”<sup>179</sup> Halévy’s and Scribe’s presence in London gave a great boost to the publicity for *La Tempesta*, and as a critic for *The Musical World* pointed out:

The European name of Scribe, which has been associated with so many brilliant triumphs in every branch of the dramatic art; the celebrity of Halévy, whose operas have of late years been the main support of the two great theatres in Paris; the subject, one of Shakespeare’s most familiar dramas which, moreover, had already been set to music by the great English composer Purcell; these and other reasons combined in raising public expectations about *La Tempesta* to the highest pitch.<sup>180</sup>

Several things may be gleaned from this excerpt. Halévy’s *La Val d’Andorre* had been heard in London only a few months earlier, and the composer was in fact under contract to produce *La Juive* at Covent Garden later that year.<sup>181</sup> Yet the review only mentions Halévy’s celebrity status “in Paris,” suggesting that his reputation in London had yet to be established, while Scribe’s name, in contrast, was known throughout Europe. The reviewer also states that *The Tempest* was “one of Shakespeare’s most familiar dramas,” and makes specific reference to Purcell’s setting. These remarks suggest a public satiated with preconceived notions of Shakespearean performance practice which, when taken in conjunction with London’s specific tastes regarding Italian opera, were among the challenges facing Scribe and Halévy. As Jordan points out, both composer and librettist made every effort possible to ensure the success of *La Tempesta*:

Halévy and Scribe took their supervisory work seriously. An incredulous London press reported that they were attending rehearsals ‘sedulously,’ spending ten hours a day at the theatre, bestowing their attention ‘on all the minor details so essential to the perfect production of a dramatic work.’<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> See Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 135.

<sup>179</sup> Unpublished letter to Léonie Halévy’s mother, identified as NAF14383, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, cited in Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 138.

<sup>180</sup> *Musical World* (London), 15 June 1850.

<sup>181</sup> For details surrounding both of these events, Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, is useful.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

**UNE SHAKESPEAREAN CROUSTADE À LA HALÉVY-SCRIBE:  
HOW LONDON RECEIVED *LA TEMPESTA***

The premiere, originally intended for Thursday, 6 June 1850, had to be postponed until the following Saturday, “in consequence of the great preparations necessary.”<sup>183</sup> The postponement only seemed to fuel public curiosity, however, and, as *The Illustrated London News* recorded, “the success of this opera, on the first night, was triumphant.”<sup>184</sup> A critic for *The Times* described the event further:

Saturday evening was one of those exciting occasions that only occur once or twice in two or three years. The engagement, not only of a foreign composer, but of a dramatist of such eminence as M. Scribe to write a *libretto*, was something altogether new. Then there was the popular nature of the subject, the curiosity to see how so national a poem as *The Tempest* would be treated by a French dramatist, and how such poetic imaginings as Ariel and Caliban would be realized by such artists as Carlotta Grisi and Lablache. In short, the vast audience that thronged Her Majesty’s Theatre on Saturday night was something altogether without precedent.<sup>185</sup>

Lumley’s efforts to ensure *La Tempesta*’s success had seemingly paid off, and the audience demonstrated their gratitude through plaudits that “lasted so long that his [Lumley’s] prospect of sitting down again seemed almost problematical.”<sup>186</sup> Accolades were given as well to Halévy, who “in spite of his obvious modesty was dragged before the audience by the awful Lablache,” and Scribe, who “bowed down from his box amid a perfect hurricane of applause.”<sup>187</sup>

The impact of *La Tempesta* was exceptional, and, according to the *Illustrated London News*, Scribe had fully succeeded in adapting *The Tempest* to meet the requirements of modern opera:

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<sup>183</sup> *Times* (London), 6 June 1850.

<sup>184</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 17 August 1850.

<sup>185</sup> *Times* (London), 10 June 1850.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*



Such a truly artistic work has seldom been seen on any stage; it is full of charming contrasts, employs every resource of modern art, and is free from all that is meretricious, glaring, and noisy. It was repeated on Tuesday and Thursday with increased effect.<sup>188</sup>

As far as can be determined, *La Tempesta* was performed no fewer than 13 times between 8 June and 1 August 1850, and the press continued to issue reports that the opera was given time and again “with unabated success,” and that the “crowded houses attest [to] its increasing popularity at each performance.”<sup>189</sup>

While most of the contemporary reviews of the opera were very favorable, *La Tempesta* also had its detractors, as exemplified in the following article that appeared in *The Musical World*:

**Shakspere [sic] Cookery, By M. Scribe<sup>190</sup>**

**(From *Punch*.)**

M. Scribe threatens to oust M. Soyer<sup>191</sup>, and to surmount the laurels of the original dramatist with the paper-cap of the cook. M. Scribe's first dish to an English audience having been relished with such delight, prescribes—their ink-bottles foaming with champagne—having declared the *fricassee*<sup>192</sup> of wondrous spiciness and flavor, and fast men having smacked their mouths, and yelled their applauses of the treat, the new French opera cook, in the depths of his gratitude, is about to publish the recipe by which he has been enabled to lay before a thoughtful, Shakspere [sic]-loving audience, the savoury mess. *Punch* has been favored with an early copy of the document:

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<sup>188</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850.

<sup>189</sup> See *Illustrated London News*, 27 July 1850, and *Illustrated London News*, 22 June 1850. The 27 July edition states that *La Tempesta* “is to be performed for the last time on Thursday [1 August 1850], owing to the termination of the engagement of Carlotta [Grisi].”

<sup>190</sup> *Musical World* (London), 22 June 1850.

<sup>191</sup> See Betty Watson, *Cooks, Gluttons & Gourmets: A History of Cookery* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962), 228-229, who identifies Alexis Soyer as one of the many French chefs “who served British royalty,” and who “authored several cookbooks of which the most popular was *A Shilling Cookery for the People*.” According to Watson, Soyer “became so attached to his adopted country he even learned to make classic English dishes and shocked his Gallic colleagues by declaring that simple unadorned roasts and steaks could also be gourmet foods.”

<sup>192</sup> A *fricassee* usually denotes a dish in which the meat of small animals, usually fowl, has been cut into pieces and stewed in a gravy. See Posper Montagné, *Larousse Gastronomique: The Encyclopedia of Food, Wine and Cookery* (NY: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1965), 430, where *fricassee* is defined as a “stew made with white or brown stock and made not only from poultry but from meat, fish and vegetables.” See also Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 3, who cites famous French gastronome Grimod de la Reynière as critical of English food. Ironically, Reynière is cited as saying: “English cooking is limited to boiled chickens, of extreme insipidity [. . .].”

### How to Cook A Swan (of Avon.)

Cut the swan into pieces, throwing away the heart and brains.  
Put the fragments of the swan in a brazen kettle.  
Place over a quick fire, while fan with the poems of *Venus and Adonis*.  
Stir with the toe of Carlotti Grisi, now fast, now gently, now stir not at all.  
Use Lablache as a bellows when wanted to boil.  
Take a song of Sontag's, as cold champagne, occasionally to cool.  
Boil again with an air by Coletti.  
Cool and boil, and boil and cool, until the fragments of the swan shall be thoroughly dissolved.  
Strain through canvas, painted by Marshall.  
Serve hot to an enlightened public, who will be frantic with delight that a French cook should have made so admirable a *fricassee* of their adored Swan of Avon.  
N.B. It would doubtless give the dish a fine flavour if the fire could be made of the rafters of Shakspeare's [*sic*] birth-place.  
Further, Mr. Punch may be allowed to advise M. Scribe, who can hatch such French geese of his own, not to meddle with the Swan of Stratford.

While Punch expressed dissatisfaction with Scribe's work using comments that drew upon the long-standing tradition of food chauvinism that had existed between France and England, these remarks also smack of another form of chauvinism that Scribe was inevitably forced to contend with—the history of French adaptations of Shakespeare. Scribe's reputation had preceded him to the point that even the English were aware of his penchant for creative adaptations, and as Crosten noted later: "Novelty was nothing unusual with him [Scribe], for he remade every dramatic genre that he touched."<sup>193</sup> Shakespearean fanatics such as the author of the "recipe" above couldn't care less about how much or how little original material Scribe maintained in his adaptations, as long as he remained on his side of the channel.

The popularity of the epicurean analogy used by Punch stemmed from a long tradition of cultural prejudice that had existed between England and France for a century. In this instance, the prejudice revolves around gastronomical art, which was a significant component of both French and English culture. Gastronomy formed a popular pastime for the *bon ton*, and served to

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<sup>193</sup> Crosten, *French Grand Opera*, 70.

establish “canons of ‘correct’ taste for those who were wealthy enough to meet them.”<sup>194</sup> During the early part of the nineteenth century, gastronomy and literature were almost inextricably linked, and literary figures became famous for their excursions into the world of gastronomy. In France, novelist Alexandre Dumas *père* was as well known for his culinary as his literary contributions, such that “[e]very Wednesday, Dumas held dinner for the leading wits and artists of the period with fifteen places laid at the table.”<sup>195</sup> Likewise in England, fine dining was a preoccupation with Charles Lamb, who believed “an epicure eats with his brain as well as his mouth.”<sup>196</sup> Moreover, the world of gastronomy formed a veritable battleground for French and English critics, who were quick to express their individual “strong feelings not just about what foods should be eaten, but also about how the foods they choose should be prepared for eating.”<sup>197</sup> In his *Dictionary of Cuisine*, Dumas discusses the culinary merits of eating frogs, and hints at the longstanding food war that existed between the French and English. He states that:

In Italy and Germany, great quantities of these batrachians [frogs] are eaten. The markets are full of them. Englishmen, who hold them in abhorrence, and sixty years ago caricatured the French as frog eaters, should read a passage in the *History of Dominica*, by an Englishman named Thomas Atwood.<sup>198</sup>

One such caricature can be found in the text of an eighteenth-century cantata inspired by Hogarth’s famous etching *The Gate of Calais* (fig. 4). This cantata exhibits what Ben Rogers

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<sup>194</sup> Mennell, *All Manners*, 266.

<sup>195</sup> See Watson, *Cooks*, 200, who also states that “Dumas considered his *Le Grande Dictionnaire de la Cuisine* his most important work; he spent his entire lifetime on it.”

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

<sup>197</sup> Mennell, *All Manners*, 3. Moreover, Mennell observes that “[e]ven two such closely related cuisines as those of England and France, which have been in reciprocal contact for hundreds of years, stir the emotions in each other’s protagonists.”

<sup>198</sup> Alexandre Dumas, *Dictionary of Cuisine*, ed. and trans. Louis Colman (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1958), 123-124. See also Ben Rogers, *Beef and Liberty* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), 31, who states that “French and English cooking had their origins in a common medieval tradition, yet by the end of the seventeenth century the two had grown apart, as French cuisine became increasingly ‘backward’ or (according to your point of view) ‘honest.’”

refers to as “native food chauvinism” in its use of blatantly prejudiced language, as particularly exemplified in verse two:

Renown'd Sir-loin, oft times decreed  
The theme of English Ballad;  
On thee e'en King's have deign'd to feed  
Unknown to Frenchmans Palate  
Then how much more thy taste exceeds  
Soup meager, Frogs, and Sallad.<sup>199</sup>

In the final verses of the cantata, the text clearly articulates the difference between the two nationalities:

(Verse Three)

Then Britons be valiant the moral is clear.  
The Ox is old England, the frog is Monsieur,  
Whose puffs and bravadoes we never need fear.

(Verse Four)

For while by our commerce and arts we are able,  
To see the sir-loin smoaking [*sic*] hot on our table,  
The French must e'en burst, like the frog in the fable.<sup>200</sup>

While the cookery war between France and England had somewhat subsided by the middle of the nineteenth century, its history was by no means forgotten. Halévy's and Scribe's “Frenchness” was not an issue for most, and their celebrity status resulted in many “*toasts, clubs* and *speeches*” in their honor, all of which were invariably centered around the consumption of fine food and drink.<sup>201</sup> When the time came for Halévy and Scribe to leave London, a reception

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<sup>199</sup> Theodosius Forrest, *A Cantata. Taken from a Celebrated Print of the Ingenious Mr Hogarth . . . The Words by a Man of Taste* (London, 1759). See also Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*, 87, and 102. According to Rogers, the cantata was performed at the Haymarket Theatre in 1759.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 142.

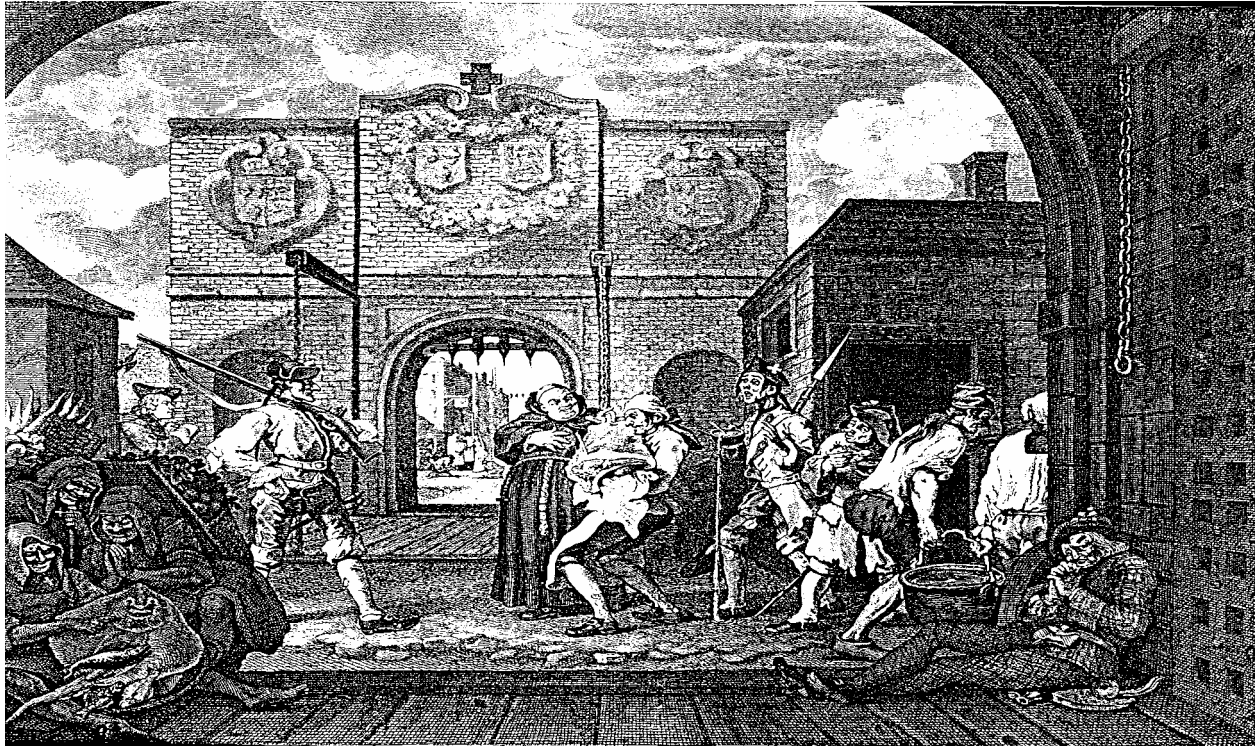


Figure 4. Hogarth's *The Gate of Calais*, 1749.

was given to honor the Frenchmen which *The Musical World* described as a “*dejûner and fête* given by Mr. Lumley, on Wednesday, at his villa Fulham.”<sup>202</sup> Another critic reported:

On the occasion of some recent festivities, M. Soyer, as we learn from the *Morning Post*, produced an invention in gastronomy. Our contemporary informs us that “the new culinary innovation” (a rather peculiar kind of innovation that must be), “was named Croustade Shakspearienne [sic] à la Halévy-Scribe.”<sup>203</sup>

The persona known as Punch couldn’t resist the implications of this curious statement, and quickly retaliated by stating:

*Croustade*, friend Soyer? Ought’nt it to have been *salmi*? Surely, if you meant to concoct a Shaksperian [sic] dish in the style of Scribe and Halévy, you should have made a hash of it.<sup>204</sup>

Yet others cloaked their displeasure in more flattering rhetoric. In an article from *The Bell’s New Weekly Messenger*, a critic first praised Scribe as “the best foreign dramatic author,” then later chastised him for his attempt at improving Shakespeare:

Some one paraphrased the words of *Hudibras* to the effect that

“Ah me, what perils do environ  
The man who meddles with Lord Byron;”

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<sup>202</sup> *Musical World* (London), 22 June 1850.

<sup>203</sup> *Musical World* (London), 6 July 1850. See also Yon, *Eugène Scribe*, 268-270. A *croustade* is a hollowed-out pastry or bread which is used to serve another food in. The inference in the *Morning Post* review was complimentary, implying that Scribe’s libretto served as an appropriate “container” for Shakespeare.

<sup>204</sup> *Musical World* (London), 6 July 1850. See also Betty Watson, *The Language of Cookery: An Informal Dictionary* (NY: World Publishing Company, 1968), who explains that *salmi*, or *salmis*, is “a word found in use in France for the first time at the beginning of the fourteenth century, though it may be of much earlier origin [ . . . ]. It usually means game meat (duck, pheasant, partridge) partially cooked, then reheated in a sauce that is basically a [sauce] to which meat glaze and red wine have been added. However, Punch’s reference to “hash” leads one to believe a mistaken was made in the choice of cookery terminology. Another popular dish similar to hash was *salmagundi*, which Watson defines as “a hodge-podge of such ingredients as diced or minced meat, cooked and raw vegetables, pickles, hard-cooked eggs, or sea food blended with Mayonaise, molded into shape, garnished, and served cold.” In either case, the comparison was blatantly derogatory.

And with much greater force would the remark apply to a French adaptator of Shakspeare's plays; especially when we have the very characters that Shakspeare felt himself unequal to the task of embodying, and only referred to them in his poetry, now touched by a less diffident hand, and at one fell swoop the vision swept away; as if to show how correct the great poet was when he felt that though characters might be formed in the mind, yet to give them vitality was to peril the whole.<sup>205</sup>

Henry Chorley also exhibited cultural prejudice against Scribe to a certain degree, saying:

He was, after all, a Frenchman. Now the French are not to be trusted with Shakespeare, save under protest against the alliance. They *will* clip, and curl, and oil the mane of the lion; they *will* plane down and polish the crevices in the marble rock. Whether it be a Dumas who fits up *Hamlet* with a new catastrophe of corpses round about the Ghost; or a Dudevant, who, out of the fullness of her æsthetic respect, mends *As you like it*; or a Scribe, commissioned to do his best for dancers, singers, machinists, and composer; the result is always the same.<sup>206</sup>

What Chorley is referring to are the adaptations of Shakespeare made by various French authors, and while Chorley's comments are less than kind, the fact was that early French versions of Shakespeare were indeed loose adaptations at best. As discussed earlier, Shakespeare's works met with a cool reception in France throughout the eighteenth century, and only through strict adherence to neoclassical conventions did they gradually acquire an audience in the nineteenth century.<sup>207</sup> The credit for successfully introducing Shakespeare to the French public goes to Jean-François Ducis, who "did his utmost to remodel Shakespeare to French taste by squeezing his plays into the straitjacket of the three unities, and by replacing action with *récit* (narration) and *confidants* (confidants)."<sup>208</sup> In Ducis' *Hamlet*, for example, the neoclassical elements rendered the French adaptation unrecognizable, and as Christopher Smith concluded:

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<sup>205</sup> *Bell's New Weekly Messenger* (London), 9 June 1850.

<sup>206</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 273-274.

<sup>207</sup> Furst, "Formation," Bailey, *Hamlet in France*, and Draper, *Rise and Fall*, remain useful.

<sup>208</sup> Furst, "Formation," 7.

Everything [was] arranged to suit French taste, with five acts of rhyming couplets for declamation, plots shorn of digressions and purged of indelicacies and humour [sic], and the number of characters drastically reduced.<sup>209</sup>

Thus as Lillian Furst explains, “it was in this emasculated format that *Hamlet* (1769), *Romeo and Juliet* (1772), *King Lear* (1783), *Macbeth* (1784), and *Othello* (1792) were first presented on the Parisian stage to a mixture of applause and derision.”<sup>210</sup> Progress was made, however, and early in the nineteenth century, English touring companies presented Shakespearean plays at the Odéon. Young romantics such as Alexandre Dumas *père* and Paul Meurice were entranced, and eventually offered adaptations closer to the original. Yet there were still elements that were simply too entrenched in French theatrical tradition to risk changing, and even by mid-century, few Frenchmen were acquainted with Shakespeare’s plays.<sup>211</sup>

Scribe, however, appeared to be relatively familiar with the English *Tempest* as substantiated by the fact that, while changes were indeed made to suit Italian operatic practice in London, much was left intact. Yet there were those individuals who still managed to find fault. According to Chorley, Scribe could not be content with the “simple and dreamy” aspects of *The Tempest*, and therefore set out to render the story more “piquant by bringing out into coarse light what Shakespeare had only hinted in passing.”<sup>212</sup> What he refers to is the passage in which Prospero says that he had housed Caliban: “In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate/The

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<sup>209</sup> Christopher Smith, “Shakespeare on French Stages in the Nineteenth Century” in *Shakespeare and the Victorian Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 233.

<sup>210</sup> Furst, “Formation,” 7.

<sup>211</sup> Bailey, *Hamlet in France*, remains useful. See especially page 77, where Bailey discusses the premiere of Dumas’ *Hamlet* at the Théâtre Historique in 1847.

<sup>212</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 274.



honour of my child.”<sup>213</sup> Chorley’s comments imply that no decent Englishman would ever think of creating a scene based on the implications of this line, and the fact that Scribe chose to build an entire act centered around the intended rape of Miranda by Caliban was, to Chorley and other critics like him, a “situation” only a Frenchman could conceive of.<sup>214</sup>

Nevertheless, a “situation” was indeed made, and despite the overwhelming disapproval exhibited by certain Shakespearean purists, the audience loved it. As a reviewer for *Revue et Gazette Music de Paris* described:

The enthusiasm of the hall was manifest in bravos, and the curtain calls were warm and well-earned. Miranda and Caliban’s duet, the choir of spirits, the *bacchanale*, the voice of Madame Sontag, the skill of Lablache, his pantomime and his grotesque dancing providing contrast with the despair of the young girl—these are the elements reunited by the librettist, the composer and the artists that charmed and entertained the public. It would be impossible to better achieve the goal of striking just the right balance of drama, music and execution.<sup>215</sup>

Thus despite the difficulties associated with getting the work mounted and the cultural prejudices that colored certain perceptions of the opera, the premiere was an overwhelming success. In its annual review of the musical highlights for the year 1850, the 17 August edition of *The Illustrated London News* reported enthusiastically proclaimed that Halévy’s *La Tempesta* was

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<sup>213</sup> Norton *Shakespeare* (1.2.350-351), 3066.

<sup>214</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 274 remains useful. See also Dean, “Shakespeare in Opera,” 110.

<sup>215</sup> *Revue et Gazette Music de Paris*, 16 June 1850: “L’enthousiasme de la sale se manifeste par des bravos, des rappels aussi chaleureux que mérités. Le duo de Miranda et de Caliban, le chœur des buveurs, la bacchanale, la voix de Mmd Sontag’, le jeu de Lablache, sa pantomime, sa danse grotesque, en contraste avec le désespoir de la jeune fille, voilà les elements réunis par le poète, le compositeur et les artistes pour charmer et entrainer le public. Impossible de mieux atteindre le but, de frapper plus juste ni plus fort d’un meme coup de drame, de musique et d’exécution.”

“the great and distinguishing event of the season,” and that “the success of this work carried on the theatre to the close of the season.”<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 17 August 1850.

### CHAPTER 3

#### *LA TEMPESTA* BY SCRIBE:

#### THE LIBRETTO AS SHAKESPEAREAN APPROPRIATION

*When thou didst not, savage,  
Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like  
A thing most brutish, I endowed thy purposes  
With words that made them known. [Miranda]*<sup>1</sup>

In a letter to Benjamin Lumley dated 24 December 1846, Eugène Scribe wrote:

Annexed you will find the Poem founded on Shakespere's [*sic*] *Tempest*, which you did me the honour [*sic*] to commission me to write. I have done the utmost to respect the inspirations of your immortal Author. All the musical situations I have created are but suggestions taken from Shakespere's [*sic*] ideas, and as all the honour must accrue to him, I may be allowed to state that there are but few subjects so well adapted for musical interpretation.<sup>2</sup>

While the letter itself is very brief, it is immediately obvious that Scribe, acutely aware of how his adaptation might be received by the English, magnanimously proclaims that all credit should go to the genius of England's most celebrated and "immortal Author."

Scribe argues that he made every attempt to remain faithful to Shakespeare's "ideas." As he attempted to express Shakespeare's "meaning" in his own words, however, Scribe endowed *Shakespeare* with the conventions of a nineteenth-century opera libretto. As this chapter compares Scribe's libretto with Shakespeare's text, the issue of Shakespearean appropriation emerges as an integral factor in the discussion.

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<sup>1</sup> *Norton Shakespeare* (1.2.358-361), 3066.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Eugène Scribe to Benjamin Lumley, reprinted in *Libretto*, iii.

## LA TEMPESTA AND SHAKESPEAREAN APPROPRIATION

There can be little doubt that Scribe and Halévy were thoroughly briefed by Lumley as to the musical and dramatic tastes of Londoners, and as established in the previous chapter, the three men did apparently everything in their power to ensure a successful event. Yet the artists also had help in this endeavor from one of London's most distinguished critics. In what appeared to be not only an effort to promote, but also to *prepare* the London public for the upcoming production, renowned music critic Morris Barnett published an essay in tribute to Eugène Scribe. In the preface to his essay, published just one month before the premiere, Barnett wrote:

To you, the greatest dramatic genius of the age. [. . .] For the last twenty years your dramas have been the storehouse to which English playwrights and managers have chiefly resorted for the delectation of the English public. For their behoof your dramas have been imitated, remodeled, and translated. Partaking, therefore, of the gratitude which every sincere lover of dramatic literature must bear you, I offer the following pages, intended to prove, by exposition of the text, the apt appreciation, the fine discernment, and the true modesty with which you have treated *The Tempest*, as the ground-work of a musical poem.<sup>3</sup>

A clue as to why Barnett found it necessary to prepare the public can be found in the second paragraph of the essay, where he openly confronts the propaganda that had apparently contained “many rumours of its [*La Tempesta*’s] merits and its character.”<sup>4</sup> In this very detailed essay, Barnett provides a complete synopsis of Scribe’s libretto, allowing the reader ample opportunity to come to terms with the deviations from Shakespeare’s original poem. He also took up the cudgels for both Scribe and Halévy, and noted that:

The most devout and unbending admirer of Shakespere [*sic*], the most rigid stickler for, on ordinary occasions—for the text, the whole text, and nothing but

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<sup>3</sup> Morris Barnett, *The Tempest As a Lyrical Drama* (London: J. Mitchell, 1850), 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

the text, will not, we think, contend that in an adaptation and a development such as that now offered to the public, the play in its original shape could have been strictly followed by the composer. The requirements of modern opera are very different from those of the Elizabethan drama, even when, as in the case of *The Tempest*, the germ of the operatic spirit shines plainly visible from every sphere.<sup>5</sup>

Barnett's final words contain the essential point regarding the reception of *La Tempesta*, and also the root of most of the controversy over the libretto. As Barnett clearly points out, *La Tempesta* was intended not for consumers of Shakespearean drama, but for consumers of Italian opera and the particular conventions associated with the London brand of Italian opera.

A critic for the *Illustrated London News* provided a clue as to what these conventions might be:

That extraordinary genius, Scribe, . . . has, with most curious acumen, drawn from Shakspeare's [sic] text itself the changes required for the Italian libretto of an opera, in which the action, being veiled by the language and by the music, requires more defined and palpable contour, and more startling in intrest [sic].<sup>6</sup>

Barnett also had his own ideas as to what constituted a sound libretto suitable for Italian opera:

The more level portions of the dialogue must inevitably be shortened for the purposes of recitative; the expression of sentiment, feeling, and emotion must assume that lyric form which is the essence of the drama as interpreted by music; the action of the whole piece must be simplified, and cast with those severe and massive proportions best suited to the lyric stage; and, finally, it is of essential importance that those elements in the play which are most operatic in their nature, which can be most fittingly represented by means of music: the adventures of the lovers, and the fairy and supernatural machinery of the play, should be extended and developed with all that ingenuity and fertility of resource which, by the combination of sister arts, we are enabled to apply to the modern stage.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Barnett, *Lyrical Drama*, 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 25 May 1850.

<sup>7</sup> Barnett, *Lyrical Drama*, 20-21.

Thus it seems that as long as one viewed *La Tempesta* as a work representative of modern operatic conventions, then any deviation from Shakespeare's original "poem" could be defended, and the *Daily News* concluded that:

*La Tempesta* is to be regarded, not as a version of the English play, but as a modern opera, founded on the subject of that play. Changes in the story, or the introduction of new incidents, are not to be called liberties taken with Shakspeare's [sic] text; M. Scribe having been in no degree bound by it, but at liberty to use as much or as little of it as he thought proper, provided that what he has invented is in good keeping with what he has borrowed.<sup>8</sup>

In her introduction to *Shakespeare and Appropriation*, Christy Desmet defines "appropriation" as "an exchange, either the theft of something valuable (such as property or ideas) or a gift, the allocation of resources for a worthy cause (such as the legislative appropriation of funds for a new school)."<sup>9</sup> By describing Scribe's *La Tempesta* as borrowed, not stolen, Barnett situates it comfortably within the beneficent definition of appropriation: the allocation of Shakespeare's subject to the worthy cause of "modern opera."

Barnett firmly believed that Scribe's libretto was indeed "in good keeping" with Shakespeare's *Tempest*, praising the poet for his skillful adaptation "applied with the most perfect appreciation of, and veneration for Shakespere's [sic] immortal work."<sup>10</sup> Few would disagree with Barnett's estimation of Scribe's skill, but it appears that it was not Scribe's adaptation that was the real source of negative criticism. Rather, it had to do more with disagreements over Shakespeare's intentions regarding the *genre* of *The Tempest*. According to Virginia and Alden Vaughn, "*The Tempest's* perceived focus

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<sup>8</sup> *Daily News* (London), 1850, cited in *Musical World* (London), 15 June 1850.

<sup>9</sup> Desmet and Sawyer, *Shakespeare and Appropriation*, 4.

<sup>10</sup> Barnett, *Lyrical Drama*, 22.

changed significantly with the dawn of the nineteenth century.”<sup>11</sup> With the advent of Romanticism in England, more emphasis was placed on the role of texts as poetry, and “Shakespeare’s plays were no longer considered as acting scripts for a public theatre but as expressions of his personal feelings.”<sup>12</sup> As a result, a decisive split occurred in the analysis of Shakespeare’s works, with those interested in the literary aspects of the text forming one camp and those interested in performance practice forming the other. A critic for *The Illustrated London News*, representing the former, explained that:

It is almost superfluous to observe, that Shakspeare himself did not intend the poem of “The Tempest” as a drama, in which the plot is continuously elaborated and worked out, from its beginning to its conclusion. It was designed as a poem, in which all means of scenic illusion and effect could be combined.<sup>13</sup>

And because of the inherent possibilities for music and spectacle found in *The Tempest*, the same critic staunchly supported the idea of *The Tempest* as an opera, saying “M. Scribe has therefore made legitimate use of Shakspeare’s ‘Tempest, in its transmutation into a libretto.”<sup>14</sup>

Those who fully embraced the idea of romantic drama, however, disagreed:

It is one thing to read of an enchanter, and to believe the wondrous tale while we are reading it; but to have a conjuror brought before us in his conjuring-gown, with his spirits about him, which none but himself and some hundred of favoured spectators before the curtain are supposed to see, involves such a quantity of the *hateful incredible* that all our reverence for the author cannot hinder us from perceiving such gross attempts upon the senses to be in the highest degree

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<sup>11</sup> Vaughn and Vaughn, eds., “The Tempest” in *Arden Shakespeare*, 84.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 85-86.

<sup>13</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 8 June 1850

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

childish and inefficient. Spirits and fairies cannot be represented, they cannot even be painted.<sup>15</sup>

In the opinion of critics such as this one, the idea of attempting to dramatize a fantastic subject like *The Tempest* seemed ludicrous, and was simply an insult to the more learned patrons of London. Henry Chorley was quick to point this out, asking:

Who *can* present the invisible Ariel on the stage, save as the outburst of a fountain, or as a flash of volcano-fire, or as lightening, or as the shooting of a star? A mime *must* do it; and, however well it be done [. . .] the dream is gone. The mime flying on stiff wires, be she, he, or it ever so tiny, ever so musical in voice, ever so tricky in action [. . .] , lingers long behind imagination; or else makes a gross piece of elf-work before an unpoetical—not therefore necessarily a coarse—public.<sup>16</sup>

It is not, therefore, too difficult to imagine how Scribe's adaptation quickly became the focus of this debate.

Some even argued that, due to the excessive musical references in the text, Shakespeare may have intended *The Tempest* for operatic treatment. In his lengthy essay, Morris Barnett went so far as to pose the question: "Is it too much to say that in writing *The Tempest* Shakespere [sic] created the [l]ibretto of the first [o]pera?"<sup>17</sup> A critic for *The Musical World* answered Barnett's question with a definitive no, saying "that Shakespere's [sic] *Tempest* was never intended for an opera may be considered as certain."<sup>18</sup> The critic also concluded that a valid assessment of Scribe's libretto would

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<sup>15</sup> Charles Lamb, *The Dramatic Essays*, ed. Brander Matthews (New York, 1891), 191. Lamb is not necessarily specifically referring to *La Tempesta*. It is more likely that he is reacting to the Macready production, which contained a great amount of stage spectacle.

<sup>16</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 273.

<sup>17</sup> Barnett, *Lyrical Drama*, 12.

<sup>18</sup> *Musical World* (London), 15 June 1850.



only be possible when it is no longer viewed in connection with Shakespeare's "original poem:"

In our consideration of the *libretto* of *La Tempesta*, therefore, we must view it as a drama of M. Scribe, founded on the *Tempest* of Shakspeare [sic], and judge of its merits as a medium for music without any reference to Shakspeare [sic] himself, between whose *Tempest* and Scribe's *La Tempesta* we may at once declare there is nothing in common. It is both unjust and illogical to make comparisons between things so utterly different.<sup>19</sup>

Scribe's success among the literati of London, therefore, depended greatly on advocates willing to call attention to the different requirements of spoken and lyrical drama. One such advocate from *The Times* aptly concluded:

That M. Scribe will escape the animadversion of every Shakspearian [sic] purist we will not venture to predict, but we think that those who are forward to censure his modifications of the story will speak only from some unpractical theory, and will show their ignorance of the essential difference between a spoken drama and a grand opera.<sup>20</sup>

While mid-century London critics were often split in their opinions as to how Shakespeare's genius should best be presented to the public, it appears that another parallel split existed between the tastes of the general public and the opinions of the erudite literati, some of whom believed it to be their responsibility to educate the public in matters of taste. In his essay on the relationship between opera managers and the press, C. L. Gruneisen attempted "to show how far the relations between the opera and the press have affected, and do affect, art advancement, and how prejudicial the relations between opera management and journalism have proved to the musical public."<sup>21</sup> Gruneisen was

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> *Times* (London), 10 June 1850.

<sup>21</sup> Gruneisen, *Opera and the Press*, 3.

so thoroughly committed to this cause that he published the following charge on the title page of his essay:

Those who undertake to enlighten public opinion and public taste in matters of literature or art, undertake a most important—I had almost said a sacred—trust. It is not only that the public look to them, upon matters on which the public must be necessarily less informed or enlightened, for assistance in the formation of their judgment and their taste, but it is also this, that those who are struggling in the race of public competition for public favour, as the means of their livelihood or success in life, have a right to expect that their performances shall be scanned by fair and impartial critics; for, of course, it would make all the difference to the artist whether he is praised or censured in journals of extensive circulation.<sup>22</sup>

In the case of *La Tempesta*, this split was manifest in either rave reviews of the opera as a work of collaborative art and spectacle, or negative reviews of the opera as a grotesque alteration of Shakespeare's dramatic poem. As one critic for *Bell's New Weekly Messenger* noted in a review of *La Tempesta*, "the adaptor has to invent, alter, and reconstruct, until like the baseless fabric of a vision, scarcely a wreck is left behind, except the names and a few of the incidents."<sup>23</sup>

As discussed previously, many critics blamed the French tradition of Shakespearean adaptation for Scribe's cuts and changes. These same critics, however, failed to make mention of the *English* tradition of Shakespearean adaptation that was particularly associated with *The Tempest*. In his introduction to *The Tempest* in *The Norton Shakespeare*, Stephen Greenblatt indicates that Shakespeare wrote *The Tempest* around 1611.<sup>24</sup> From the time of its first performance, critics and audiences have held a

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<sup>22</sup> Lord Chief Justice Cockburn's Charge to the Jury, re Ryan v. Wood, Court of Queen's Bench, 8 February 1866, cited in Gruneisen, *Opera and the Press*, 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Bell's New Weekly Messenger* (London), 9 June 1850.

<sup>24</sup> See Greenblatt, ed., "Introduction to *The Tempest*," in *Norton Shakespeare*, 3047, who states that *The Tempest* "can be dated fairly precisely: it uses material that was not available until late 1610, and there is a record of a performance before the king on Hallowmas Night, 1611."

certain fascination with Shakespeare's *Tempest*, so much so that "there is scarcely one of its five Acts which does not contain a word or a phrase that has given rise to eager discussion."<sup>25</sup> Yet by the eighteenth century, those interested in engaging in critical discussion of the play would have been well advised to ask, "which *Tempest* shall we discuss?"

Little is known of the early performance history of Shakespeare's play, due mostly in part to the "closing of all public theatres during the Interregnum."<sup>26</sup> *The Tempest* resurfaced in 1660 with the Dryden-Davenant adaptation billed as *The Tempest; or, The Enchanted Isle*. Dryden and Davenant made significant alterations to Shakespeare's text in an attempt suit the text to the ideals of the Restoration, and as Vaughan explains:

[Dryden and Davenant] simplified Shakespeare's characters, added an extra boy and girl (Hippolito and Dorinda) and a she-monster named Sycorax, inserted moralistic songs and sayings, and rearranged scenes and changed episodes—all in accord with contemporary notions of decorum.<sup>27</sup>

This same version was treated operatically in 1674 and, together with the Dryden-Davenant adaptation, "dominated stagings and popular conceptions" well into the eighteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Owing not only to its innumerable musical references, but also to

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<sup>25</sup> See the preface to William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. Horace Howard Furness (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1892), v. See also the introduction to Vaughan and Vaughan, eds., "The Tempest" in Arden Shakespeare. Greenblatt, *Norton Shakespeare*, also remains useful.

<sup>26</sup> Virginia Mason Vaughn, "Caliban's Theatrical Metamorphoses" in *Caliban*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1992), 193.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Vaughan and Vaughan, eds., "The Tempest" in *Arden Shakespeare*, 76.

the catholic popularity of the various operatic versions, *The Tempest* was from the eighteenth century on inextricably linked with lyric drama, evoking a curious foreshadowing of the final words in Scribe's letter to Lumley.<sup>29</sup>

The rub, however, is that it was the Dryden-Davenant adaptation that the public knew, and not Shakespeare's play. Indeed in 1756, David Garrick produced what Montague Summers referred to as "the worst alteration of *The Tempest* ever perpetrated."<sup>30</sup> This *Tempest* was in essence a mélange of Shakespeare and Dryden-Davenant, interpolated with thirty-two songs by Christopher Smith.<sup>31</sup> In the following year, however, Garrick produced a *Tempest* that was closer to the original than any up to that point. This version, billed as "not acted 14 years," was drawn straight from the First Folio and held the stage for the next thirty years.<sup>32</sup> In 1787, John Philip Kemble produced a *Tempest* that revived elements of the Dryden-Davenant version with the reintroduction

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<sup>29</sup> See Vaughan, "Metamorphoses," 194, who identifies three other "operatic" versions: one by Purcell in the 1690's, one by Garrick in 1756, and a third at Covent Garden from 1776-1779. See also Barnett, *Lyrical Drama*, 11, who was surely aware of the history of *The Tempest* as a lyrical drama, as the title of his essay suggests. Contrary to certain Shakespearean purists, Barnett argued: "In no one of Shakespere's plays do stage directions occur so often as in *The Tempest*, demanding 'sweet musick,' 'solemn and strange musick,' 'soft musick,'—music, in truth was, in the poet's imagination, an actual and necessary part of the drama."

<sup>30</sup> See Montague Summers, *Shakespeare Adaptations* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1922), lv-lvi, who cites Theophilus Cibber's vivid description: "*The Tempest* castrated into an opera."

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., and Vaughan, "Metamorphoses," 195.

<sup>32</sup> See Summers, *Adaptations*, lvi. Vaughan, "Metamorphoses," also remains useful.

of Dorinda and Hippolito. According to Vaughan, “this hodgepodge persisted until 1838 when William Charles Macready returned to Shakespeare’s text.”<sup>33</sup>

Macready’s *Tempest* is not only significant for its role in reinstating the 1623 folio, but also because it contains two precedents that are highly significant to *La Tempesta*: the first is *The Tempest* as a vehicle for stage spectacle; the second is a new, romantic interpretation of the character Caliban. Macready’s opening night was a splendid success, and he writes in his diaries that he “could not recover [. . .] from the excitement of last night. The scenes of the storm, the flights of Ariel, and the enthusiasm of the house were constantly recurring to me.”<sup>34</sup> According to one hostile critic, spectacle filled the play from the opening scene:

[A] mimic vessel is outrageously bumped and tossed about on waves that we can liken to nothing save tiny cocks of hay, painted green, and afflicted with a spasm.

. . . In the very next scene, *Prospero* enters by a flight of rocky steps, with *Miranda* at his heels, for the sake of a good stage effect.

. . . In a similar spirit is the formation of what is termed a picture when the two seat themselves, *Prospero* on a high stone couch, and *Miranda* on a lesser one at his feet, like a child on a stool. This is “affectations.” In the same aim at trifling effects, when *Ferdinand* is disarmed, . . . the sword is made to fly over his head. . . And we may observe that the red fire, Salamander spirits, and trumpery phantasmagoria . . . are, in our opinion, altogether unwarrantable. . . .

For into an Easter-piece, and a very indifferent one, has *The Tempest* been transformed. *Ariel* is whisked about by wires and a cog-wheel, like the fairies in *Cinderella*.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Vaughan, “Metamorphoses,” 195. See also Summers, *Adaptations*, lvii, who states that “Hippolito and Dorinda did not finally disappear from the theatre until 13 October 1838, upon which night was first seen at Covent Garden, Macready’s sumptuous and exceedingly successful production of *The Tempest* ‘from the text of Shakespeare’.”

<sup>34</sup> Macready’s *Reminiscences and Selections from His Diaries and Letters*, ed. Sir Frederick Pollock (London: Macmillan and Company, 1875), 126.

<sup>35</sup> Cited in Odell, *Betterton to Irving*, 218.

As is unmistakably evident from his comments, this critic was not impressed with the staging effects incorporated into Macready's production. He represented that faction of Shakespearean purists who believed Shakespeare's fantastic elements could not and should not be represented on stage. Accordingly, Macready was, in Odell's words, "severely censured [for] the super-imposition of scenery on Shakespeare's delicate fantasy."<sup>36</sup> In the review of the premiere, however, a critic for *The Times* defended Macready's use of elaborate spectacle as perfectly in line with Shakespeare's "poetic ideas:"

The reason is this, that where a reality is represented, a person who has seen that reality will perceive the inadequacy of the copy, while on the other hand in works of a supernatural character, where the very thing represented is in itself imaginary, not one of the audience has a right to declare the representation inadequate; he has no real standard with which to compare it, the most he can say is that the picture of his own imagination differs from that given by the decorator, but he can never prove that the latter is a whit less just than the former.<sup>37</sup>

The general public was entranced by the effect, apparently oblivious to the fact that the poetry was "drowned in the vulgar hurly-burly of an Easter piece."<sup>38</sup>

Audiences were also affected by actor George Bennett's portrayal of Caliban as a "rude and uncultivated savage, in a style, which arouse[d] [their] sympathies."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 201.

<sup>37</sup> *The Times* (London), 15 October 1838.

<sup>38</sup> John Bull, cited in Summers, *Adaptations*, lvii. See also Brockett, *History*, 500-501, who explains that the most favored forms [of theatre] between 1850 and 1900 were pantomime, burlesque-extravaganza, and musical entertainments." These types of theatrical and musical entertainments were especially popular during Christmas and Easter, when the major theatres would be on hiatus from the regular seasonal repertory.

<sup>39</sup> Patrick MacDonnell, *An Essay on the Play of the Tempest* (London: John Fellowes, 1839), 18. This source identifies MacDonnell as the former "President of the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh," and the essay is in direct reference to the Macready production "as it was last performed 3d [sic] June, 1839 at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden."

According to Vaughan, it was Bennett's characterization that gave birth to the view of Caliban as a victim of oppression. In their introduction to the Arden edition of *The Tempest*, Virginia and Alden Vaughan relate how nineteenth-century attitudes gradually shifted the emphasis of the play from the noble reclamation of Prospero's throne to sympathetic treatment of Caliban's character. They identify at least two significant impetuses for this shift: the sensitive issue of slavery and Darwinian theories of evolution. Regarding the Macready production, the Vaughans write that

MacDonnell even defended Caliban's morals, suggesting that he tried to rape Miranda only after Prospero imprudently lodged the two together. The 'noble and generous character of Prospero, therefore suffers, by this severe conduct to Caliban, and I confess, I have never read, or witnessed this scene, without experiencing a degree of pity, for the poor, abject, and degraded slave.'<sup>40</sup>

Moreover, the Vaughans assert that nineteenth-century English writers were practically obsessed with "Caliban's struggle for knowledge and independence."<sup>41</sup> The roles were in many instances reversed, with Prospero portrayed as the monster and Caliban as the thinker "who ponders theological and philosophical questions."<sup>42</sup> Thus in many Victorian productions, "the slave was often more important than the master."<sup>43</sup> Bennett played Caliban for fifty-five performances of Macready's *Tempest*, and reprised the role nine years later in Phelps' production.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Vaughan and Vaughan, eds., "The Tempest" in *Arden Shakespeare*, 89. MacDonnell quoted from McDonnell, *Essay on the Play of the Tempest*, 18.

<sup>41</sup> Vaughan and Vaughan, eds., "The Tempest" in *Arden Shakespeare*, 91.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> See *Illustrated London News*, 10 April 1847, where the reviewer for Phelps' 1847 production at Sadler's Wells praises Bennett's performance as Caliban, and claims that "there is no actor now on our boards who could portray the character with such effect."

In 1847, just three years prior to *La Tempesta*, Samuel Phelps mounted another revival of *The Tempest*, which according to a critic for the *Illustrated London News*, “was never better played.”<sup>45</sup> Phelps was intent on maintaining Macready’s tradition of authenticity, and, according to Shirley S. Allen, “used a copy of Shakespeare’s text rather than a published acting version.”<sup>46</sup> Unlike Macready, however, Phelps was more conservative in his staging choices, preferring methods that would inspire the spectator’s imagination. Phelps’ choices were indeed bold, Allen points out, as he was staging Shakespearean fantasy at a time when “lavish spectacle” and “literal realism” predominated.<sup>47</sup> His conservatism, however, was applauded by contemporary critics, who “approved of Phelps’ staging and praised him for adopting the proper course between overdecoration and carelessness in presenting Shakespeare.”<sup>48</sup>

Thus it was that when Halévy and Scribe’s version premiered on 8 June 1850, almost a century had lapsed since *The Tempest* had last been treated as a lyrical drama. Garrick’s operatic flop was no doubt long forgotten, yet *La Tempesta* would have to

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Shirley S. Allen, *Samuel Phelps and Sadler’s Wells* (Middletown, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 1971), 224.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 210. See also Ibid, 105, where Allen points out that while Phelps’ production had its occasions for fantastic stage effects, “there was no attempt to make the play primarily a spectacle.” Allen also emphasizes that Phelps’ production of *The Tempest* represented a major turning point in the reception of Shakespeare’s play. She states that “the total effect of this *Tempest* was of a poetic fantasy. Easter holiday audiences who came expecting to see a glittering spectacle were hushed into silence as the center of interest shifted from setting to the words spoken on the stage. Reviewers said that during the performance the every-day world did not intrude upon the magical one and that Prospero’s Epilogue was needed to help break the spell cast upon the audience.”

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 211.



endure the scrutiny of critics and audiences with an entirely new set of preconceptions. Not only would Halévy's music have to fulfill London's requirements for Italian opera, but Scribe would have to provide a libretto that would both conform to operatic conventions and mollify the most ardent of Shakespearean enthusiasts. In an effort to determine just how successful or unsuccessful Scribe was in this endeavor, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a thorough comparison of Scribe's libretto with the 1623 printed edition of *The Tempest*.

### SCRIBE'S *TEMPESTA* AS COMPARED WITH SHAKESPEARE'S *TEMPEST*

A comparison of this scope might be best served by beginning with the *dramatis personae*. While Shakespeare had eighteen characters with spoken dialogue (plus additional parts for mariners, spirits, and nymphs), Scribe reduced the number of characters to eleven roles plus chorus members serving as mariners, spirits, sylphs and sylphides. If we look at what characters were cut, we see that the reduction is really not that significant. Scribe cut only Sebastian and Gonzalo while retaining Prospero, Miranda, Antonio, Alonso, Ferdinand, Ariel, Caliban, Trinculo and Stefano. The smaller roles of Adrian, Francisco, the Master and the Boatswain are justifiably absorbed into the chorus, but there are also new characters to consider. In Scribe's adaptation, Sycorax is alive and well, and because Ariel is mute, a Spirit of the Air is added, seemingly to assume the voice that was originally conceived for Ariel.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> It is highly probable that since Ariel was originally conceived as a singing role, the Invisible Voice was not in a character the original libretto.

Generally speaking, Scribe followed Shakespeare's plot amazingly well throughout the first act, and less so in Acts II and III.<sup>50</sup> However, a critic for the

*Illustrated London News* pointed out that:

One of the essential differences betwixt Shakspeare's [sic] and Scribe's plot is, that the English "Tempest" (except in a passing description) is without a tempest—a most important subject for a composer to treat. The tempest in the opera forms the prologue.<sup>51</sup>

As in the Shakespearean text, *La Tempesta* opens on board the King of Naples' ship. In Shakespeare's *Tempest*, the sailors argue with the courtiers in the midst of a terrible storm: "To cabin! Silence; trouble us not."<sup>52</sup> The sailors' frustration soon turns to terror as they cry "All lost! To prayers, to prayers! All lost!"<sup>53</sup> Antonio then informs us that the boat is sinking ("Let's all sink wi'th' King") just before the end of the scene.<sup>54</sup> Scribe, however, dispenses with the opening dialogue between the Boatswain and the Master.

Instead we find the King of Naples and the Duke of Milan:

sleeping in a tent on the deck of a ship; their dreams are troubled. A chorus of avenging invisible spirits, as in an ancient Greek tragedy, is heard threatening the vengeance of Heaven for the cruelty of the Princes to *Prospero*. *Ariel*, under whose commands the moral lesson is administered, appears with her attendant spirits [. . .] At her call, the winds rise, the ship is tossed by the violence of wind and wave; the Princes wake—their followers and the crew rush out in dismay

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<sup>50</sup> See *Times* (London) 10 June, 1850, where the critic concludes that "up to this point [end of Act I] Shakspeare's plot has been followed without any material alteration."

<sup>51</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850.

<sup>52</sup> *Norton Shakespeare* (1.1.16), 3056.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, (1.1.47).

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, (1.1.57), 3057.

from their cabins, and express their terror in a magnificent clashing chorus of dramatic feeling, colouring, and action.<sup>55</sup>

The prologue concludes with an extended choral number in which all the ship's company joins together in a prayer just before the ship crashes onto the rocky shore. Here Scribe expounded on Shakespeare's line "to prayers, to prayers," remaining true to the original yet creating a wonderful musical opportunity for Halévy and his gift for writing choruses.

By representing the tempest on stage using a combination of stage spectacle and colorful orchestral music, Scribe achieved a spectacularly dramatic opening scene that was perfectly in line with the demands of operatic conventions of the period. It was not, however, an innovation, as both Macready and Phelps had staged the opening in a similar fashion. Odell informs us that Macready "cut out all the words of the first scene on the ship, and gave, as Charles Kean did many years later, a magnificent moving picture to start the action and to put the audience in the mood of the spectacle to follow."<sup>56</sup>

Likewise, Samuel Phelps' 1847 production followed Macready "in substituting a simulated shipwreck for the spoken words of the first scene."<sup>57</sup> Thus Scribe's choice could not help but ensure the success of the opera's opening scene. It not only fulfilled

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<sup>55</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850. In this review, the critic refers to Ariel as a female character, yet Ariel was gendered as masculine in the folio text. With regards to nineteenth-century representations and adaptations of *The Tempest*, this discrepancy is recurrent as many productions cast Ariel with a female actress. It is unclear as to whether *La Tempesta* represented Ariel as a male or female on stage, but one reference was made to Ariel in a "ballet skirt," suggesting that the producers were consciously representing Ariel as a female.

<sup>56</sup> See Odell, *Betterton to Irving*, 200. See also *Times* (London), 15 October 1838, where the critic censured Macready for omitting the opening dialogue and substituting instead "a pantomimic scene in which no word of dialogue is spoken, and which the author himself seems never to have contemplated."

<sup>57</sup> See Allen, *Phelps*, 224.

the expectations for spectacle of London's opera-going community, but it must also have stimulated a positive response in those who had seen the Macready and Phelps productions a few years earlier.

It would also have been no surprise to those who remembered Macready's production to see a flying Ariel in Scribe's *Tempesta* (fig. 5).<sup>58</sup> They would have been surprised, however, by the fact that Scribe's Ariel was mute. In the folio, Ariel is anything but silent. He is endowed with a persuasive voice that is raised in song on several occasions.<sup>59</sup> Yet Scribe chose to cast Ariel as a mute, whose gracefulness is expressed not in song but in gesture and dance. The incorporation of ballet into opera was in no way new, nor was it limited to French opera. In his *Musical Recollections*, Henry Chorley identified an Italian tradition that he referred to as the "ballet of action," in which the impassioned story, told in dumb show, is the main matter."<sup>60</sup> Moreover, the ballet had by the nineteenth century become an integral (and in some cases expected) part of opera performances, for, according to Chorley:

Those who have mixed ballet with opera, according to the French taste, such as Rameau [ . . . ], Gluck, [ . . . ], Signor Rossini, MM. Auber and Meyerbeer, have, in this portion of their stage music, shown as much of the sacred fire of inspiration, if not of the "midnight oil" of science, as in the portions devoted by them to the setting out of words by sounds.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> I have only located two references to substantiate the fact that Carlotta Grisi was made to fly for the production of *La Tempesta*. In a review appearing in *Revue et Gazette Musical de Paris*, 16 June 1850 the critic states that "Ariel et le chœur des esprits s'envolent" [Ariel and the chorus of spirits fly away]. There is also a sketch of the prologue scene in the *Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850, in which Ariel is seen flying over the ship.

<sup>59</sup> For example, see *Norton Shakespeare* 1.2.378-384; 1.2.400-406; 2.1.296-301; and 5.1.88-96.

<sup>60</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 48.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.



Figure 5. Engraving of “flying” Ariel in feminine costume,  
*Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850.

Chorley's comments are indicative of the popularity of dramatic ballet among nineteenth-century London audiences, intrigued as they were by the way lyrical poetry and music were "influenced" by "the dance with its rhythms."<sup>62</sup> Moreover, he asserts that it was the ballet *La Sylphide*, produced in 1833, that "introduced an element of delicate fantasy and fairyism into the most artificial of all dramatic exhibitions—one which, to some degree, poetized it."<sup>63</sup> Six years later, *The Gipsy* was imported from Paris and resulted, in Chorley's words, in "a performance never to be forgotten:

Much of the lovely music of Weber's *Preciosa* was used in it: the Bolero which opens his overture was allotted to a scene where the gipsy girl compels her sulky mates to dance. When she appeared on the stage of Paris the folk lay couched in fifties, huddled together in their wild and picturesque clothes, as only the French stage managers know how to group forms and colors. How she moved higher and thither, quick and bright as a torch, . . . till at last the excited rout of vagabonds trooped after her with the wild vivacity of a chorus of bacchanals, made a picture of many pictures, the brightness and spirit of which stand almost alone in the gallery of similar ones.<sup>64</sup>

What Chorley is describing is romanticism, and it is this "pictorial" quality of the productions brought to life through the intermingling of music, poetry, drama and dance that seemed to capture the imagination of London audiences.<sup>65</sup>

Thus it appears that Scribe's choice of casting Ariel as a mute dancer not only met the expectations of London opera-goers, but also seemed capable of satisfying their taste

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 45-46.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 47-48.

<sup>65</sup> See Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 127-128, who asserts that "pictures" and "scenes" were integral to the romantic conception of drama, as were other "characteristic nineteenth-century trends" such as local color, folklore and exoticism. See also *The Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850, whose critic observes that "the spiriting of Carlotta Grisi, with a select bevy of *danseuses*, is interwoven like a thread of gold with the whole tissue of the opera."

for romanticism and its inherent “infinite yearning.”<sup>66</sup> This penchant for emotional expressivity can be attested to in a description of Carlotta Grisi, the actress who danced Ariel in the premiere of *La Tempesta*:

[Carlotta] is the half-supportive, half-sentimental creation of the poet’s fancy, and there is a certain fairy-like swiftness in her expression—a representation of extreme sensitiveness, that catches and utters an emotion instantaneously, which could not be surpassed.<sup>67</sup>

It must also not be overlooked that the librettist of *La Tempesta* had used a mute dancer as heroine on another occasion. Scribe’s *La Muette di Portici*, produced for the Paris Opéra in 1828, created an “unprecedented response” that Sarah Hibberd attributes not to “the political aspect of the opera, [ . . . ] but rather its mute heroine.”<sup>68</sup> As Hibberd notes, the dramatic impact of *La Muette* was significantly increased not only through the use of gesture, but also through the highly atmospheric scores that dramatic pantomime demands.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, Scribe’s decision to cast Ariel as a mute dancer provided Halévy more opportunity to write extended sections of orchestral music for the ballet scenes. As a result, Halévy’s score is full of “light and characteristic music” for Ariel that is highlighted by an orchestral presentation of Thomas Arne’s *Where the bee sucks*.<sup>70</sup> The interpolation of a “national English song” not only generated an appropriate atmosphere

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>67</sup> *Times* (London), 10 June 1850.

<sup>68</sup> Sarah Hibberd, “La Muette and her Context,” *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera*, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 149.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 156-158.

<sup>70</sup> *Times* (London), 10 June 1850. The critic also points out that “the ‘etherial Carlotta’ could hardly have inspired music more congenial to her peculiar graces of style.”

for Ariel's dances, but also managed to awaken a "national predilection" among the audience members that could only have endeared Halévy to the Londoners in attendance.<sup>71</sup> Indeed, Grisi's performance, in combination with Halévy's orchestration prompted one reviewer for the *Revue et Gazette Musical de Paris* to write, "the divine and heavenly Ariel, symbol of angelic grace, has lost that mysterious and pleasant voice which whispered in every breeze: he dances now and no longer sings, but the orchestra sings for him."<sup>72</sup>

Yet Ariel is not the only character to find new life in Scribe's adaptation. Scribe's attention to the dramatic action of the opera also necessitated certain changes in the character of Alonso. In the first scene of Shakespeare's Act I, Alonso has only one line: "Good Boatswain, have care. Where's the Master? / Play the men!"<sup>73</sup> This line characterizes Alonso as a fearless leader, exercising his royal authority on the sailors in the midst of a life-threatening storm at sea. Upon waking, Scribe's Alonso cries out not to the sailors, but to his son Ferdinand, saying: "My dearest son."<sup>74</sup> Shakespeare's Alonso,

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<sup>71</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850. See also Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 275, who states that "seldom [. . .] did the freshness of a real and artless melody seem so deliciously welcome as in Arne's 'Where the bee sucks' [. . .], introduced among the pantomimic music, with as much tact as delicacy, by the Parisian composer;" and Lumley, *Reminiscences*, 280, who praised the use of the Arne melody so "judiciously employed by the composer;" and *Bell's New Weekly Messenger* (London), 9 June 1850, who cites the Arne melody as "by far the prettiest *morceaux* in the opera."

<sup>72</sup> See *Revue et Gazette Music de Paris*, 16 June 1850: ". . . mais le divin, le céleste Ariel, symbole de la grace angélique, a perdu cette voix mystérieuse et suave qui murmurait dans chaque brise de l'air: il danse maintenant et ne chante plus, mais l'orchestre chante pour lui."

<sup>73</sup> *Norton Shakespeare* (1.1.8-9), 3055.

<sup>74</sup> Libretto, 4: "Amato figlio!"



however, does not demonstrate remorse until Act II, scene 1: “Would I had never / Married my daughter there! For, coming thence, / My son is lost.”<sup>75</sup> By characterizing Alonso as a caring father and penitent King during the Prologue (and by removing Gonzalo), Scribe was able to cut all of Shakespeare’s Act II, scene 2, and thus significantly move the drama forward.

Act I of *La Tempesta* also follows Shakespeare, with the exception of the opening moments. Scene 1 features a chorus of sylphs and sylphides singing of their charge Miranda, and introduces us to Ariel, who dances a *pas* to the accompaniment of the Arne song *Where the bee sucks*. A discrepancy then occurs between libretto and score. The recitative that precedes Miranda’s cavatina in the libretto was cut in the published vocal score. If we compare this cut recitative (indicated by italics in the following example) to Shakespeare’s text, we see that Scribe’s libretto was in essence faithful to Shakespeare (Ex. 3.1). As is often the case in operatic productions, cuts become necessary for a variety of reasons, all usually dealing with some aspect of tightening the production. Scribe’s Prospero, like Shakespeare’s, responds by relating how he and Miranda came to be on the island. This Prospero, however, leaves out much of the history of his duchy:

Nay, Miranda; it [the ship] contains  
My brother, who usurp’d  
My realm, and then exposed me,  
With thee, my child, to fierce and angry waves  
And that base king, th’accomplice of his crime.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Norton *Shakespeare* (2.1.107-109), 3072.

<sup>76</sup> Libretto, 10: “Miranda, il fratel che mi tolse il regno, e che m’espose con te, bambina, all’onde irate e crude, e il re felon complice suo racchiude.”

### Example 3.1.

#### Shakespeare: Act I, scene 2

Miranda: If by your art, my dearest father, you have  
Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them  
The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,  
But that the sea, mounting to th' welkin's cheek,  
Dashes the fire out. O, I have sufferèd  
With those that I saw suffer! A brave vessel,  
Who had, no doubt, some noble creature in her,  
Dashed all to pieces! O, the cry did knock  
Against my very heart! Poor souls, they perished.  
Had I been any god of power, I would  
Have sunk the sea within the earth, or ere  
It should the good ship so have swallowed and  
The fraughting souls within her.<sup>77</sup>

#### Scribe: Act I, scenes 2-3

*Where can my father be? Upon the waves  
A fearful tempest rages;  
Ne'er saw I storm to be compar'd to this.  
Dash'd on these shores  
I saw a vessel.  
My sire alone can save it. Where is he?  
I would entreat him [ . . . ]*

Father, 'tis in thy power,--  
Calm this wild tempest which awakes the sea.  
I saw a vessel dash'd against yon rocks--  
Oh! save it.<sup>78</sup>

Miranda learns nothing of her father's former profession, nor the details of how they were spirited away by "a treacherous army [ . . . ] one midnight," nor how Gonzalo's charity had filled their boat with "rich garments, linens, stuffs, and necessities / Which since have steaded much."<sup>79</sup> Instead, the action of the opera turns to Caliban.

Scribe's Caliban is introduced to us at first in an abbreviated disclosure by

Prospero:

Caliban has nothing human.  
His mother, whose base nature he inherits,  
The foul witch, Sycorax,  
I hid beneath the earth,  
That we might live in peace; and him I saved  
To be our slave.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Norton *Shakespeare* (1.2.1-13), 3057.

<sup>78</sup> Libretto, 8-10: "*Il padre ove sarà? Freme sull' onda orribile tempesta; Nè mai simile a questa—altra non vidi. Spinto su questi lidi un naviglio vid'io; Nè salvarlo altri il può che il padro mio—Ah~ dov'è? Ch'io l'implori~! [ . . . ] Ah! padre, tu lo puoi, calma la traversia, che il mar solleva. Un valcello vid'io ir fra gli scogli. Ah! salvalo.*"

<sup>79</sup> Norton *Shakespeare* (1.2.120-170), 3060-3061.

<sup>80</sup> Libretto, 13.

Shakespeare, however, relates Caliban's history a little at a time. We first learn of Sycorax as Prospero tells Ariel: "This blue-eyed hag was hither brought with child / And here was left by th' sailors."<sup>81</sup> He later tells us that Ariel was once her slave, and that she had trapped him in a tree, "within which rift / Imprisoned thou didst painfully remain / A dozen years, within which space she died / And left thee [Ariel] there, where thou [Ariel] didst vent thy groans / As fast as mill-wheels strike."<sup>82</sup> Still later, Prospero divulges that Sycorax gave birth to a son, and it is Ariel who first informs us of the name of the child by responding: "Yes, Caliban her son."<sup>83</sup>

In *La Tempesta*, Caliban's first appearance is accompanied by orders from Prospero to gather wood for the fire, providing ample opportunity to develop the antagonism that exists between slave and master. Scribe remains faithful to Prospero's harsh treatment of Caliban, but moves the drama faster. In one line of recitative, Scribe manages to string together a litany of cruel names for Prospero to call Caliban:

Hear'st thou? Misshapen slave,  
Venomous wretch,--of Satan,  
Father of ill,  
And of a foul and wicked hag the child!<sup>84</sup>

Here the action is significantly altered. It is at this point in Shakespeare's text that Caliban accuses Prospero of usurping his island, immediately establishing Caliban's

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<sup>81</sup> *Norton Shakespeare* (1.2.271-272), 3064.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, (1.2.271-286).

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, (1.2.286).

<sup>84</sup> Libretto, 13: "Esca a recarne onde alimenti il fuoco. Intendi, o mole informe, cor velenoso che Satano istesso, di tutti i vizi padre, ingenerò di scellerate madre?"

motivation for his enmity towards Prospero. Yet Prospero's response tells us why the magician turned on Caliban in the first place:

Thou most lying slave,  
Whom stripes may move, not kindness! I have used thee,  
Filth as thou art, with human care, and lodged thee  
In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate  
The honour of my child.<sup>85</sup>

Shakespeare makes no more of this line, for the dramatic focus soon turns to Prospero once again as he discloses his matchmaking plans for Miranda and Ferdinand. Scribe's libretto, however, uses this line as the basis of the plot for the remainder of the opera. Perhaps building upon Shakespeare's use of the descriptor "savage," the Caliban of *La Tempesta* is portrayed as animalistic, as evidenced by Lablache's costume (fig. 6).<sup>86</sup> Moreover, Scribe shifted the emphasis of the plot away from Prospero's recovery of his dukedom and towards Caliban's base intent; as a result, Caliban's character dominates that of Prospero. Winton Dean aptly concluded that "Caliban's part [. . .] is the largest in the opera," but blatantly disagreed with Scribe's choice:

Apart from the storm and the drinking scene, whose principal feature is a song by Stephano praising the virtues of 'Rhum' [sic], the single feature of the play that Scribe deemed fit for operatic treatment is contained in Prospero's rebuke to Caliban....At least one English composer has suppressed this; the only Frenchman concerned with *The Tempest* makes it the fulcrum of the plot.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Norton Shakespeare (1.2.347-351), 3065-3066.

<sup>86</sup> See Ibid., (1.2.358), where Miranda says "When thou didst not, savage, / Know thine own meaning, but wouldst't gabble like / A thing most brutish, I endowed thy purposes / With words that made them known."

<sup>87</sup> Dean, "Shakespeare in Opera," 110.

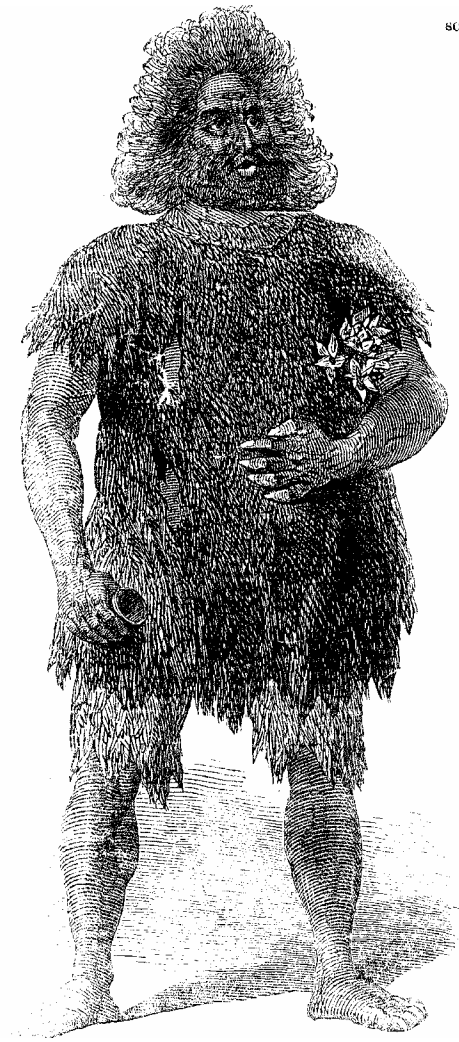


Figure 6. Luigi Lablache as Caliban,  
*Illustrated London News* 15 June 1850.

While Dean's final comment displays a certain amount of cultural bias towards Scribe, he is correct in his basic assertion as to the focus of the plot in Act II. Miranda's attempted rape by Caliban was indeed a bold choice by Scribe, yet he approached the subject matter very delicately, using metaphor whenever possible. Using the verses of Prospero's *romanza* as a vehicle, Scribe was able to move the drama towards the sensitive subject of attempted rape. In this aria, Prospero compares Miranda to a flower growing in a desert. Scribe uses the following line in the chorus, including a repeat for emphasis:

And fair innocence, virtue, and love,  
Have to guard it united their pow'r.<sup>88</sup>

In the published libretto, Scribe places the aria after Caliban has exited. However, in the published score, the aria is placed *before* Caliban's first entrance. This change allows Prospero to set up the necessary contrast between Miranda's purity and Caliban's lust, and makes a subtle but powerful inference about Caliban's intentions toward Miranda. The contrasts are expanded in the ensuing trio, in which each character has the opportunity to develop separate motivations (fig. 7). Caliban states:

If my mother were but free  
From the rock where thou hast bound her,  
She would snatch thy child from thee.<sup>89</sup>

Caliban then gives us a final clue as to his intentions in a subsequent phrase:

Mother, if from that wicked one  
Released, thou now wert near,  
These wrongs I should not bear,

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<sup>88</sup> Libretto, 17: "E proteggono il puro suo calice la virtù, l'innocenza, l'amor."

<sup>89</sup> Libretto, 14-15: "Oh! Mia madre possa uscir dalla rupe ov'è costreta, e la figlia a te rapir!"



Figure 7. Act I, scene 3 “trio,”  
published in Libretto.

Avenged thou would'st be.<sup>90</sup>

These lines not only set up the action for Caliban's quest for revenge, but also contribute to the continued development of his character in relation to his mother. The statement is ambiguous enough to imply that Caliban might avenge Sycorax by releasing her, but it also allows for another form of revenge: as the master conquered Caliban's mother, so shall he conquer the master's daughter.

Ariel then returns, suspending this plot line for the time being, as a new one begins. In Shakespeare's original, we see Prospero whispering something to Ariel that for a time remains unknown to the audience: "Hark in thine ear;" to which Ariel responds "My lord, it shall be done."<sup>91</sup> Ariel later appears (supposedly invisible) as he leads Ferdinand to Prospero and Miranda with his singing and playing. Soon after, in a series of explanatory asides, Prospero gradually discloses his ultimate plan:

It goes on, I see,  
As my soul prompts it. [To Ariel] Spirit, fine spirit, I'll free thee  
Within two days for this.<sup>92</sup>

A bit more is revealed a few lines later:

The Duke of Milan  
And his more braver daughter could control thee,  
If now 'twere fit to do't. At the first sight  
They have changed eyes. —Delicate Ariel,  
I'll set thee free for this.<sup>93</sup>

And finally:

Soft sir! One word more.

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<sup>90</sup> Libretto, 14-15: "O madre mia, se al perfido sottrarti un di potrai, piena vendetta avrai, compiendo il mio desir."

<sup>91</sup> *Norton Shakespeare* (1.2.321), 3065.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, (1.2.423-425), 3067.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, (1.2.444-445), 3068.



[Aside]: They are both in either's powers. But this swift business  
I must uneasy make, lest too light winning  
Make the prize light.<sup>94</sup>

For the sake of operatic convention, however, Scribe propels the dramatic action faster.

He writes a recitative for Prospero that is essentially a soliloquy, Prospero's interpretation of Ariel's pantomime (again italics are used to indicate a section of recitative that was cut from the vocal score):

'Tis well again. And then for Ferdinand—  
Thou hast kept him apart from all the rest?

[Ariel makes signs in the affirmative, and indicates that  
Ferdinand has strayed into the forest.]

In yonder forest? Lost? 'Tis well indeed!  
*Now gentle Ariel,*  
*Belov'd and faithful sprite,*  
*To whom heav'n has denied the gift of speech,*  
*But giv'n thee, in its place,*  
*A grace that speaks—*  
*A gesture that depicts*  
*All thou would'st utter,—mark my words with care:*  
Those magic leaves  
Which constitute my pow'r, have shown to me  
That if young Ferdinand,  
The king's son, and Miranda  
Burn with a mutual flame,  
And in the holy bonds of wedlock join,  
My woes will have an end:  
And in my country I may yet regain  
The sceptre and the power that I have lost.  
Dost understand my meaning?

[Ariel repeats in pantomime what Prospero has said.]<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., (1.2.453-455).

<sup>95</sup> Libretto, pp.16-19.: "Bene—E Fernando, come t'ordinai, da tutti gli altri separato l'hai? [Ariele fa segno di sì, e che l'ha fatto smarrire nella foresta.] Nel bosco l'hai smarrito? ah maraviglia. *Ora, grazioso Ariele, genio amato e fedele tu cui di voce il don ha il ciel negato; ma per supplirva ha dato una grazia che parla, un gesto che dipinge tutto che esprimer vuol, attento ascolta:* Queste magiche carte, che fan il mio poter m'han fatto aperto che se del Rege il figlio, Fernando e se Miranda di mutua fiamma ardessero, E in nodo marital si congiungessero, avrian fine i miei mali: nella mia patria ricovrar potrei lo scettro ed il poter ch'io già perdei. M'intendi? [Ariele ripete in pantomima ciò che gli ha detto Prospero.]

Unlike Shakespeare's Prospero, who remains an integral part of the drama, Scribe's Prospero retires once his intentions have been fully made clear to the audience. Scribe's Ferdinand then sings an aria in the *romanza* style, the text of which was drawn directly from Shakespeare:

Where should this music be? I'th air or th'earth?  
Some god o'th' island. Sitting on a bank,  
Weeping again the King my father's wreck,  
This music crept by me upon the waters,  
Allaying both their fury and my passion  
With its sweet air. Thence I have followed it—  
Or it hath drawn me rather.<sup>96</sup>

Scribe uses these lines as inspiration as his libretto calls for an unseen chorus to sing the words "soon faith, and hope, and love, shall lull thy soul to rest."<sup>97</sup> With Prospero out of the way, the action can now move swiftly to the love scene which, according to Morris Barnett, is at the heart of any good opera.<sup>98</sup> Thus the remainder of Shakespeare's Act I, scene 2 is condensed into a duet (first in recitative, then in aria) between Ferdinand and Miranda. Ariel and Prospero reappear briefly near the end of the duet, observing that the plan is working. Act I closes with a trio as Prospero (in a musical aside) sings with Ferdinand and Miranda. Prospero's feigned coolness towards Ferdinand, rather lengthy in the original, is abbreviated in the opera using staged action accompanied by the

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<sup>96</sup> Norton *Shakespeare* (1.2.391-398), 3067.

<sup>97</sup> Libretto, pp. 20-21: "Veglian la gioia a renderti fede, speranza, amor."

<sup>98</sup> See Barnett, *Lyrical Drama*, 20-21, who states that "it is of essential importance that those elements in the play which are most operative in their nature, which can be most fittingly represented by means of music: the adventures of the lovers, [. . .] should be extended and developed with all that ingenuity and fertility of resources which, by the combination of sister arts, we are enabled to apply to the modern stage."

orchestra's concluding tag. Scribe adds a dramatic touch by providing the following stage instructions:

He [Prospero] steps between Miranda and Ferdinand, and leads his daughter to the cave. Ferdinand, motionless and in despair, sees the departure of Miranda; but Ariel approaches him, and regarding him with a smile of compassion, re-assures him, inspires him with courage, and conducts him to the grotto, where he will be hospitably treated.<sup>99</sup>

Thus Scribe's Act I ends much the same as Shakespeare's Act I. Scribe, however, organized his libretto differently, extending the original two scenes into a prologue and eight scenes.

Similarly, Scribe conflates the entire play from five acts to three acts. Act I remains fairly intact, while Acts II-V are reduced in content to comprise only two operatic acts, and much of the content is either new material or plot elements that have been extended or refocused.<sup>100</sup> For example, Act II of the libretto opens with an extended scene and aria in which Caliban laments his existence on the island. After this, the voice of Sycorax is heard for the first time, informing Caliban that magical flowers are growing nearby. She goes on to tell him that the flowers will grant three wishes, and instructs him to use the flowers' magic against Prospero to avenge her imprisonment and Caliban's enslavement. His disposition quickly improves as he imagines how the flowers could be used to fulfill his desire for Miranda. While Sycorax requests he use his first wish to release her from the rock, Caliban chooses instead to imprison Ariel in a nearby tree. He

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<sup>99</sup> Libretto, pp. 26-27: "Si [Prospero] avvanza in mezzo a Miranda ed a Fernando e conduce sua figlia nella grotta. Fernando immobile e desolato vede con affanno Miranda partire; ma Ariele gli si avvicina, e guardandolo con un sorriso di compassione, lo rassicura gli fa coraggio e lo spinge verso la grotta, dove si anela di accordargli l'ospitalità."

<sup>100</sup> For a comparison of the plots of Shakespeare and Scribe, see Appendix E.

then sets off to find Miranda, disregarding his mother's pleas for release. Upon Caliban's approach, Miranda orders him away. She soon realizes he is newly empowered, however, and becomes frightened. She desperately tries to resist his advances and, finding herself too weak, attempts to stab herself rather than submit to the impassioned Caliban. He retaliates using the flowers, and a second wish leaves Miranda asleep and in the arms of Caliban. He soon comes across Stefano and Trinculo who, along with the other sailors, are singing a drinking song in celebration of their survival of the tempest. Caliban introduces himself as king of the island to the sailors, who respond with gales of laughter. They invite him to drink, and an extended comic aria ensues as Caliban becomes intoxicated and allows the magic flowers to fall from his grasp. The act concludes as Miranda awakens, grabs the flowers and uses them to immobilize Caliban and the sailors as she makes her escape.

It is not difficult to see that this act deviates from Shakespeare's folio text in many ways.<sup>101</sup> The first and most obvious change is the augmentation of Caliban's role. The shift of power from Prospero, who in fact never makes an appearance in this act, to Caliban has already been discussed. Caliban's significance in this act is a result of the motivation Scribe chose to confer on his Caliban: lust for Miranda. The significance of such a deviance in plot warrants a comparison with Shakespeare's play.

Act II of Shakespeare's *Tempest* contains what appears to be a parallel plot line. In the first scene of Act II, we learn that Antonio, who was responsible for the usurpation of Prospero's dukedom, has bigger plans. He convinces Sebastian to join him in a plot to

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<sup>101</sup> See *Times* (London), 10 June 1850, in which the critic describes Act II as "remarkable for bold deviation."

kill the king, which would result in the ascension of Sebastian to the throne of Naples. This motivation constitutes the dramatic portion of the plot line. In scene two, we meet Trinculo, a jester, and Stefano, a drunken butler. Upon meeting Caliban, they invite him to drink with them and engage in a farcical scene in which Caliban is convinced that Stefano is the “man i’ th’ moon.”<sup>102</sup> In Act III scene 2, the comic characters devise a murder plot similar to that of Antonio and Sebastian. Caliban hatches a plot in which Trinculo and Stefano will kill Prospero while he sleeps. As a result, Trinculo and Stefano will become the new rulers of the island, leaving Caliban in what he believes to be an easier servitude. Ariel’s invisible interpolations, however, lead to misunderstandings between Trinculo and Stefano, and the severity (and perhaps credibility) of the murder plot is weakened considerably. Thus the comic portion of the plot line is established as a mirror of the usurpation theme.

Scribe eliminates the complexity and prolixity of this act by focusing on only one aspect of the plot line. Cutting the characters of Gonzolo and Sebastian renders the subsequent murder plot of the king unnecessary, and thus removes Prospero from the action. Scribe then shifts the desire for a throne and a queen from Stefano who states:

Monster, I will kill this man. His daughter and I will  
be king and queen—save our graces!<sup>103</sup>

to Caliban, who states:

She shall be mine—yes mine!  
Now, of this isle I am the only lord;  
Now, none can tear her from me.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> *Norton Shakespeare* (2.2.130-131), 3081.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, (3.2.101-102), 3086.

As pointed out earlier, Scribe also expanded on Shakespeare's revelation of Caliban's attempted rape of Miranda. Building on this motivation allowed for extremely contrasting characters and constantly shifting emotional states, a staple of the romantic repertoire and "the key-stone of the dramatic arch."<sup>105</sup> Caliban's lust also provided him with the motivation necessary for the antagonist, whose primary role was to keep the lovers apart.<sup>106</sup>

Another significant deviation from Shakespeare's text is Scribe's incorporation of the character of Sycorax. However bold one might perceive the addition of Sycorax as an active character, it must be remembered that Sycorax was also an active character in the Dryden-Davenant version of the seventeenth century. Kemble, however, did not reinstate the character of Sycorax in his eighteenth-century adaptation, so it can be reasonably assumed that with the exception of Shakespearean historians who may have attended a performance of *La Tempesta*, few audience members would have been familiar with this tradition.

In *La Tempesta*, Sycorax exists as only a disembodied voice and is actually never seen onstage. Scribe explains this through one of Prospero's recitative lines: "His [Caliban's] mother, whose base nature he inherits, the foul witch Sycorax, I hid beneath the earth, / That we might live in peace."<sup>107</sup> Morris Barnett explains that Scribe

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<sup>104</sup> Libretto, pp. 40-41: "Si sarà mia, si mia [. . .] Solo signor di questa isola io sono. Chi potrebbe rapirmela?"

<sup>105</sup> Barnett, *Lyrical Drama*, 25.

<sup>106</sup> See Brockett, *History*, 348, who describes the formulaic motivations of melodramatic villains.

<sup>107</sup> Libretto, 12-13: "Sua madre ond'egli ha il dispietato istinto, la maga Sicorace, per aver vita e pace, sotterra io chiusi."

“avail[ed] himself of the agency of Sycorax” as a means to expedite the “development of the half demon half brutish nature of the mis-formed goblin.”<sup>108</sup> Thus, if Barnett is correct in his assumption, Sycorax was a character necessary to the establishment of Caliban as a base creature—one who would turn his back on his own mother. Barnett concluded that:

In this finely and subtilely [sic] conceived ingratitude of her offspring, when filial duty is put in competition with selfish indulgence, will be found the perfect and dramatic development of the nature of Prospero’s malignant slave.<sup>109</sup>

Two other instances also provide evidence that Scribe’s alterations were in keeping with the emphasis of Shakespeare’s text. In Act I, scene 2 of Shakespeare, Miranda discloses that Caliban once lived with Prospero and Miranda, but upon revealing his true nature, was made to leave:

But thy vile race,  
Though thou didst learn, had that in’t which good natures  
Could not abide to be with; therefore wast thou  
Deservedly confined into this rock,  
Who hadst deserved more than a prison.<sup>110</sup>

Scribe uses keywords from this passage to develop a history for Sycorax whose voice, in Act II of *La Tempesta*, is heard coming from beneath a black rock:

On this rock there grow three flow’rs,  
All endow’d with wondrous pow’rs.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Barnett, *Lyrical Drama*, 24.

<sup>109</sup> Barnett, *Lyrical Drama*, p. 24.

<sup>110</sup> *Norton Shakespeare* (1.2.361-364), 3066.

<sup>111</sup> Libretto, 30-31: “Su questa roccia—tre fior vedrai d’essi padrone—tutto potrai.” See also 28-29 where the stage directions indicate that “to the left, facing the audience, is a black rock, on the summit of which is a bunch of red flowers.” See also Barnett, *Lyrical Drama*, 26 who describes Sycorax as having been “imprisoned beneath the weight of massive rocks, chained there by the arts of Prospero.”

This line is significant because in it we can find traces of Shakespeare. In Act I of *The Tempest*, we learn that Prospero imprisoned Sycorax beneath the earth. Moreover, earlier in the act, Shakespeare substituted the word “earth” for Caliban’s name when Prospero says: “Thou earth, thou, speak!”<sup>112</sup> It appears that Scribe used Shakespeare’s earth/rock imagery in an attempt to maintain a strong connection not only between the characters of Sycorax and Caliban in the opera, but also between the opera and the textual source. In other words, Scribe managed to retain the textual elements, but the details were altered to meet his dramatic needs.

Likewise, Ariel was described by Shakespeare as being confined in a pine tree when Prospero arrived on the island. Scribe’s Ariel also becomes magically trapped in a tree, only Caliban, not Sycorax, perpetrates the evil deed. In this way, Scribe demonstrates that he was once again building upon Shakespeare’s ideas. He took an event that Shakespeare only described, and transformed it into an actual stage event that must have been an extraordinarily dramatic moment full of stage spectacle. He also diminished the amount of deviation by substituting Caliban for his mother Sycorax. As a result, Scribe’s Ariel remains in the tree not a dozen years, but rather an hour or two, and is rescued by Prospero in the end.<sup>113</sup>

Finally, we must consider the incorporation of the magic flowers into Scribe’s libretto. The flowers represent power, and in order for Caliban to be able to achieve Prospero’s status, even temporarily, he must be granted a source of power. Shakespeare’s

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<sup>112</sup> Norton *Shakespeare* (1.2.317), 3065.

<sup>113</sup> See Barnett, *Lyrical Drama*, 26, who suggests that Scribe “but elaborated the thought of Shakespeare; for Prospero has threatened Ariel with a repetition of the former duration inflicted upon her by the ‘blue-eyed hag’ Sycorax, from which he had relieved her.”



original story contained no such source of power. Caliban attempted to challenge Prospero's authority by availing himself of the services and protection of Trinculo and Stefano. Of course this was folly, for as a result of Ariel's constancy, Prospero never lost control of the situation. Moreover, the fact that Caliban actually thought Prospero could be overcome by brute force demonstrated that Caliban was not the powerful leader that Prospero was. In the opera, however, Caliban is placed in control by the mere fact that his role significantly overshadows that of Prospero. He is given power in the form of the magic flowers, but that power is fleeting as the flowers can grant only three wishes. Therefore it is Caliban's decisions as to how to use them that determine whether he gains permanent control or not.

The addition of the flowers, like most of the other changes discussed, is indicative of the conventions Scribe deemed necessary for purposes of operatic construction. As Benjamin Lumley explained, Shakespeare's *Tempest* "lacked (be it said with all reverence) the stage 'situations' rendered necessary to lyrical works by modern requirements."<sup>114</sup> Lumley's comment suggests that Scribe not only had to present the London audience with a work they were thoroughly familiar with, but also had to meet certain expectations that London opera-goers had cultivated. He goes on to say:

By placing in the foreground the insane love of *Caliban* for *Miranda*; by inventing the power of the magic flowers, placed in the hands of *Caliban* by his imprisoned mother *Sycorax*, to work her spells upon her enemies; by introducing the carrying off of *Miranda* by the monster, and by other devices, [Scribe] had furnished certain *dramatic* situations to meet what he considered the demands of modern opera, and afford the composer striking points for music.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Lumley, *Reminiscences*, 278.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

One can imagine the impossible situation Scribe faced: striking a balance not only among the needs of the composer, stage designer, costumer, and every other person involved in the production, but also having to appease the tastes of both the Shakespearean purists and the connoisseurs of Italian opera. While Henry Chorley credits Scribe with doing “his best for dancers, singers, machinists, and composer,” he concluded that any Shakespearean subject would be doomed in the hands of a Frenchman.<sup>116</sup> Thus while the changes found in the second act were certainly not favored by all, some had even more objections to the alterations to the third.<sup>117</sup>

While Act III of the opera deviates from the Shakespearean text more than Act I does, it does not contain as many blatant disparities as does Act II. At the opening of Act III of *La Tempesta*, we finally meet up with the lost Antonio and Alonzo. In a rather short scene and aria, Antonio and Alonzo are confronted by Prospero, who turns the scene into a trial, saying: “I am a judge terrible as your conscience; a judge, severe and merciless.”<sup>118</sup> Here Prospero assumes the role of judge originally ascribed to Shakespeare’s Ariel in Act III, scene 3: “Thee of thy son, Alonso, / They have bereft, and do pronounce by me / Ling’ring perdition—worse than any death/Can be at once—shall step by step attend / You and your ways.”<sup>119</sup> At this point in the opera, Scribe has

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<sup>116</sup> See Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 273-274. Here again is evidence of cultural bias.

<sup>117</sup> See Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 141, who paraphrases a review from *The Musical World*, stating that “the first act was good, the second less so, the third not a patch on either.”

<sup>118</sup> Libretto, 46-49: “Un giudice son’ io, terribil come la coscienza vostra. Per sempre inesorabile come a Caino Iddio.”

<sup>119</sup> *Norton Shakespeare* (3.3.75-79), 3090.

managed to conflate several of Shakespeare's scenes into one. Gone is the banquet of Act III, scene 3, as well as the masque of Act IV, scene 1. Instead, Scribe builds on Shakespeare's Act V, scene 1 where Prospero first confronts his usurpers and forgives them: "Behold, sir King / The wronged Duke of Milan, Prospero."<sup>120</sup>

It is at this point in Scribe's adaptation that Prospero is interrupted by cries from the imprisoned Ariel, signaling new material from this point to the end of the opera. Prospero immediately waves his wand, releasing a grateful Ariel and making a strong impression on Antonio and Alonzo. Ariel feverishly tells Prospero of Miranda's fate, and they exit in search of Miranda and the monster Caliban. The scene changes, and we catch up with the recently escaped Miranda, who has by chance wandered close to the rock of Sycorax. The voice of Sycorax tells Miranda that she is a spirit sent by her father. She lies to Miranda, saying that Ferdinand is a powerful wizard who has cast a love spell on the young girl. Sycorax continues, telling Miranda that Prospero has commanded that she kill Ferdinand. Another scene change finds Miranda and Ferdinand in Prospero's cave. Scribe dispenses with Shakespeare's chess scene, and in lieu of Miranda's "Sweet lord, you play me false," Scribe heightens the dramatic action by representing a disturbed Miranda ready to drive her dagger into the sleeping Ferdinand (fig. 8).<sup>121</sup> As she is about to strike, Ferdinand calls out her name in his sleep, and Miranda finds she cannot carry out the plan. Ferdinand awakens to find Miranda with a knife in her hand. He tells her he

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., (5.1.108-109), 3100.

<sup>121</sup> *Norton Shakespeare* (5.1.174), 3102.

would gladly die now that he has found his true love, and Miranda wrestles with her conscience in a situation that seems impossible to reconcile.<sup>122</sup>

The scene is interrupted by the approach of Caliban and the sailors, an incident drawn from Shakespeare's Act V, scene 1. In Shakespeare's final scene, however, Caliban enters ready to defy his master, but is quickly put in his place by Prospero: "Go, sirrah, to my cell. / Take with you your companions. As you look / To have my pardon, trim it handsomely."<sup>123</sup> In contrast, Scribe's Caliban is powerful, approaching Prospero with the flowers in hand, not knowing that the last wish has already been used. But Caliban's power is short-lived. His plan of usurpation is quickly diffused as he realizes the flowers' power is spent, and his treaty with the sailors dissolves as they recognize Ferdinand as their only king. The scene magically transforms to represent a palace where Prospero is seated upon a throne, flanked by Antonio and Alonzo. The hands of Ferdinand and Miranda are joined by their respective fathers, and Prospero sentences Caliban to life on the island alone. Caliban responds that he is satisfied as long as he can "rejoice in all a monarch's pride."<sup>124</sup> Ariel waves his wand, and the back of the palace opens to reveal a splendid ship just before the final curtain falls. In obvious accordance with operatic conventions, Scribe's opera ends with a spectacular ensemble finale that

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<sup>122</sup> See *Revue et Gazette Music de Paris*, 16 June 1850, where the reviewer acknowledges that Shakespeare's outcome was too simple, stating: "Scribe, you think it well to end this piece differently."

<sup>123</sup> *Norton Shakespeare* (5.1.294-297), 3105.

<sup>124</sup> Libretto, 56-57: "Ebben così pur sia io son contento, Senza sudditi ancor regnar io voglio d'essere almen sovrano avrò l'orgoglio."



Figure 8. Henriette Sontag as Miranda,  
*Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850.

contrasts greatly with the famous soliloquy by Shakespeare's Prospero: "As you from crimes would pardoned be, / Let your indulgence set me free."<sup>125</sup>

While this contrast most certainly forms a significant disparity between Scribe's libretto and Shakespeare's folio text, the reasons for the disparity emerge as the context of *La Tempesta* slowly comes into focus. It soon becomes clear that we are dealing not with spoken drama, but with lyric drama; a medium with different functions, different construction elements and in some cases, a different audience. Regardless of his attempts to remain faithful to the original text, the fact was that Scribe had no choice but to make adjustments as necessitated by not only the dramaturgy, but also by the music.

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<sup>125</sup> Norton *Shakespeare* (Epilogue.19-20), 3106.

## CHAPTER 4

### ***LA TEMPESTA* BY HALÉVY: THE OPERA AS A MUSICAL WORK**

*The isle is full of noises,  
Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not.  
Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments  
Will hum about mine ears, and sometime voices...  
[Caliban]<sup>1</sup>*

During the summer of 1850, the “sounds and sweets airs” of Halévy’s music elicited a great deal of commentary by contemporary reviewers. As one would expect, most of this criticism was conventionally journalistic in scope, descriptive rather than analytical. A critic for *The Times* was an exception to this rule. He addressed a number of harmonic and formal aspects of the opera, including the overall form of the orchestral introduction, select key areas, and commentary on aria and chorus construction. Still, as another critic writing for *The Musical World* observed, real analysis was “short and far between.”<sup>2</sup> This chapter addresses that long-standing lacuna, analyzing *La Tempesta* from a contemporary theoretical perspective. Although the present analysis is based primarily on the direct evidence of the vocal score, it also enters into dialogue with the opera’s nineteenth-century critics, citing their observations wherever relevant.

*La Tempesta* is essentially a standard “numbers” opera, organized into three acts with an orchestral introduction and prologue. Since the opera was commissioned for Her Majesty’s Theatre in London, spectacle and choral and ballet scenes were a must, placing *La Tempesta* in the ranks of contemporary French grand opéra. *La Tempesta* does not, however conform to the

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<sup>1</sup> Norton Shakespeare (3.2.130-138), 3087.

<sup>2</sup> *Musical World* (London), 15 June 1850.

formal organization of the standard five acts of grand opéra, resembling rather the three act structure of French opéra comique. In fact, Halévy and Scribe seem to have sculpted a hybrid genre, containing elements of both grand opéra and opéra comique.<sup>3</sup> *La Tempesta* was indeed a mélange of genres, and attests to Crosten's observation regarding Scribe's inventive approach to dramatic construction.<sup>4</sup>

As was the trend of mid-century opera, *La Tempesta* contains far more ensemble sets than solo arias. The arias conform exactly to the Rossinian cavatina/cabaletta style and the ensembles (mostly trios and choruses) are continuous and often through-composed, shifting constantly between *recitative accompagnato* and *arioso* styles.<sup>5</sup> This technique, used by Mozart and later by Rossini and Verdi, greatly helps to forward the dramatic action more effectively than the older *secco recitative* style.<sup>6</sup> Finally, each act ends with a traditional *finale*: another

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<sup>3</sup> For more on elements of *grand opéra* and *opéra-comique*, see Hervé Lacombe, *The Keys to French Opera in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Edward Schneider (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 229-241. See also Pendle, *Eugène Scribe*, 377-383 and 445-446.

<sup>4</sup> See Crosten, *French Grand Opera*, 70; refer also to the discussion regarding Scribe in chapter 3, and particularly to chapter 2, footnote 192.

<sup>5</sup> See Charlton, "Grand Opéra," in *Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 93, who states: "Halévy, in particular, used a new 'lyrical recitative' style, often with solo instruments or lower strings, half-way between recitative and arioso." See also Hallman, "grand operas," 252, who states that Halévy "creates dramatic continuity through the integration of lyrical and declamatory writing; he often moves his dramas forward with affecting, well-paced gestures and mood-enhancing or psychologically revealing harmonies and instrumental colors;" and Headington et al., *Opera*, 157-164.

<sup>6</sup> See especially Grout, *Short History*, part 4: *The Nineteenth Century*; and Hallman, "grand operas," 253, who notes the Rossinian influence in Halévy's construction of arias.



ensemble-driven section that always ends with a crowd scene featuring a generous portion of large-scale choral writing.<sup>7</sup>

Halévy writes tonally, using Classical/Romantic harmony for the most part, yet his harmony “borders on the colourful and progressive” on many occasions.<sup>8</sup> These occasions are prompted by Halévy’s attempt to generate appropriate color as dictated by the dramatic action in the opera. He does not restrict himself, for example, to following the traditional practice of modulating from major to relative minor key, or vice versa. Instead, he often leaves the key area ambiguous and employs unexpected modal inflections, in an effort to glide seamlessly between major and minor tonics, and transitions are accomplished using traditional dominant and dominant-functioning chords. However, Halévy expands his palate of dominant-functioning chords to include not only secondary dominants, but also augmented tonics, diminished subtonics and supertonic, and augmented sixth chords. He deviates from traditional practice by resolving secondary dominants nonfunctionally, choosing instead to resolve to unrelated chords using, among other things, chromatic voice leading, flatted mediant and, less frequently, flatted submediant and major subtonic. In fact, this particular practice prompted one reviewer to make special mention of Halévy’s association with Cherubini, and severely chastised Halévy for his wayward harmonic tendencies:

The only thing against which Cherubini might himself have protested in this trio, is that indifference to the accepted laws of tonality which encourages M. Halévy to commence

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<sup>7</sup> See Hallman, “grand operas,” 253, who comments on Halévy’s use of both French and Italian models for aria and ensemble construction and a certain “progressive dramatic sense through manipulations of recitative-aria distinctions” as well as “the integration of heightened recitative or *arioso* or *parlante* within set pieces.”

<sup>8</sup> Hallman, “grand operas,” 253.

in the key of G minor and end in that of B flat, a proceeding for which no precedent can be cited in the writings of those masters whom the world has recognized as models.<sup>9</sup>

Ruth Jordan attributes this particular tendency of Halévy to his years as a professor of fugue and counterpoint at the Paris Conservatoire, describing his music as “ ‘innovative’, which meant that he had the courage to try out new ideas, and ‘complex’, which meant that he often questioned, and sometimes departed from received doctrines.”<sup>10</sup> In his *Derniers Souvenirs et Portraits*,

Halévy espoused his artistic and compositional goals into a credo of sorts:

It was necessary first to study with perseverance, to know all the secrets of the masters, and then, far away from the clatter of the world, living in the midst of simple men, to deliver myself unto the new and constant study of music itself, not the mechanics or the tools of music, but to its essence, to its nature, to its home in the heart of man, to the place that it occupies in the vast framework of human intelligence.<sup>11</sup>

The progressive nature of Halévy’s style was even praised by Wagner, who described the music of Halévy’s *Reine de Chypre* as “dramatic music peculiar to Halévy,” and asserted that Halévy’s method of composing should be regarded “much rather as an advance, than a retreat.”<sup>12</sup> All in all, Halévy’s progressive harmonic language and his deviations to unrelated key areas are simply

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<sup>9</sup> *Times* (London), 10 June 1850. The reviewer is referring to the Act I trio for Prospero, Miranda and Caliban.

<sup>10</sup> Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 202-203.

<sup>11</sup> Fromental Halévy, *Derniers Souvenirs et Portraits* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1863), 226: “Pour cela, il fallait d’abord l’étudier avec persévérance, connaître tous les secrets des maîtres, ensuite, loin du bruit du monde, vivant au milieu d’hommes simples, me livrer à de nouvelles et constantes études sur la musique elle-même, non plus sur le mécanisme ou les ressources de l’art, mais sur son essence, sur sa nature, sur son gîte dans le cœur de l’homme, sur la place qu’elle occupe dans le vaste cadre de l’intelligence humaine.”

<sup>12</sup> Richard Wagner, *Pilgrimage to Beethoven And Other Essays*, trans. William Ashton Ellis (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 221.

reflections of the dramatic action of the moment.<sup>13</sup> His motivation seems clear: he uses functional harmony in the “set” pieces, such as the cavatinas and choruses, but reserves his more progressive harmonies for the dramatic ensemble driven sections that vacillate between recitative and arioso styles.<sup>14</sup>

A final note on Halévy’s harmonic style addresses his preference for the mediant relationship between key areas.<sup>15</sup> While Halévy did derive some of his modulations from traditional circle of fifths relationships, he tended more often than not to move to key areas as dictated by mediant relationships. This practice, used by Beethoven and later by Wagner, afforded Halévy more freedom in his construction of continuously moving ensembles, and greatly contributed to the dramatic action of the scene.<sup>16</sup> It also allowed for the reoccurrence of key areas associated with characters throughout the opera. While Halévy in no way made use of *leitmotifs*, he did on occasion return to identifiable keys whenever certain characters of significance entered the dramatic action. There are even a limited number of reminiscence motives, particularly associated with the character of Caliban.<sup>17</sup> As David Charlton points out, the incorporation of reminiscence motives was a prominent feature of nineteenth-century French

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<sup>13</sup> See Charlton, “Grand Opéra,” 105, who describes how “Halévy articulates the score [*Guido et Ginevra*] through harmonically organized sequences acting analogously to the drama in their own right.”

<sup>14</sup> For additional discussion of Halévy’s harmonic language as tied to the operatic drama, see Charlton, “Grand Opéra,” 101-108. Hallman, “grand operas” also remains useful.

<sup>15</sup> See Hallman, “grand operas,” 253.

<sup>16</sup> See Rey M. Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969).

<sup>17</sup> See Hallman, “grand operas,” 254.

opera composition, and Halévy employs this technique, though not consistently, as a means of enhancing the dramatic action.<sup>18</sup>

Halévy's musical ideas tend to be rooted in his "conscientious approach to dramatic setting."<sup>19</sup> Therefore it is essential that the analysis be accompanied by plot commentary in order to understand fully the harmonic and thematic choices Halévy made. *La Tempesta*, like the *Tempests* of both Macready and Phelps, opens with a staged presentation of the shipwreck. In lieu of an overture, Halévy composed a short introduction that was intended to segue immediately into the Prologue. In his essay *The Tempest as a Lyrical Drama*, Morris Barnett offered a vivid description of the scenic elements that were to accompany Halévy's music:

The curtain rises upon the storm-tossed ship at sea; mingling with the howl of the elements, choirs of invisible spirits chaunt [*sic*] the coming vengeance of the magician, Prospero, and Ariel alighting upon the deck, the conscience-stricken ravings of the tyrant Duke and the weakly-consenting King. The storm increases. The crew wail and pray aloud; the spirit-chorus mock their agonies, and after a magnificent *crescendo*, the curtain falls on the ship, which goes into splinters amid the breakers which gird the Enchanted Isle.<sup>20</sup>

The spectacular vision conjured by Mr. Barnett's words conforms to the sketch that appeared in the *Illustrated London News* which, as we embark on a study of the music of *La Tempesta*, helps to establish the atmosphere of the opening scene (fig. 9).

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<sup>18</sup> See Charlton, "France," 345-346 and 370-374.

<sup>19</sup> Charlton, "Grand Opéra," 101.

<sup>20</sup> Barnett, *Lyrical Drama*, 24-25.

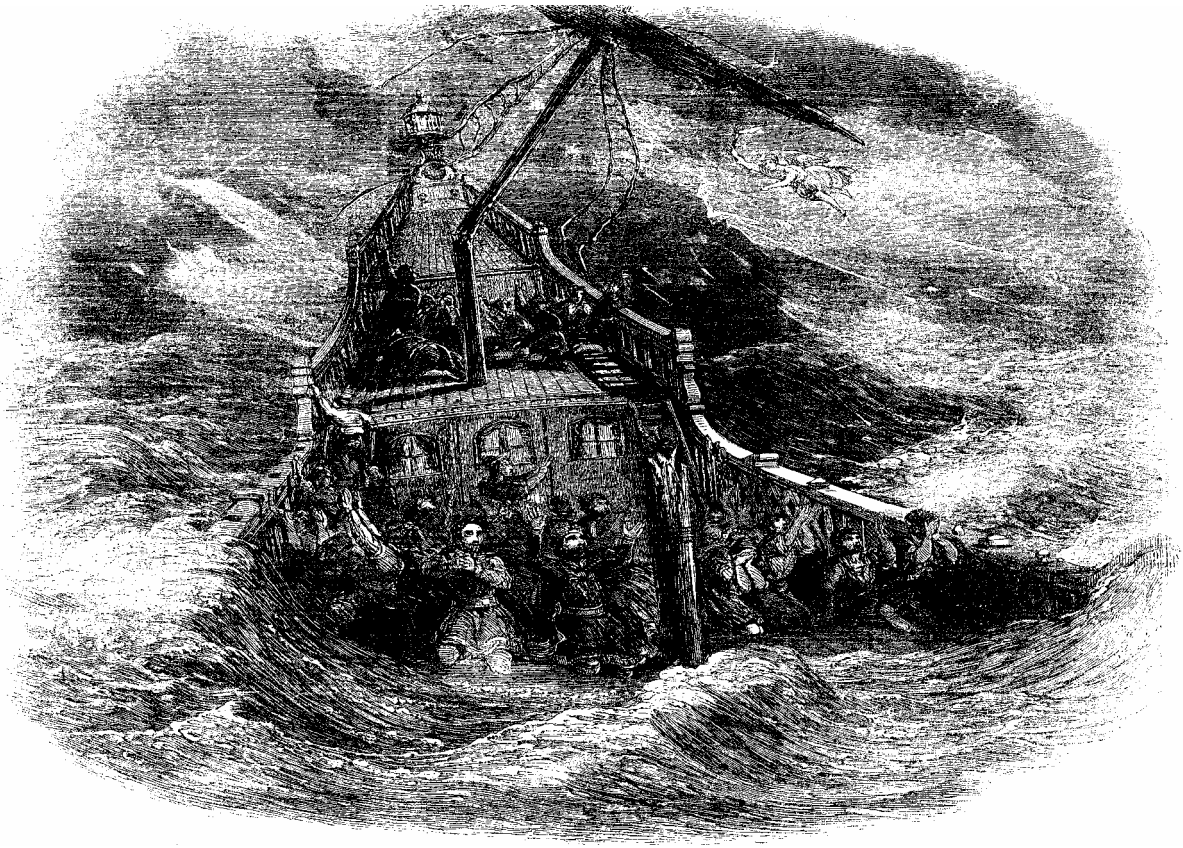


Figure 9. Engraving of the Prologue,  
*Illustrated London News*, 1850.

### ***LA TEMPESTA: INTRODUCTION AND PROLOGUE***

*La Tempesta* opens with, in the words of a critic for the *Times*, a “symphony for the orchestra in C minor.”<sup>21</sup> Four measures of sustained C’s in the lower registers open the Introduction, the effect of which evokes a foreboding atmosphere and is perfectly appropriate to represent the “fitful state of the elements.”<sup>22</sup> The key of C minor is then firmly established in measure 5 with a series of four chords that culminate in a distinct rhythmic motive consisting of three eighth notes followed by a dotted quarter, labeled as the “thunder” motive (Ex. 4.1). This material is immediately presented again in the mediant key area of Eb major, but concludes with a half cadence to prepare for the return of C minor. The opening chordal progression would at first appear to have no function other than to establish the key. The progression, however, appears three more times throughout the Introduction and the Prologue. The chords appear to evolve with each successive presentation, making clear Halévy’s dramatic function. In the first presentation, the progression presents two inversions of the C minor triad, followed by what may be an incomplete supertonic seventh chord that quickly resolves back to a root position tonic.

Example 4.1. *La Tempesta*: Introduction, mm. 5-11, chord progression with “thunder” motive

Orch.

Andante

*ff*

*p*

*ff*

Ped.

<sup>21</sup> *Times* (London), 10 June 1850.

<sup>22</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850.

The second presentation is delayed, however, making way for the first significant theme of the work, presented by the cellos in unison, labeled “elements” (Ex. 4.2).<sup>23</sup> This theme is presented twice more, and like the presentations of the chord progression, it becomes melodically and texturally more elaborate with each succession. Halévy’s harmonic intentions also become clearer with each variation. For example, the harmony in the first presentation can only be inferred as the theme is presented monophonically.

**Example 4.2. *La Tempesta*, Introduction, mm. 33–40, “elements” theme**



In the second presentation of the “elements” theme (Ex. 4.3), the melodic line is embellished and chords accompany the melodic material; yet a certain amount of ambiguity is still present as a result of numerous rests along the way.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Halévy has placed the “thunder” motive in the lower accompaniment, perhaps suggesting a heightening of the elements as the storm brews. Finally, the harmonic “holes” are filled in the third presentation (Ex. 4.4), complete with full chordal accompaniment set in a “powerful and prestigious harmony.”<sup>25</sup>

Superficially, it appears that thematic transformation has taken place throughout the course of the variations. However, the result simply demonstrates Halévy’s penchant for the

<sup>23</sup> BL 9212. The viola parts have cue notes that identify the instrumentation as cellos.

<sup>24</sup> See Charlton, “Opéra Comique,” 129, who states that Halévy’s melodies do not “always imply or determine one obvious chord at any point.”

<sup>25</sup> See *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 16 June 1850. “Le prologue commence par une introduction écrite de main de maître, d’une harmonie puissante et prestigieuse, qui s’enchaîne à un chœur d’esprits invisibles.”

Example 4.3. *La Tempesta*, Introduction, mm. 50-57

Andante

Orch.

*dolce*

*pp*

*il canto marcato*

*pp*

Example 4.4. *La Tempesta*, Introduction, mm. 80-87

Andante

Orch.

*dolce espres.*

*p.t.*

*cresc.*

*dimin.*

*pp*

*n.t.*

*cresc.*

*p.t.*

c:  $i_6^{\text{st}}$   $ii_7^{\text{st}}$   $i_6^{\text{st}}$   $ii_7^{\text{st}}$   $vii_7^{\text{st}}$  implied  $G_6$   $i_6^{\text{st}}$   $V_4/iv_3$   $iv$   $II_6$   $i_6^{\text{st}}$   $V_7$   $i$

ped. ....

generation of drama through constantly changing harmony and texture.<sup>26</sup> Decorative thirty-second note runs and figures fill the space in between the variations, serving to depict musically the constantly changing state of the elements. Finally, C minor succumbs to the parallel major in measure 102, and the tempo shifts dramatically from andante to allegro as the initial force of the storm begins to accelerate. Accompanying this tempo change is another four-note motive

<sup>26</sup> See Charlton, "Grand Opéra," 105, who comments frequently on the way "Halévy articulates the score through harmonically organized sequences acting analogously to the drama in their own right."



consisting of three sixteenth notes and a quarter note that is undoubtedly related to the “thunder” motive (Ex. 4.5).

**Example 4.5. *La Tempesta*: Introduction, mm. 102-103**

The musical score for Example 4.5 shows the orchestral introduction for measures 102-103 of *La Tempesta*. The tempo is marked **Allegro**. The treble staff contains a melodic line with a bracketed section labeled "new 'thunder' motive". The dynamics in the treble staff are *f*, *p*, and *pp*. The bass staff consists of a series of chords, with a *pp* dynamic marking at the beginning.

Moreover, this motivic material is preceded by the second presentation of the chord progression (Ex. 4.6), which moves the harmony once again from a second inversion tonic in C minor to another ambiguous chord that implies a suspension leading to the ensuing dominant chord. As the dominant chord then resolves to the parallel key of C major, we get the impression that the progression becomes clearer as the intensity of the storm increases.

**Example 4.6. *La Tempesta*: Introduction, mm. 99-102**

The musical score for Example 4.6 shows the orchestral introduction for measures 99-102 of *La Tempesta*. The tempo is marked **Allegro**. The treble staff contains a series of chords, with a *ff* dynamic marking. The bass staff has a continuous pattern of chords, with a *f* dynamic marking at the end.

The return of this material appears in conjunction with several measures of sixteenth note runs in an allegro tempo, suggesting that the storm has arrived in all its fury. With the appearance of a slower tempo just before the Prologue, however, we find that the storm is still simply “brewing.” In the last four bars of the Introduction, the key area of C major is blurred by the absence of the third of the tonic. The harmony oscillates between dominant and open tonic, perpetuating the

ambiguity of the key area temporarily, and not only serving as a segue into the ensuing Prologue, but also musically depicting the cresting of the storm. Examining the Introduction as a musical entity in itself, we can conclude that the Introduction is organized using a theme and variations format, and that the significant musical motives and/or themes are generated by the dramatic depiction of a storm brewing at sea.

In the Prologue, we find the return of the “elements” theme, presented in C minor once again by the orchestra. Accompanying this is a counter-theme in the chorus, resulting in what appears to be another variation of the “elements” theme (Ex. 4.7). The chorus sings two more verses juxtaposed with the “elements” theme, followed by a third presentation of the chord progression that opened the Introduction (Ex. 4.8). In this instance, the progression resolves once again to C minor, and the purpose is even clearer as the progression now supports the text of the spirit chorus, who herald the coming of the inevitable tempest.

A perfect authentic cadence in C minor leads to lines of recitative by Alonzo and Antonio, who are dreaming. As Alonzo and Antonio admit their guilt to God and plead for the safety of Fernando, the key abruptly shifts to Ab major, with affirmations in F minor from the spirit chorus. Ariel appears at the end of this section accompanied by a series of secondary dominants in F minor that lead to the fourth and final presentation of the opening chord progression in measure 91 (Ex. 4.9). The once ambiguous suspension chord is now presented clearly as a fully diminished seventh chord that functions as preparation for the dominant of F minor. Moreover, the progression is now juxtaposed with a new motive in the lower registers that is comprised of a succession of sixteenth notes alternating in half step movement.

Example 4.7. *La Tempesta*: Prologue, mm. 7-14

Coro de gerj invisibili

Tenori *f* Al dol - ce vi - - - vi - do splen - dor del gior-no,  
 Bassi Al dol - ce vi - - - vi - do splen - dor del gior-no,  
 Orch. *pp* *ff p*

Example 4.8. *La Tempesta*: Prologue, mm. 7-14

Tenori *pp* del suo vo - ler!  
 Bassi *pp*  
 Orch. *pp* *pp*

**Example 4.9. *La Tempesta*: Prologue, mm. 91-95**

Orch. *pp*

f: V

$\text{vii}^\circ_4/3/V$

<sup>3</sup>

V

$\text{vii}^\circ_4/3/V$

V

The establishment of F minor is accompanied by a new theme sung by the spirit chorus (see Appendix C). The tempo quickens to an *allegro* in compound duple time, and the tempest breaks out in all its fury in measure 129 with a furious new theme in F minor that I will label as the “tempest” theme (Ex. 4.10). With the appearance of this theme, the function of the chord progression is suddenly revealed. The original C minor/C major tonality of the Introduction, which could be perceived as the dominant of F minor, served as the preparation, or the “brewing,” of the tempest to follow. With the fourth presentation, the dominant function of C is fulfilled and the tempest, unequivocally represented by the key of F minor, is inevitable.

**Example 4.10. *La Tempesta*: Prologue, mm. 131-134, "Tempest" theme**

The ship's crew, terrified, responds with a four-part choral counter-theme in measure 146. The tempo slows, and the sailors fall to their knees to pray to God for salvation. A "highly impressive piece of choral writing" follows as the sailors perform a *preghiera* in the key of Ab major, arrived at through a series of enharmonic  $\text{vii}^\circ 7/V$  pivot chords (Ex. 4.11).<sup>27</sup>

**Example 4.11. *La Tempesta*: Prologue, mm. 207-213**

Near the end of the prayer, the key area shifts back to F minor and the "tempest" theme returns in measure 298 as the ship crashes onto shore. By using Ab major as the key area for Alonzo's plea to God as well as the key for the sailors' prayer, Halévy establishes Ab as a reminiscent key center for "penitence."

<sup>27</sup> *Times* (London), 10 June 1850.

Halévy's allegiance to the unity of music and drama is demonstrated in his repeated use of key areas to represent dramatic elements: C minor for the "brewing" of the storm, Ab major for the penitence of the usurpers, and F minor for the "tempest." By viewing the key scheme of the Introduction and Prologue (see Appendix D), we can also see that Halévy's three major key areas spell out an F minor triad. As F minor is the key choice for the "tempest," there can be no doubt that the driving force behind the musical development of the opening of *La Tempesta* is indeed drama.

### ***LA TEMPESTA: ACT I***

The curtain for Act I rises on a very different scene from that of the prologue. The turbulent music of the "tempest" is supplanted by the spirited pastoral music of the sylphs and sylphides, fairy servants of Prospero. An *allegretto* in D major opens the act, and in measure 22 appears a tripping melody of arpeggiated sixteenth notes that serves as dancing music for the sylphides (Ex. 4.12). Halévy cast this short piece in a traditional binary dance form that concludes with an extended coda moving to the dominant key of A major for the subsequent chorus. An abrupt shift to the mediant key area of C major occurs in the choral number when the spirit chorus refers to Miranda as an "angel on earth" (Ex. 4.13).

**Ex. 4.12. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 2, mm. 22-26, "Dance of the Sylphides"**



Example 4.13. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 2, mm. 62-66

Soprano  
Allegretto grazioso dolce  
pres - so, Mi - ran - da einter - raun an - ge-lo, O - nor del po - prio ses - so,

Soprano  
dolce

Orch.  
marcato

A: I C: vi I<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub> I<sub>6</sub> I I<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub> V vi V I  
ped

The key of A major returns by way of a brief reference to A minor, followed once again by another shift to C major as the chorus comments on Miranda's susceptibility to the charms of love.

The chorus concludes and the key area reverts back to a temporary D major for a *pas* by Ariel, the only extended ballet scene in the opera. The ballet opens with repeated trills of the pitch A. At first it appears the function of this pitch is a half-cadence in D, but with the appearance of a Bb in measure 106, the harmonic function changes. Moreover, in measures 110-111, the A ascends a third to C, and the harmony shifts to a tonic in F major. Thus Halévy used the pitches A and D to execute a pivot tone modulation from D major to F major (Ex.4.14).

Example 4.14. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 2, mm. 102-110

Orch.  
Allegretto  
p 3 f

D: I V F: I<sub>6</sub> I

Despite the surprising quality of this key shift, the ballet itself is rather traditional. The first 42 measures are organized into another binary dance form ending in a perfect authentic cadence. The opening theme, which I have labeled “Ariel,” accompanies Ariel’s ballet, and functions as a reminiscence motive which recurs later in the opera (Ex. 4.15).

Example 4.15. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 2, mm. 110-129, “Ariel”



Ariel’s *pas* cadences in F major and the final tonic chord simultaneously functions as the dominant for the ensuing *andantino* section in Bb major. In this section, Halévy interpolates a bit of local color by incorporating the popular tune *Where the Bee Sucks* by Thomas Arne, a favorite of the London public. Halévy moves from a tripping dance-like texture to a very pastoral legato, described by one critic as “particularly happy, and instrumented with the utmost taste.”<sup>28</sup> Halévy places the melody in a high register, supported by a close harmonic texture (Ex. 4.16).<sup>29</sup>

Example 4.16. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 2, mm. 154-162

Orch.

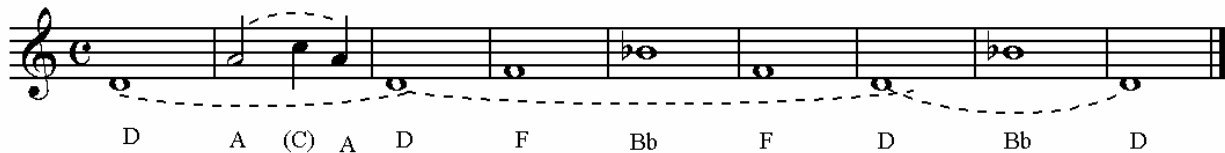
<sup>28</sup> *Times* (London), 10 June 1850.

<sup>29</sup> See Dean, “Shakespeare and Opera,” 111, who likens this harmonization to “the style of Auber.”



This is followed by several more sections of dance music, including: an *allegretto* in F major; a *moderato* in D major; an *allegro* in Bb major; and a final *dopo il ballo* in D major. Once again, we see Halévy's proclivity for mediant key relationships. The section in F moves to D with only a brief pause in between. D, however, moves to Bb by way of pivot through the common pitch of D, functioning as both tonic in D and as leading tone to the seven of a dominant seven in Bb. If we view the key scheme for Act I, no. 2 of *La Tempesta* (Ex. 4.17), we see that Halévy has essentially moved from the key of D and back again using two different means: by way of the traditional role of tonic to dominant and back (D→A→D), and by way of the inherent mediant relationship of a Bb major triad (D→F→Bb→D).

Example 4.17. *La Tempesta*: Key Scheme for Act I, no. 2



D major returns in measure 366 with the short *dopo il ballo*, and the chorus returns to announce the approach of Miranda. This segues immediately into Miranda's cavatina, which is very typical of the traditional Rossinian cavatina form as defined by Longyear: "a slow introduction featuring florid and highly ornamented vocal writing [...] an allegro with virtuoso fireworks [...] and a *cabaletta* in an even faster tempo for show."<sup>30</sup> After an eight measure introduction in D major, Miranda sings the first strophe in a slow compound duple meter (see Appendix A). At the end of the verse, a cadenza supported by a second inversion tonic to dominant seven to tonic cadence precedes a return of the introductory material returns in abbreviated form, and the key area moves to B minor for the B section of the aria. Another

<sup>30</sup> See Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism*, 77.

cadenza ensues, and the expected return of the A section occurs, this time with a more ornamented cadenza at the end. This is followed by a fiery *allegro* section in the key of F major, now in a fast duple complete with coloratura runs. This section ends with the most stunning cadenza yet: a sequence of triplet turns chromatically descending an octave from high Bb and cadencing into an ornamented reprise of the opening *allegro* section. But the aria is not finished—the singer still has to perform a chromatic line of sixteenth notes that ascends two octaves, descends back to a C, and concludes with a leap of a seventh to high Bb and a final leap of a sixth to high C before cadencing in F major.

In Act I, no. 4, the pace of the dramatic action is significantly increased, and we are finally able to observe how Halévy uses abrupt shifts between key areas for dramatic purposes. The scene opens in the key of E major as Miranda, in recitative, pleads with Prospero to rescue the foundering ship from the savage tempest. Prospero refuses, and the key moves suddenly to Bb major as Prospero's anger towards his usurping brother is vented. This modulation is accomplished using a brief reference to the modal key of A, in which a unison A, presumably played by the strings, functions as a leading tone to Bb (Ex. 4.18). Miranda's pleas eventually calm her father's fury, and the key moves briefly back to E. Upon the mention of Caliban's name, the key area moves to F# minor temporarily, then immediately to D major (Ex. 4.19). The transition from E to F# to D is admittedly odd, but can be explained dramatically. Here, F# appears in connection with Caliban's name. This pitch/key area will reappear later, resulting in an associative key area linked with the character of Caliban.

No. 4 concludes with a half-cadence in Bb major, preparing the ear for Prospero's *romanza* in Eb major (see Appendix A). The aria is strophic, with cadenzas at the ends of each strophe. The final cadenza is the most ornamented, creating a musical metaphor for Prospero's

Example 4.18. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 4, mm. 18-25

Prospero

il fra - tel chemi to lse il regno - e chan'es - pose conte, ban bin - a - all'orde ir a tee

Orch.

*fp* *fpp*

E: vii<sup>o</sup>/iv vii<sup>o</sup>/iv V<sub>4</sub>/iv  
3

cru-de, eil re fel lon com-plice su - o rac - chiu-de!

Pno.

*ff* **Allegro**

V<sub>4</sub>/iv V<sub>4</sub>/iv iv (pivot) I V<sub>7</sub> I  
3 3 Bb: vii (pivot)

Example 4.19. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 4, mm. 37-39

Andantino

Prospero

Cal - i - ban - o!

Orch.

f#: V V v i

comparison of Miranda to a desert flower.<sup>31</sup> Prospero then calls out for Caliban, initiating the *scena e terzetto* which constitutes Act I, no. 5 of *La Tempesta*. This scene represents the first appearance of Caliban, and interestingly enough, contains some of the most significant musical material of the opera.<sup>32</sup> Caliban's entrance is presaged by a theme in G minor that becomes a reminiscence theme associated with Caliban, which I have labeled "Caliban" (Ex. 4.20). When Caliban fails to appear, Prospero calls again. Caliban then enters to the accompaniment of a second presentation of the "Caliban" theme, this time extended with the addition of a new distinct rhythmic motive consisting of double-dotted quarter and sixteenth notes (Ex. 4.21).<sup>33</sup> An abridged version of the reminiscence theme is presented a third time when Prospero scornfully insults Caliban's mother, and cadences on the dominant of g minor with a highly emphasized leading tone F#, established earlier as an associative pitch for Caliban (Ex. 4.22).

**Example 4.20. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 5, mm. 2-4, "Caliban"**

**Allegro marcato assai**

Orch.

<sup>31</sup> Libretto: "Sorge un fior sovra incognita spiaggia...Sei tu stessa, o Miranda, quel fior."

<sup>32</sup> See Appendix D for a key area analysis of Act I, no. 5.

<sup>33</sup> See *Times* (London), 10 June 1850, where the critic states that "the entrance of Caliban, [. . .] causes the characters of the three personages to be in some measure developed."

**Example 4.21. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 5, mm. 21-22**

Orch.

**Example 4.22. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 5, mm. 37-42**

Orch.

As discussed in chapter two, Caliban's role was proportionately larger than Prospero's, and evidence of this augmentation can be found in the ensuing *terzetto* of No. 5. The trio opens with an extended aria in D minor for Caliban. At the outset of this aria, another reminiscence theme, which I have labeled "Caliban's lust," occurs in connection with Caliban (Ex. 4.23).

**Example 4.23. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 5, mm. 55-58, "Caliban's lust"**

Orch.

After the initial presentation of this theme, the key area moves to the parallel major as the argument between Caliban and Prospero escalates. The harmony shifts to the key of A major briefly, before modulating back to the key of D minor for a trio between Miranda, Caliban and Prospero. This section is followed by another extended solo for Caliban, and the “lust” theme returns in measure 110 as Caliban calls to his imprisoned mother for vengeance. D minor gives way to F major in measure 122, and new material at measure 128 ushers in a duet for Prospero and Miranda in Bb major. Then all three voices, doubled by the lower instruments, perform ascending then descending diminished seven triads that are developed from measures 147 through 154, and Bb major becomes Bb minor through a string of secondary dominants (Ex. 4.24).<sup>34</sup> Halévy incorporates a deceptive resolution from measure 147 to 148, allowing the harmony to move from a secondary dominant of the submediant to a subdominant.

Caliban gets yet another extended solo back in the key of Bb major beginning at measure 164, this time with a distinctive dotted eighth-sixteenth rhythm (see Appendix A). A modulation to F major occurs at the cadence of this phrase as Prospero takes over a D minor version of the theme while Caliban joins with a counter melody of his own. With the addition of Eb, the tonic in F major becomes a dominant for the ensuing key of Bb minor. The dotted eighth-sixteenth theme returns in measure 194 as Miranda joins the men in a trio, and a chromatic modulation begins in measure 216. A tonic in Bb major descends chromatically to a dominant of G minor by way of a German sixth chord (Ex. 4.25). Chromaticism is used again for the return to Bb minor. This number concludes by shifting back and forth between the major and minor modes, featuring skillful polyphonic writing as each of the three voices trade melodic lines with one

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<sup>34</sup> See *Times* (London), 10 June 1850, where the critic comments on how “the surly moroseness and designing cunning of Caliban [is] suggested with graphic power.”

another.<sup>35</sup> A canonic cadenza signals the end at measure 215, and all three voices join together for a rousing ensemble supported by simple tonic/dominant/tonic harmonic movement. An orchestral tag provides closure with a final authentic cadence some 330 measures later.

**Example 4.25. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 5, mm. 216-220**

Orch.

Bb: I chromatic modulation - - -

*fp*

$V_6/V$   
5

g: G<sub>6</sub>

V

Miranda and Caliban exit after the trio, and Act I, no. 6 begins with the appearance of Ariel above the cave entrance. Ariel's presence is accompanied by an atmosphere of uneasiness as the "Ariel" theme recurs at first in the key of F minor, moving quickly to the relative key of Ab major (Ex. 4.26).

<sup>35</sup> See *Times* (London), 10 June 1850, where the critic was so impressed with the polyphony exhibited in this particular scene that he stated “it is in such refined points of artistic workmanship, addressed to the educated ear, that M. Halévy’s familiar association with Cherubini, one of the greatest of contrapuntists, may without difficulty be traced.”

Ex. 4.24. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 5, mm. 147-154

Miranda *f*  
 tenro in u di - re, u - dir quel per - fi do,

Prospero *f*  
 per ques - to vo - to, ah, trema, o per - fi - do,

Caliban *f*  
 ah, tut - to cre - sce, il mio fu - ro - re

Orch. *ff* *ben marcato* *sus.*

Bb:  $V_6/vi$   $VI_6/vi$   $vii^\circ_6/vi$   $vi_6$   
 deceptive resolution

no, no, non eb - bi or - ror giamm - mai, nò,

si, si, mor - tein - vo - che - rai, nò,

si, si, il mio fu - ror, si,

$vii^\circ_6/vii^\circ$   $vii^\circ$   $vii^\circ_4/V$   $vii^\circ_7/V$   $V$   $i$



**Example 4.26. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 6, mm. 1-8, "Ariel"**



Ariel responds to Prospero's recitative commands using gestures accompanied by thematic fragments derived from the opening dance music of Act I, no. 2. Over the course of the first two sets of recitative and dance, the key center moves from F major through D minor and settles temporarily in Bb major. A third thematic fragment is followed by an extended recitative section for Prospero, moving back and forth between C minor and C major. Similarly, Ariel then gets an extended dance section which modulates to the mediant key of E major. Bb major returns as Prospero prepares to retire, and once again Halévy uses the pivot pitch technique, this time in combination with two French sixth chords, to move from Bb to the mediant key of D (Ex. 4.27).

**Example 4.27. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 6, mm. 104-108**

Bb: I    I<sub>6</sub>    pivot pitch becomes d/D: i    F 6    V

Ariel summons the sylphs and sylphides who, along with an invisible voice, sing an air that will lead Fernando into the grotto (Appendix A). The air ends with a cadenza that modulates to the key of G major, and concludes with a half-cadence to prepare for the cavatina of Act I, no. 7.

Fernando's cavatina also conforms to early nineteenth-century Italian aria construction (Appendix A). The aria begins in the key of G major with a slow introduction that provides an appropriate atmosphere for Fernando's first majestic strophe. The aria is interrupted by a section that modulates to the key of the dominant, and the invisible voice returns with the same melody

that first occurred near the end of Act I, no. 6. This melody modulates back to G, and Fernando sings a second strophe in the original triple meter *andantino*. At the end of this strophe, Fernando performs a spectacular cadenza which segues into the anticipated *allegro* section. This section is introduced by a fiery rhythmic motive consisting of a double dotted quarter followed by a single sixteenth and eighth note. A modal shift occurs as the motive is presented again in G minor, signaling a modulation to D minor. This brief orchestral outburst ends with a half cadence, and an *allegretto* section follows in the parallel mode of D major, as Fernando calls to the invisible voice for guidance. Fernando later sings a highly ornamented second strophe with a final melismatic cadenza, and an orchestral tag cadences in D major.

The final chord of Act I, no. 7 serves as the dominant preparation for Act I, no. 8, which opens with a short motive in G major in *allegro* tempo. With the appearance of an F natural, the tonic in G major becomes a dominant seventh, and the key of C major supports the dramatic first encounter of Fernando and Miranda. Fernando's lines alternate with three sets of fanfare-like orchestral motives that culminate in a run of staccato sixteenths that ascend, descend, and ascend once again to a held dominant tone. Fernando's unaccompanied recitative implies a diminished seven of the supertonic, which resolves to a dominant seven in C using chromatic voice leading (Ex. 4.28). A second presentation of this motive occurs in measures fourteen through fifteen where the held G serves as a pivot tone as C major gives way to the mediant key of Eb major, providing heightened drama for Fernando's advances. Miranda plays coy, and sings a lengthy cadenza on a dominant seventh chord that colors her demure demeanor. Fernando retaliates with a romantic *romanza* in Eb, performing an impressive cadenza of his own in an attempt to win her heart. As the lovers' ardor for one another escalates, the key shifts swiftly to G major for a highly expressive duet aria in a contrasting *andante*.

**Example 4.28. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 8, mm. 7-10**

**Andantino**

Fernando

al mio sguar-door s'off-rein le - i?

Orch.

C: vii°/ii V7 -----

The *allegro* returns along with the key of Eb, and Fernando and Miranda pledge their love to one another in alternating recitative and arioso textures. The opening motive of sixteenth runs reappears (refer to Ex. 3.29), signaling a return to the key of C major as well as a new duet theme (see Appendix B). This scene is abruptly interrupted by a *più animato* as Prospero enters. The duet theme is reprised as a trio with the addition of Prospero, and the finale accelerates to a close. Prospero feigns disapproval, the lovers separate, and the orchestra presents the duet theme one last time as the Act I curtain falls to a final cadence in C major (Ex. 4.29).<sup>36</sup>

***LA TEMPESTA*: ACT II**

Act II opens with a return of the “Caliban” theme in C minor, and as expected, Caliban soon enters. However, the theme evolves into a new theme in measure 12, which I have labeled “Caliban’s revenge” (Ex. 4.30). The “revenge” theme appears several more times in the scene, alternating with sections of extended recitative for Caliban. With each presentation of the

<sup>36</sup> See Appendix D for a graphic representation of the key scheme for Act I.

Example 4.29. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 8, mm. 226-233

Orch.

*Allegro*

*ff*



Fine dell' Atto primo.

theme, the key area shifts from the opening C minor, through G minor, and finally to D minor for an extended *allegro* aria for Caliban (Appendix A). D minor gives way to D major, and Caliban launches into another extended arietta in which he laments the hardship he is forced to endure. Caliban's musical diatribe is prefaced, however, by yet another new theme, presented first by the orchestra and then by Caliban (Appendix A), which I have labeled as "Caliban's misfortune" (Ex. 4.31). A point regarding this section must be observed. Up until this point, Act I, no. 5 is the only number in which real musical development occurred. It is also the only number which contains parts for the character of Caliban. Likewise, the bulk of developmental material for Act II falls in this number, as the crux of the dramatic action hinges on the development of Caliban's

**Example 4.30. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 9, mm. 12-13, "Caliban's revenge"**

*Più presto*

Orch.

*con molta forza*

**Example 4.31. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 9, mm. 81-83, "Caliban's misfortune"**

*Allegro*

Orch.

*p*

lust for Miranda and thirst for vengeance towards Prospero, originally introduced in Act I, no. 5.<sup>37</sup> It is at this point that some interesting harmonic events begin to occur.

As Caliban sings the “misfortune” theme, his vocal line becomes beset with repeated A’s, supported by dominant chords in the key of D major. His anger intensifies, and as the vocal line ascends, the A’s are replaced with repeated B’s, now supported by secondary dominant chords that are prepared by a string of alternating dominant and flatted submediant chords (Ex. 4.32).

<sup>37</sup> See *Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850, where the critic remarks: “With the second act, the interest, both musical as well as dramatic, increases tenfold. Here the artistic magnificence of this opera in all respects is demonstrated to the most ordinary observer’s comprehension.” See also *Times* (London), 10 June 1850, where the critic states that “the grand figure in the whole picture [of Act II] is Caliban.”

Example 4.32. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 9, mm. 95-100

Caliban

Orch.

or-a son a me d'in - tor-ni co - me tiz-zial fuoco ar-

den-ti, non so più s'è notteò gior - no e mi fan la via smar - rir, e mi

D: V bVI<sub>6</sub> V bVI<sub>6</sub> V I<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub> Vsus V/V - -

pedal -----

V I<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub> Vsus vi pivot to B: V<sub>7</sub>/IV IV<sub>6</sub> It<sub>6</sub> I<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub>

pedal -----

The orchestra drops out as Caliban sings a final line of repeated B's which function as a pivot pitch to the mediant key of B major, and which musically represent his realization of the hopelessness of his cause.

Caliban sings a final strophe that moves from B major, through F# and C# major, and finally back to D minor. The return of D minor also marks the return of the "Caliban's lust" theme in measure 107, which ushers in another extended aria section, now in D major, as Caliban cries out to this mother for vengeance. Drama is sustained and prolonged through chains of secondary dominants (including a dominant of the Neapolitan chord) and a chain of minor mediants before the final cadence in D major.

The dramatic action is moved further in Act II, no. 10 when the voice of Sycorax is heard for the first time. This particular movement stands out as one of the most tonally ambiguous areas of the opera. Halévy prolongs the dominant harmony of Act II, no. 9 by writing unaccompanied A's for Sycorax's opening pitches, thereby providing a sense of continuity. However, her A's immediately ascend to C, then descend to Bb, the combination of which implies a leading tone chord resolving to the key area of Bb. When Bb minor is confirmed by a pianissimo chord answered by the orchestra (Ex. 4.33), a mediant relationship is established with the preceding key of D major. The pianissimo chord is repeated in measure 5, but this time in Bb major, resulting in more ambiguity. Bb minor, however, is sounded again in measure 7 after a descending five note scale occurs in combination with a dominant seventh of Bb minor. The descending motive is repeated in Eb minor, followed by an imperfect authentic cadence in Gb major in measure 17. The next several measures hint at both Eb minor and Gb major until a perfect authentic cadence in measure 34 establishes the key of Eb major. This is only temporary, however, as Gb's quickly reappear, shifting the mode back to Eb minor. As Sycorax discloses to Caliban her knowledge of the magic flowers and the power they contain, a submediant in Eb minor is sounded, and the accidentals that follow indicate the presence of the key area of B major. The harmony has modulated to the key area of B major using an enharmonic spelling of a tonic in B major. Moreover, another mediant relationship comes into play since Eb is the mediant of Cb, or the enharmonic spelling of B major (Ex. 4.34).

Example 4.33. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 10, mm. 1-3

Sicorace

Ca - li - ba - no!

Orch.

*pp*

Example 4.34. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 10, mm. 37-40

Sicorace

Sulla roc-cia chemi chiu-de sontre fior:

Orch.

*p*

*ff*

A new motive appears in the key of B minor, but cadences with a dominant chord in the key of E minor. E minor is firmly established in measure 61 with a welcome second inversion tonic-dominant-tonic progression. E minor modulates to its mediant cousin of C major through G major (the mediant of E) as Caliban, with magic flowers in hand, sings a triumphal *allegro*. A tonic in C major alternates back and forth with an augmented flatted submediant, resulting in an instance of tonic prolongation as Caliban debates what to wish for first (4.35). A fully flatted submediant appears a few bars later, also in alteration with the tonic in C major, hinting that Caliban has made his decision. The flatted submediant then functions as a pivot chord, becoming



**Example 4.35. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 10, mm. 106-108**

Caliban

nò, nò, nò, nò, nò, nò, nò, nò, nò, nò, non, sò qual pre

*stringendo*

Orch.

*p*

C: I   bVI+6   I   bVI+6   I   bVI+6   I   bVI+6   I<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub>   bVI+   IV6   V6   I

tonic prolongation

a mediant in F minor for Sycorax's desperate appeal for release. Caliban's subsequent refusal cadences in F major just in time for Ariel's entrance at measure 137.<sup>38</sup> The light, dancing quality of Act I, no. 2 returns with a short *pas* in Bb major as Ariel searches for a place of concealment. An abrupt shift to Bb minor in combination with a sudden dynamic change to fortissimo signals Caliban's approach, accompanied by another motive in the lower register instruments (Ex. 4.36a). This motive, supported by a diminished seventh harmonic texture, appears to be derived from the "Caliban's misfortune" theme, shown below in Ex. 4.36b. When compared to the new motive, one can see how the double dotted figures (labeled b) and the sixteenth figures (labeled a) are strikingly similar.

**Example 4.36a. *La Tempesta*: Act II, No. 10, m. 184**

b

a

<sup>38</sup> Note that F major was the key of the "Ariel" theme in Act I. Here, as in Act I, no. 2, the cadence of the F major dance section serves as the dominant preparation for the following dance section in Bb major.

**Example 4.36b. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 9, mm. 81-83**



F major triumphs as Caliban manages to snare Ariel in a tree trunk using the first of his three wishes. Suddenly, a flatted sixth prepares for a modal change to F minor as the voice of Sycorax is heard once again. Caliban's attention, however, is now focused on Miranda, and as she exits the cave, a C major chord (the dominant of F minor and the flatted mediant of A major) produces a pivot modulation to the mediant key of A major. Miranda's recitative cadences on a subdominant, and the addition of a C natural transforms its function to that of a dominant of G major, the key of the following scene.

The dramatic tension caused by Caliban is relieved somewhat as Miranda begins Act II, no. 11 with a graceful arietta in G major. The solo becomes a duet in measure twelve as Caliban, in a musical aside, lamely attempts to conceal his lust for Miranda (Appendix B). Halévy succeeds in musically delineating each character as Caliban's biting, declamatory vocal line contrasts greatly with the sweetness and delicacy of Miranda's. The serenity of the scene is abruptly shattered by an orchestral flourish in E minor, and Caliban makes his presence known to Miranda. Two more flourishes move us through F# and G# minor, respectively, until a final flourish settles in the key of B minor at measure 58. Miranda becomes horribly aware of Caliban's base intentions in the agitated *allegro* duet that follows. Again, Halévy accomplishes musical characterization through contrasting, contrapuntal melodic lines. Caliban sings in descending period phrases with accents on the first two beats of each inner phrase, while Miranda's line ascends in woeful cries using sets of dotted quarter notes followed by eighth notes (Ex. 4.37). The key areas modulate swiftly from B minor to D major and back again using

supertonics and mediant chords as pivot points. After a second strophe, the conclusion of the duet is signaled by two sets of ascending lines outlining the harmonic B minor scale, and each ending with a progression of a secondary dominant to dominant to tonic in B minor.

**Example 4.37. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 11, mm. 68-75**

Miranda

Caliban

Ar - do perted'un fuo - co Che non mi lascia tre - gua!

sa - to e stra - no lin - guaggio è ques - to mai?

No! nò, nò, ne pa - ce ne tre - gua!

The duet then moves into a *più presto* section where Caliban sings repeated F# pitches approached by the leading tone E#, while Miranda's line continues to outline the B minor scale using the leading tone A# (Ex. 4.38). The harmonic ambiguity of measure 120 can be analyzed as an enharmonic German sixth in B minor. The second instance, however, features a chord containing both E natural and E sharp. If we consider the E natural a part of the chord along with the F and C sharps, we almost have a dominant seventh in B minor. I believe Halévy has simply drawn from two different versions of the F# minor scale in an effort to distinguish the characters' musical lines. In this part of the opera, Miranda is at her most frantic state, and Caliban is at the height of his lust for her. Halévy uses the two pitches to maintain distinction between Miranda

Example 4.38. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 11, mm. 118-122

**Più presto**

Miranda  
ch'in ten - er - re non so! in mo - do tal l'in sa - no

Caliban  
al - fin fia da - toa me! - te ve - doin o - gni lo - co,

Orch.  
*ff* *p*  
3  
b: V7 / V V V7 i G6 V vii°7 i sub v i 6 V6 i  
4 5

and Caliban, and to create two disparate musico-emotional atmospheres for each character.<sup>39</sup>

The drama reaches its highest intensity at measure 134, as a dominant tenuto resolves to the parallel major key. B major soon segues into E minor as Miranda hopelessly calls out to her father and to Ariel for help. Caliban begins a new theme that assures Miranda that her cries are useless (see Appendix A). A chromatic scale ascending from the dominant pitch of B culminates in a modulation back to G major, and then precedes a victorious orchestral motive, labeled “Caliban’s triumph” that returns at least two times later (Ex. 4.39).

Here Caliban sings yet another extended arioso, boasting the conquering of his enemy’s daughter (see Appendix A). A deceptive cadence at measure 183 shifts the tonality to the

<sup>39</sup> See *Times* (London), 10 June 1850, where the critic notes how “the contrast between the two *dramatis personae* is powerfully sustained.” See also *Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850, whose critic appears impressed with how “the struggle of contending passions expressed by composer and vocalist, in the duet [. . .] is truly beyond all ordinary commendation.”

**Example 4.39. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 11, mm. 167-169**



mediant key of Eb major, and Miranda's pleas for help are represented by a descending chromatic cadenza. She performs a second virtuosic cadenza of defiance as the tempo accelerates to an *allegro*. Another mediant modulation to G minor is accomplished using a chromatic descending scale from the E flat of a tonic in Eb major to an F sharp of a diminished seventh in G minor. A string of dominant seventh chords prepares for a modal shift to G major, and the "Caliban's revenge" theme returns, this time accompanied by a counter-melody for Miranda. The duet cadences in G major at measure 263 just before shifting to the mediant key of Eb minor as Miranda sings, with dagger in hand, "I would rather die!"<sup>40</sup> Caliban defiantly shakes the flowers at Miranda, causing her to fall into a deep sleep. The "Caliban's triumph" motive returns as a fully diminished seventh of the mediant, and the *allegro* gradually decelerates to a solitary unaccompanied recitative as Caliban prepares to rape the sleeping Miranda. His distorted psyche is underscored by a thin yet powerful chordal progression moving from a first inversion subdominant, through a second inversion tonic and a third inversion dominant, and coming to rest on a first inversion tonic. A second progression culminating in a secondary dominant of the subdominant prepares a chromatic shift to E minor using repeated B naturals. Caliban is close to fulfilling his intentions with the appearance of a tonic in E major, but E minor arrives instead as

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<sup>40</sup> Libretto: "Morir più tosto!"

Sycorax interrupts. Sycorax appeals to her son to release her from the rock, but once again he refuses. The number comes to an uneasy close in E major as Caliban exits with the sleeping Miranda in his arms.

Act II, no. 12 offers a complete change of mood as the story turns from the plight of Miranda to the antics of Trinculo, Stefano, and the other shipwrecked sailors. In what seems an attempt to maintain continuity from the previous number, the first pitch sounded is an E natural. This makes the key area ambiguous, though the key signature spells Bb major. The function becomes clear within a few measures as the E natural leads to F, the dominant of the ensuing Bb major firmly established in measure 7. Here the musical atmosphere lightens considerably as the orchestra presents a rollicking choral prelude in compound duple meter with the distinct flavor of a hornpipe dance. The lengthy introduction is followed by a rousing chorus as the sailors rejoice in the safety they have found ashore (Appendix C). A prolonged dominant chord prepares the way for a modulation to the relative minor key of G, and the tempo quickens as Stefano sings a recitative that recounts how he survived the shipwreck. Bb major returns as the chorus enters demanding a song from Stefano, who gladly complies in the *canzone* that follows. Another prolonged dominant progression sets up the modulation to G major, and Stefano and the chorus of sailors perform a *canzone* that extols the virtue of wine (Appendix C).

The canzone is straightforward, with only one modulation to the dominant key of D major for the verses and back to G major for a reprise of the chorus. Emphasis is achieved on the final repeat of the text “che la forza fuggitiva di tornare ha la virtù” through a succession of flattened seven chords that occur just before the final cadence in G major (Ex. 4.40).

No. 13 takes us to the finale of Act II, as Caliban, with Miranda in his arms, approaches the drinking sailors. The number opens with a sustained G supported by a sixteenth note figure

Example 4.40. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 12, mm. 192-199

Stefano  
che la for - za fug - gi - ti - va di tor - nar ha la vir - tù!

Tenori  
che la for - za fug - gi - ti - va di tor - nar ha la vir - tù!

Bassi  
che la for - za fug - gi - ti - va di tor - nar ha la vir tù!

Orch.  
G: bVII bVII bVII bVII bVII bVII bVII F6 I<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub> V7 I

alternating between the pitches C and Db, making the key area ambiguous C (Ex. 4.41a). The motive ends by outlining a C major triad, temporarily supporting the key of C major as Stefano notices Caliban approaching. Stefano, Trinculo and the other sailors hide as Caliban enters, accompanied by another turn utilizing the pitches E flat and D natural and supported by a second inversion dominant seventh chord in Ab (Ex. 4.41b).

Example 3.41a. *La Tempesta*:  
Act II, no. 13, m. 1

Example 3.41b. *La Tempesta*:  
Act II, No. 13, m. 13

Orch.  
Allegro  
fp  
p

Both of these sixteenth motives are exactly like the motive used in the third presentation of the chord progression found in the Introduction. It appears that this motive, originally associated with the foundering of the ship, provides a reminiscent atmosphere of the shipwreck, which was the subject of Stefano's song.

An arpeggiated flourish in Ab is heard as Caliban pronounces himself Lord of the island, but as Caliban becomes aware of the sailors' presence, the key moves swiftly to Bb minor by way of a brief reference to Db major. A prolonged dominant seven resolves to a submediant, which is also prolonged to provide harmonic support for Caliban's announcement that he is the King of the island. The sailors respond with bouts of laughter, and as Caliban considers using the flowers' last wish to rid the island of the sailors, Bb minor shifts suddenly to the modal major just before chromatically modulating to the key area of B major using a secondary dominant of the subdominant (Ex. 4.42). A mediant shift to G occurs as the sailors invite Caliban to drink with them (fig. 9). The party is interrupted by a dominant chord in A minor, and Miranda awakens. Caliban informs Miranda that she is now his slave as the "Caliban's revenge" theme reappears in the key of A minor. Soon Caliban's and the sailors' attention turns to drinking, while a modulation to Ab ushers in a woeful arietta for Miranda.<sup>41</sup> A modulation to the relative minor accompanies Caliban's subsequent solo as he becomes more and more intoxicated. Ab major returns in alternation with F minor as Miranda reprises her arietta, this time cast in a full

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<sup>41</sup> See *Times* (London), 10 June 1850: "Some reminiscences of the music of Caliban in the first act, assigned to the orchestra, give way to a *morceaux d'ensemble* in A flat for Miranda and Caliban, accompanied at intervals by Stefano, Trinculo, and the chorus; the subject is the despair of Miranda, the gradual intoxication of Caliban, and the jeers of Stefano and his associates, who have been plying him with liquor. As a specimen of elaborate vocal writing this concerted piece bears a resemblance to some of the best Italian models of Rossini and his school." The *reminiscence* to which the critic is referring is a return of the material exhibited in Ex. 3.22.





Figure 10. The Bacchanale Scene,  
published in *Libretto*.

ensemble number with Caliban, Stefano, Trinculo, and the sailors. The ensemble cadences in Ab major and segues immediately into a final *bacchanale* in Eb major. Caliban is now completely drunk as he sings an opening section, followed by frivolous outbursts from the sailors in a choral response that is accentuated by a prolonged flatted mediant (Ex. 4.43).

**Example 4.42. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 13, mm. 43-46**

Caliban

o miei si - gno - ri!

Orch.

chromatic modulation to

Bb: I<sub>6</sub> IV I<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub> V<sub>7</sub>/IV- - - - - B: I I

The *bacchanale* proper, a strophic song with choral refrains, follows.<sup>42</sup> During the course of this piece, Miranda continuously attempts to escape. Halévy uses a variety of secondary dominant chords in the choral refrains to create a heightened dramatic atmosphere within a relatively simplistic formal setting. One of the more interesting sections features three sets of a string of prolonged diminished seven chords which move chromatically from Eb major through the temporary key area of D minor, and finally to a lengthy second inversion tonic of Eb major (Ex. 3.45). A second verse and chorus culminate in a *più presto* section, representing the drunken frenzy of the sailors and the desperate disposition of Miranda. The chorus cadences in Eb major and is followed by a descending chromatic scale in the orchestra as Miranda snatches the flowers

<sup>42</sup> See *Times* (London), 10 June 1850: “The bacchanale with chorus for Caliban, which follows, is perhaps the most original, and certainly the most ingenious and spirited *morceaux d’ensemble* in the whole opera.”

**Example 4.43. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 13, mm. 262-271**

Stefano e tenori

Trincolo e bassi

Oreh.

tra - bal - - - li,

tra - bal - - - li.

p.t. p.t. p.ts. p.ts. p.t. pts.

Eb: I I6 I 6<sub>4</sub> I I6 I 6<sub>4</sub>

si si gli par che la ter - ra tra - bal-li,

si si gli par che la ter - ra tra bal-li

p.t. p.t. p.t. n.t. n.t.

bIII bIII bIII V<sub>4</sub><sub>3</sub> i V

**Example 46. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 13, mm. 319-343**

Eb: I vii<sup>o</sup><sub>4</sub>/V vii<sup>o</sup><sub>7</sub>/iii vii<sup>o</sup><sub>4</sub><sub>3</sub>/vi vi6 vii<sup>o</sup><sub>7</sub>/iii d: vii<sup>o</sup><sub>7</sub>/iv vii<sup>o</sup><sub>4</sub><sub>2</sub>/V V<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub> i6 v<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub> i6

d: vii<sup>o</sup><sub>6</sub><sub>5</sub> VI<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub> V<sub>4</sub><sub>2</sub>/III vii<sup>o</sup><sub>4</sub><sub>2</sub> VI Eb: V I<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub> V7 vii<sup>o</sup><sub>6</sub><sub>5</sub>/V I<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub>

from Caliban and uses the last wish to render Caliban and the sailors motionless (Ex. 4.45).

Miranda makes her escape to a triumphal cadence of repeated dominant sevenths and tonics just as the curtain begins to fall on Act II.<sup>43</sup>



### ***LA TEMPESTA: ACT III***

Eb major is maintained for the opening scene of Act III, and Antonio and Alonzo appear for the first time since the prologue. An atmosphere of sorrow and despair is created by the presence of a flatted submediant, which prepares the ear for Eb minor as Antonio admits his guilt. Eb minor arrives through a progression of secondary dominant chords, but another shift to E minor using a chromatic pivot from B flat to B natural quickly follows. The harmony continues to descend through mediant related keys (C minor and Ab major) before finally coming to rest in G minor, as Antonio and Alonzo desperately seek penitence. The *allegro* in measure 44, in the key of G major, announces the arrival of Prospero through a series of instrumental flourishes that outline fully diminished seventh chords of the dominant, which ultimately resolve chromatically to a tonic in G major. Further, Prospero's powerful entrance is underscored by a simple dominant seven to tonic progression, prolonged, however, by the interpolation of two Neapolitan chords (Ex. 4.46).

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<sup>43</sup> See Appendix D for a graphic representation of the key areas for Act II.

**Example 4.46. *La Tempesta*: Act III, no. 14, mm. 44-51**

*Allegro* *f* p.t. n.t. p.t. p.t. app. app. app.

Orch.

g: vii<sup>o</sup>7/V i<sub>6</sub><sub>4</sub> vii<sub>2</sub><sub>4</sub> vii<sup>o</sup>6<sub>5</sub>/V G: I I V V7

I I6 N6 V I I6 N6 V I V6/V ----- V6/V

tonic prolongation

In the ensuing recitative, Prospero pronounces judgment on Antonio and Alonzo through a series of mediant modulations moving from G major to B minor and finally to D major. Another unusual progression occurs as a dominant in D major, using chromatic voice leading, resolves to flattened submediant (Ex. 4.47).

**Example 4.47. *La Tempesta*: Act III, no. 14, mm. 64-65**

Orch.

D: I V/IV bVI

The arietta that follows, sung by Prospero, is cast in a stately *allegretto non troppo* in a quasi *da capo* form (Appendix A). The A section of the aria cadences with a descending chromatic vocal line moving from E flat to G natural and supported by a prolonged dominant

progression using secondary dominants. The B section moves temporarily to the key of the subdominant and is answered (temporarily) in Eb minor with pleas for “justice” by Antonio and Alonzo. As expected, the A section returns in Eb major with more ornamentation in the vocal line. A brief coda extends the cadence and allows for a final dramatic appeal to heaven by Antonio and Alonzo before cadencing in Eb.

In what appears to be a rather awkward transition scene, the action returns to the plight of Miranda as Halévy and Scribe attempt to quickly tie up the loose ends of the plot. The key area shifts to A minor in measure 1 for Miranda’s opening agitated recitative, then changes in measure 18 to a *dolce* A major as her thoughts turn to Fernando. A wave of guilt, underscored by an abrupt modulation in measure 25 to G minor using secondary dominants of F major and Bb major, suddenly floods Miranda as she realizes she has placed her love for Fernando above that of her father. The key of A minor returns in measure 35 in a flourish of sixteenth runs followed by Miranda’s cry to God, emphasized by a modal shift to A major. A change to *andantino* in D major occurs in measure 46, and introduces the voice of Sycorax, whose evil plan is laid out in recitative. The key areas move quickly through the unrelated keys of D major, B minor, C major, and E minor, yet the harmony glides effortlessly through the use of dominant seventh and German sixth chords in chromatic voice leading. Playing on Miranda’s guilt, Sycorax convinces Miranda that Fernando is evil, and in order to save her father, she must kill Fernando. In desperation, Miranda resolves to obey Sycorax, and her exit is accompanied by another extended progression of fully diminished seven chords moving to a third inversion dominant seven to tonic. Once again, Halévy prolongs the tonic, and hence the dramatic tension, using a pair of Neapolitan chords just before a final cadence in E minor.

A sense of closure permeates the finale of Act III as it opens with octave C's in the lower registers of the orchestra in a very similar manner to the Introduction of the opera. A motive outlining a C major triad appears in measure four of Act III, no.15 that, when compared to Ex. 3.5, is very similar to the final motive in the *allegro* of the introduction (Ex. 4.48).

**Example 4.48. *La Tempesta*: Act III, no. 15, mm. 4-6**

*Allegro*

Orch.

A second inversion tonic soon reveals the key of F minor as the orchestral introduction is extended using Neapolitan and augmented sixth chords. This section cadences in the parallel key of F major as Miranda sings an *andantino* that musically depicts her dilemma. The B section of the *andantino* modulates to the key of C minor as Miranda struggles to make sense of her situation, and an ornate cadenza highlights the words “doubt” and “fear.” A modulation back to F major heralds the return of the A section which cadences with a pair of cadenzas that at first descend, then triumphantly ascend into an *allegretto non troppo* in A minor as Miranda scolds herself for falling under Fernando’s spell.

Fernando suddenly awakens, accompanied by a secondary dominant of the submediant in D minor. D minor quickly becomes D major, and Fernando sings a reprise of his arietta from Act I, no. 8, causing Miranda to succumb once again to his charms.<sup>44</sup> She informs Fernando of her

<sup>44</sup> See *Times* (London), 10 June 1850: “The duet between Miranda and Fernando is powerfully written, and includes some beautiful passages, among which may be specified the reminiscence of Fernando’s melody in the duet of the first act where the lovers first meet” (see Appendix A).

intent, first in D minor, then more fervently in Bb major. Fernando falls before Miranda, prepared to die by her hand as a flatted sixth in Bb appears as a bridge to the key area of Db major. Fernando sings another extended arioso in which he willingly forfeits his life for the sake of her love.

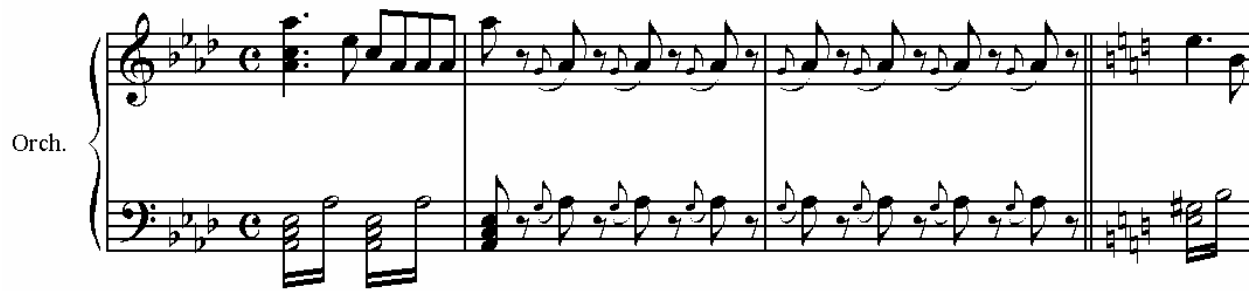
The scene is interrupted by the approach of Caliban and the sailors, and the key moves to the mediant F minor. Repeated Neapolitan chords color Miranda's horror as she recognizes Caliban the monster. A duet section ensues as another mediant modulation moves the key area to Ab major. The sailors enter seeking vengeance for Miranda's attack on them, and Miranda and Fernando reprise their duet as they prepare to die together. A pivot tone modulation to the key of E major occurs at the cadence, in which a series of repeated Ab's serve to prepare the ear for the sudden shift to E major (Ex. 4.49).

A similar technique follows in measures 267-269, shifting the harmony further downwards. The mediant key of C major arrives just as the sailors come to the startling realization that they are face-to-face with the Prince. Caliban's plans are crushed in an instant as the sailors bow to Fernando, who introduces Miranda to them as their future queen. Unaware that the power of the flowers is gone, he shakes them in one last attempt at victory as the key area moves swiftly back to E major, then finally to A major. Caliban laments his tragic loss of power as a modulation to the mediant key of F major ensues. Ariel appears, and the scene is magically transformed to reveal a glorious palace.

Through the use of an annotated epilogue of sorts, the story comes to a grand close. Prospero is once again on the throne, surrounded by Antonio, Alonzo, and a mass of courtiers all singing praises to the rightful king. An invisible voice informs Caliban that he is destined to remain on the island with his mother, and the voice of Sycorax is heard throwing comical insults



**Example 4.49. *La Tempesta*: Act III, no. 15, mm. 262-265**



at the ungrateful Caliban. Miranda and Fernando are seen joining hands in marriage, and Miranda sings a final, exultant strophic arioso. A virtuosic arpeggiated vocal line concludes the first strophe, and the second is an ornamented repeat of the first supported, in true grand opéra fashion, by a majestic choral finale and an orchestral tag that cadences with an extended tonic in F major.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> See Appendix D for a graphic representation of the key areas of Act III.

## CHAPTER 5

### AFTERMATHS: LONDON BURLESQUE AND PARIS FAILURE

*Now my charms are all o'erthrown,  
And what strength I have's mine own,  
Which is most faint. Now 'tis true  
I must be here confined by you  
Or sent to Naples. [Prospero]<sup>1</sup>*

In July of 1846, Halévy's *La Juive* was performed at the Drury Lane Theatre, eleven years after the triumphant premiere at the Paris Opéra. Yet it was the tremendous success of *La Tempesta* which established Halévy's reputation in London as a composer of opera. At least one critic placed Halévy in the ranks alongside Rossini, London's beloved Italian master, and praised Halévy's musical inventiveness saying:

Few musical composers have laboured harder or more conscientiously to acquire a name than M. Halévy, and few have taken firmer hold of the French public, which prides itself on being the first in the world where music is concerned.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, encomia abounded in contemporary journal reviews of Halévy's music. *The Daily News* was extremely generous in its estimation of Halévy's skill:

Like all Halévy's music, [*La Tempesta*] is profound in thought and masterly in construction, while it is bold, free, imaginative, and dramatic, with a great deal of graceful and expressive melody, set off by the most varied and elegant instrumentation.<sup>3</sup>

Likewise, *The Times* offered a most favorable opinion and concluded:

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<sup>1</sup> *Norton Shakespeare* (Epilogue.1-5), 3106.

<sup>2</sup> *Musical World* (London), 15 June 1850.

<sup>3</sup> *Daily News in Musical World* (London), 15 June 1850.

Our impression of the whole work, however, is so favourable, that were we justified in offering a decided opinion after one hearing we should feel inclined to rank *La Tempesta* higher than any previous effort of its composer.<sup>4</sup>

Generally, most of the negative criticism of Halévy's style centered around a debate as to whether or not Miranda's airs were overly melismatic. While one critic found them to be "too florid and ornate for the simplicity of the character," another praised Halévy's "florid style of some of the Italian composers" that resulted in "a freshness and absence of effort about the melody appropriate to the character of Miranda."<sup>5</sup>

Yet despite the overall favor bestowed upon both composer and librettist, all the charms of *La Tempesta*'s premiere in London were soon "o'erthrown." Halévy's and Scribe's success was indeed short-lived, mostly as a result of several factors occurring on the heels of their London victory. First, the ever-present ghost of Shakespeare continued to threaten the popularity of *La Tempesta*, fueled by the on-going diatribes of Shakespearean purists, and soon after manifested in the revival of a burlesque adaptation of *The Tempest*. Second, *La Tempesta* crossed the channel the following winter, and suffered through an unsuccessful run in Paris. And finally, the opera worlds of London, and perhaps more importantly Europe, were changing as Europe headed into the second half of the nineteenth century. In England, opera audiences were beginning to sit up and take notice of the contributions and innovations of Verdi in Italy and Wagner in Germany. And while grand opéra was on the wane in France, it was only just gaining a following in London. Moreover as previously discussed in chapter 2, Lumley's Italian Opera House was foundering, and even the successful box office returns generated by *La Tempesta* were not enough to compete with the changing trends in operatic consumption. Thus this final

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<sup>4</sup> *Times* (London) in *Musical World* (London), 15 June 1850.

<sup>5</sup> *Daily News* in *Musical World* (London), 15 June 1850; and *Musical World* (London), 15 June 1850.

chapter concludes the story of *La Tempesta* in relation both to its afterlife in London and its subsequent failure in Paris. Finally, it summarizes the manifold ways in which the convergence of competing cultural trajectories resulted in the dramatic but fleeting success of *La Tempesta*.

### ***LA! TEMPEST! AH!:* LONDON BURLESQUE**

That the popularity of *La Tempesta* was fueled by its spectacle and grandeur is without question; but, in a parallel manner, *La Tempesta* continued to be popularized by the criticisms aimed against its status as an adaptation. On 20 June 1850, only eleven days into *La Tempesta*'s run, the Theatre Royal Haymarket presented *La! Tempest! Ah!* "as a satire upon Fromental Halévy's and Eugène Scribe's opera."<sup>6</sup> This production was in fact a revival of a burlesque originally entitled *The Enchanted Isle, or Raising the Wind on the Most Approved Principles*, written by brothers Robert and William Brough.<sup>7</sup> According to Clinton-Baddeley, the burlesque at mid-century had become "an exercise in flippancy," and in keeping with the custom, the production of *The Enchanted Isle* was mounted with the intent to parody Shakespeare's *Tempest*.<sup>8</sup> The Brough brothers' burlesque was in fact an adaptation of a burlesque first seen in 1848 at the Adelphi Theatre, and was probably intended to burlesque Samuel Phelps' 1847 production of *The Tempest*.<sup>9</sup> In the true spirit of burlesque, the Brough production represented an

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<sup>6</sup> Richard W. Schoch, *Not Shakespeare: Bardolatry and Burlesque in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 91.

<sup>7</sup> *Bell's New Weekly Bulletin* (London), 16 June 1850.

<sup>8</sup> See Clinton-Baddeley, *Burlesque Tradition*, 111, who states that by 1863, the term burlesque "had already lost caste, and was on its way towards that debased meaning which it now bears in the U.S.A., where 'Burlesque' is a cheap variety show with a strip-tease artist as an essential and principal ingredient."

<sup>9</sup> See *Bell's New Weekly Bulletin* (London), 19 November 1848, where the reviewer states that "a new and original grand burlesque entitled *The Enchanted Isle, or Raising the Wind on a New Principal*" will premiere at the Theatre Royal Adelphi. See also Michael R. Booth, "Preface to *The Enchanted Isle*" in *English Plays of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Michael R. Booth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 165-168. Booth indicates that *The Enchanted Isle* received ninety-three performances at the Adelphi. Regarding the Phelps production, refer to chapter three of this document.

up-to-date interpretation of Shakespeare's *Tempest* that was not necessarily intended to belittle the great poet's work. Rather, Richard Schoch argues that the motivation for nineteenth-century burlesques of Shakespeare was to expose "the underlying illegitimacy of ostensibly legitimate Shakespeare."<sup>10</sup> As one critic for *Bell's New Weekly Bulletin* pointed out:

The authors of the extravaganza have adopted no servile imitation of Shakspeare's [*sic*] *Tempest*; and by their talismanic pens, more rife in wonders than *Prospero's* wand, they have bounded from the realms of ideality and poetic fiction, and invested their characters with manners, habits, and thoughts applicable to the times we live in; and this is done with so much humour, and so excellent a knowledge of the broad fun that is effective on the stage, that the piece trips along most smartly and agreeably.<sup>11</sup>

Two years later, the Haymarket produced a revival of this burlesque on the heels of the production of *La Tempesta* at Her Majesty's Theatre, and as a critic for *Bell's New Weekly Bulletin* reported:

The revival of the burlesque of *The Tempest; or, the Enchanted Isle* comes very opportunely, because as pamphlets have been written to show how Shakespeare would, or should, or could have done the *Tempest*, had he been as clever as the persons who are willing to point out to him the path to fame; so does the present burlesque equally show how he might have done had he been a writer of burlesques.<sup>12</sup>

The "pamphlets" that the critic mentions include Morris Barnett's essay. The critic was obviously not satisfied with Barnett's lengthy defense of Scribe's adaptation of Shakespeare, and contemptuously proclaimed:

That Shakspeare [*sic*] in the opinion of some people is not so clever as he might have been, is much to be regretted, because we had looked up to him as the master mind of English literature, and we are now informed that we are wrong—that a new star is to enlighten our hemisphere, and that Monsieur Scribe is henceforth to be the bright particular star of English literature—dullards that we were not to see ere this the genius

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<sup>10</sup> Schoch, *Not Shakespeare*, 90.

<sup>11</sup> *Bell's New Weekly Bulletin* (London), 26 November 1848.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 June 1850.

of the rising star—and still greater the dullards are we to be so opaque as not to be convinced that Scribe does surpass Shakspeare [*sic*—that opera librettos are not plays.<sup>13</sup>

Shakespearean burlesque was acknowledged as “a model of deference and circumspection,” whereas *La Tempesta* was regarded by many as “the corruption of legitimate Shakespeare.”<sup>14</sup> Richard Schoch goes so far as to say that “Halévy and Scribe stand accused of having improperly burlesqued *The Tempest* in the guise of a romantic opera.”<sup>15</sup> Ironically, *La! Tempest! Ah!* did not parody “the legitimate stage” as was its usual custom, but rather parodied Scribe’s operatic adaptation as a means to rally “to Shakespeare’s defense.”<sup>16</sup> In the case of *La! Tempest! Ah!*, Shakespeare’s defense appeared in the guise of a newly written prologue which severely criticized Scribe’s libretto as being an affront to Shakespeare.<sup>17</sup>

The setting for the prologue is the ‘Opera,’ and the characters are a ‘popular comedian (à la Hamlet)’ and the ‘Ghost of Shakespeare.’<sup>18</sup> The Ghost complains to the Comedian of a “murder most foul” and appeals to the Comedian for revenge. When asked to describe the murder, the Ghost replies “that the whole ear of London / Was by a forgéd process of my play /

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Schoch, *Not Shakespeare*, 91.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> See *Bell’s New Weekly Bulletin* (London), 23 June 1850. See also Booth, *English Stage*, 168. Apparently, the prologue exists only in manuscript form, and Booth identifies it as part of the Lord Chamberlin’s collection. The University of Georgia Main Library holds a microform of the prologue, identified as Robert B. Brough, *The Enchanted Isle, or Raising the wind on the most approved principles* (London: National Acting Drama Office, 1848?), microform. I have completed a transcription of the prologue, which can be found in Appendix F of this document.

<sup>18</sup> See Schoch, *Not Shakespeare*, 92, who states that the prologue is “a parody of the ghost scene from *Hamlet*.”

Rankly abused.” The Ghost then embarks upon a soliloquy that aptly illustrates the displeasure he feels towards Scribe’s adaptation:

Ay that most weak and nondescript affair  
With witchcraft and most childish fairy tales  
(Oh! Little wit that could on Shakespeare graft  
Old Mother Bunch!) bringing to Tom Thumb’s level  
My tricksy Ariel in a ballet skirt  
The fairy of a Christmas pantomime—  
My Caliban a melodrama villain  
Bearing Miranda off (stol’n incident  
From Grindoff in the Miller and his Men!)  
And then resorting to an ancient schema  
From Harlequin and the three wishes borrow’d—

The Comedian, in complete sympathy with the Ghost, replies that he will indeed avenge “this outrage vile” with a burlesque, saying:

Yes the Enchanted Isle  
Beat them on their own ground—the play’s the thing—  
But herod herod—Ho Hum! Prompter ring!<sup>19</sup>

At first glance the prologue seems unequivocal in its anti-Scribe propaganda. Yet it is also likely that it is simply fulfilling the requirements and function of burlesque by satirizing a contemporary subject popular among the general public. As Schoch notes, “*La! Tempest! Ah!* thus ingeniously uses a deliberate travesty to malign an unwitting one.”<sup>20</sup> What is perhaps more important still is that the prologue text contains accusations that can indeed be verified. The critical remarks thrown at Scribe in the Ghost of Shakespeare’s soliloquy are very specific and include direct references to “melodrama,” “pantomime,” and “Harlequin.” Indeed, it is not

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<sup>19</sup> This and the preceding twoquotes are from Brough, *The Enchanted Isle*; underscore in the original.

<sup>20</sup> Schoch, *Not Shakespeare*, 92. Schoch also points out that others were critical of *La! Tempest! Ah!* as it was “doubly guilty of the very offence which it charged *La Tempesta* with having committed since it was itself an adaptation of an adaptation.”

difficult to see the similarities between the stock plot of the nineteenth-century English pantomimes and melodramas and Scribe's adaptation of *La Tempesta*. Prospero, Miranda and Ariel fit nicely into the roles of authoritative father, submissive daughter, and benevolent spirit, while Caliban's drunkenness and chase scenes greatly resemble the antics associated with pantomime. And Scribe's ending for *La Tempesta*, with its spectacular choral finale and its *deus ex machine* featuring Ariel magically transforming the island into a palace, is an almost textbook example of the English pantomime finale. Yet the influence of melodrama is perhaps stronger still. The villainous Caliban, whose sole purpose was the pursuit and domination of Miranda and triumphal revenge over his master Prospero, was, as Brough's Ghost announced, the epitome of a melodramatic villain.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, the mute Ariel, the chaste and naïve Miranda, and the immense spectacle set against the contrasting backgrounds of a tempest at sea and an exotic island paradise provided the London public with a theatrical experience they were not only accustomed to, but demanded.

The elements of pantomime and melodrama are too strong in *La Tempesta* to be considered mere coincidence. Scribe may well have been keenly aware of what pleased London audiences, for as Koon and Switzer point out, "Scribe [was] no *littérateur* aspiring to immortality in the library, but a practicing playwright intimately concerned with the demands of the stage."<sup>22</sup> Where *La Tempesta* is concerned, the Ghost of Shakespeare directly accused Scribe of borrowing an incident from *The Miller and His Men*, a melodrama by Isaac Pocock that was first performed at Covent Garden in 1813. The scene to which the Ghost is referring occurs in Act II

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<sup>21</sup> See Booth, *English Melodrama*, 18, who states that "the moving force of melodrama [. . .] [was] the villain," whose motivations were "revenge on the hero, the acquisition of his money and property, and the possession (sometimes the death) of the heroine."

<sup>22</sup> Koon and Switzer, *Eugène Scribe*, 35.



where Grindoff, the villain, has succeeded in kidnapping Claudine, the virtuous heroine. The setting for scene 2 is a dark forest, and as the scene opens Grindoff enters “with Claudine in his arms.”<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, he is being closely pursued by Count Friberg and his servant Karl. Grindoff manages to escape, however, through a secret passageway. He appears in the following scene “descending the steps of the opening [of a magazine], with Claudine senseless in his arms.”<sup>24</sup> The image of Grindoff carrying off the fragile and helpless Claudine must have been a familiar one at a time when melodrama was the favored genre of theatre in London. Thus it seems reasonable to conclude that directing an evil Caliban to carry an unconscious Miranda around on stage would have been simply in keeping with contemporary popular practice.

According to Michael Booth, *The Miller and His Men* “appeared at the height of the vogue [for melodrama] and contains features familiar in melodrama for the rest of the century: aged and lamenting parent, brave and virtuous young hero, menacing villain, threatened heroine, low comedy, last-minute rescue, a sensational physical effect, and the overthrow of vice and triumph of righteousness.”<sup>25</sup> Melodrama permeated the stages of nineteenth-century Europe, including both lyric and straight drama, and as it contained essentially stock elements, it is unlikely that Scribe borrowed any incidents from any specific work. Rather, he simply drew on a popular theatrical tradition of his own time. A comparison of the characters in Pocock’s melodrama with Scribe’s *La Tempesta* demonstrates that *La Tempesta* does indeed conform to the melodramatic formula (tab. 4). Moreover, as Scribe’s well-made libretto was shaped by

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<sup>23</sup> See Isaac Pocock, “The Miller and His Men” in *English Plays of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Michael Booth, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 60.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

melodrama, it is even more likely that Scribe was simply building on his own formulaic tradition.<sup>26</sup>

Table 4. Comparison of Characters in Pocock's *The Miller and His Men* With Scribe's *La Tempesta*

Function	Character <i>The Miller and His Men</i>	Character <i>La Tempesta</i>
Father	Kelmar	Prospero
Virtuous Heroine	Claudine	Miranda
Hero	Lothair	Fernando
Villian	Grindoff	Caliban
<i>Deus ex Machina</i>	Count Friberg	Ariel

As Koon and Switzer argue, Scribe knew his audiences, and found success more often than not.<sup>27</sup> But perhaps more importantly, Scribe's success with *La Tempesta* was simply a result of popular traditions that shared a common European heritage. *La Tempesta* was a mélange of English melodrama, French opéra comique and grand opéra, and Italian opera seria. These elements represented a variety of European traditions in music and theatre, and while distinct genres eventually developed, the genres retained a great deal of commonality as a result of the intermingling of national traditions. Paradoxically, *La! Tempest! Ah!* attests to *La Tempesta*'s extraordinary success in meeting (and surpassing) London's expectations. But a final test was in

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<sup>26</sup> See chapter two, fn. 94.

<sup>27</sup> See especially Koon and Switzer, *Eugène Scribe*, chapter 2; see also page 18, where the authors relate how Scribe's success often resulted in his selectivity of elemental forces familiar to his audience.

store for the *Tempesta* which would determine whether its mingling of French, Italian and English elements was catholic enough to appeal to opera audiences in Paris as well.

### ***LA TEMPESTA IN PARIS***

Near the end of the run of *La Tempesta* in London, *The Musical World* announced the departure of Carlotta Grisi from the cast, thereby precluding

the further performance of M. Halévy's new work. Of course it would be an impossibility to provide another Ariel, unless Mr. Lumley could find another Carlotta, an event not at all likely; and as Ariel is the soul of *La Tempesta*, and as Carlotta is Ariel, Carlotta having fled, the soul of *La Tempesta* would fly also, and the opera lose its vitality, its essence, and its beauty. Mr. Lumley could not dream of performing *La Tempesta* without Carlotta Grisi.<sup>28</sup>

Lumley apparently did dream of a future for *La Tempesta*, though in the form of a revival production for Paris rather than for London, and indeed without Carlotta Grisi. Considering that the authors were both Frenchmen, the Paris production of *La Tempesta* was a logical move, and in late June of 1850 *The Musical World* announced:

It is understood that the director of the Grand Opera has entered into a negotiation with M. Halévy for the copyright in France of the music of this composer's last grand work, now performing with so much *éclat* at Her Majesty's Theatre, at London. It is to be brought out with the greatest splendour, in which all the resources of this great establishment in scenery, machinery, dresses, and decorations will be applied. It is likely to be the first grand novelty of the ensuing winter season.<sup>29</sup>

*La Tempesta* did indeed cross the channel, but it was not headed for the Paris Opéra as originally announced, but rather for the Théâtre-Italien, and once again in the hands of Benjamin Lumley.

For some time, Lumley had been interested in expanding his managerial duties to include a venue in Paris. What began as a simple concert series featuring Madame Sontag resulted in Lumley's acquisition of the lease for the Théâtre de l'Opéra Italien à Paris. It seems that

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<sup>28</sup> *Musical World* (London), 27 July 1850.

<sup>29</sup> *Musical World* (London), 29 June 1850.

Ronconi, the former lessee of the Théâtre-Italien, had experienced some financial difficulties that he could not recover from, resulting in the revoking of Ronconi's privileges by the Minister of the Interior and the subsequent appointment of Lumley as successor.<sup>30</sup> It was soon announced that the Théâtre-Italien would open in early November, and according to Ruth Jordan, Lumley "proposed inaugurating his lesseeship with *La Tempesta*."<sup>31</sup> As was characteristic of Lumley, his plans changed; and while *La Tempesta* was produced at the Théâtre-Italien as promised, it did not open the season.

*La Tempesta* premiered in Paris on Tuesday, 25 February 1851, though it was announced for the previous Thursday.<sup>32</sup> Lumley, who was busily working back and forth between the two capitals, traveled to Paris for the premiere.<sup>33</sup> Lablache and Sontag resumed their roles as Caliban and Miranda, but new to the cast were Colini as Prospero, Gardoni as Fernando, and Rosati as Ariel.<sup>34</sup> But in addition to an essentially new cast, *La Tempesta* was presented one act shorter than its London counterpart which, according to a reviewer for *La Revue et Gazette Musical de*

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<sup>30</sup> See *Illustrated London News*, 12 October 1850. See also Lumley, *Reminiscences*, 290-292, who states that his lesseeship was attained much through the efforts of Prince Louis Napoleon, whom Lumley had befriended during the Prince's exile in England. For Lumley's account regarding the "obstacles" he encountered in the process of acquiring the Théâtre-Italien, see especially chapter 19.

<sup>31</sup> Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 151. See also *Illustrated London News*, 19 October 1850.

<sup>32</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 22 February 1851. See also *Illustrated London News*, 1 March 1851. It seems the delay may have been a result over a managerial dispute having something to do with the casting of Rosati as Ariel.

<sup>33</sup> *Musical World* (London), 1 March 1851.

<sup>34</sup> As was typical of the period, many of the performers alternated seasons between two opera houses. See Steven Huebner, "Opera Audiences in Paris 1830-1870," in *Music & Letters* 20, no. 2 (May 1989): 210, who states that "many of the Italian singers had other engagements on the European Italian-opera circuit during the remaining months" of the season.

*Paris*, was in keeping with the requirements of “our [Parisian’s] Italian stage.”<sup>35</sup> According to several sources, almost the entire third act was cut, and the *denouement* of the third act was transferred to the end of Act II, “immediately after Lablache’s drunken scene.”<sup>36</sup> For those who witnessed the production in London as well, the change was a welcome one, and a correspondent for *The Musical World* concluded that “the opera is much improved by the omission of the last act.”<sup>37</sup> *The Illustrated London News* approved as well, saying:

The third act is judiciously cut in Paris, the opera terminating after Lablache’s orgie, with *Miranda*’s seizure of the bouquet, the release of *Ariel* from the oak, the restoration of *Prospero*, and the union of the lovers.<sup>38</sup>

And *The Bell’s New Weekly Bulletin* even went so far as to say that the cut “solves the difficulty which made Mendelssohn reject the *libretto* in its original form, by something like a total destruction of the parts of *Prospero* and *Ferdinand*,—since the sole interest of the piece must now lie on *Caliban*’s Atlantean shoulders.”<sup>39</sup>

Indeed, it appears that the producers decided to put their trust in Lablache, whose incredible performances, particularly in Act II of the London *Tempesta*, made the final act pale in comparison. In this particular instance, they were right. The Parisians were greatly impressed by the Caliban of Lablache, who was praised for his ability to create the illusion of a monster,

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<sup>35</sup> *Revue et Gazette Musical de Paris*, 2 March 1851: “La pièce durait plus longtemps à Londres: elle avait un act de plus, et cet acte, ajouté par M. Scribe à Shakspeare [*sic*], on l’a d’abord raccourci, diminué, pour le reduire aux proportions habituelles de notre scène italienne.”

<sup>36</sup> *Musical World* (London), 8 March 1851.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 8 March 1851.

<sup>39</sup> *Bell’s New Weekly Bullentin* (London), 9 March 1851.

and was described as having performed “with the art of a genius.”<sup>40</sup> Sontag’s Miranda was considered praiseworthy as well, and the majority of Halévy’s music was deemed the music of a master. But by far the performer who received the most attention of the evening was the dancer Carolina Rosati. The attention, however, was not centered around details of her performance, but rather on an unfortunate accident that occurred during the opening prologue. The event was graphically described by the reviewer for *La Revue et Gazette Musical de Paris*:

The prologue of *La Tempesta* was about to begin. We were still enjoying the impressions created by the instrumental introduction written with an extraordinary vigor, agitated as the waves, exploding with thunder and crisscrossed with lightening, full of cries of alarm and the promise of death. The curtain was raised to reveal the stern of a ship being delivered to all the fury of the wind and of the heavens unleashed in the orchestra. The kind Ariel, docile and graceful promoter of the horrible torrents, had barely jumped from the mast to the bridge, when a trap door, which was to be used later, opened all of a sudden its horrible mouth as to devour him, and as if the terrible Caliban, his eager enemy, had been the stagehand of the theatre. The spirit of the air faltered and fell headlong. Her body was broken and her leg was cut; she was carried into the wings more dead than alive. The entire hall remained still and mute with stupor.<sup>41</sup>

The injuries to Rosati were not as serious as they must have appeared to the audience, for the dancer, after a brief pause, resumed her performance. It was later announced that she had

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<sup>40</sup> *Revue et Gazette Musical de Paris*, 2 March 1851. “Il [Lablache] luvre la bouche, il parle, il maudit, et sa voix *nil mortale sonans* complete l’illusion que sa vue a produite [ . . . ] . Lablache rend tout cela en artiste de genie.”

<sup>41</sup> *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 2 March 1851. “Le prologue de la *Tempesta* venait de commencer. Nous étions encore sous la vive impression d’une introduction instrumentale écrite avec une vigueur extraordinaire, agitée comme les flots, éclatante comme la foudre, sillonnée d’éclairs, pleine de cris d’alarme et de presages de mort. Le rideau se levait sur l’arrière d’un vaisseau livre à toutes les fureurs des vents et du ciel déchaînées dans l’orchestre. Le gentil Ariel, promoteur docile et gracieux de l’horrible tourmente, sautait à peine d’un mât sur le tillac, lorsqu’une trappe, qui ne devait jouer que plus tard, ouvre tout à coup sa bouche affreuse comme pour le dévorer, et comme si le terrible Caliban, son ennemi acharné, eût été machiniste du theater. L’esprit de l’air chancelle et tombe de sa hauteur. Son corps est brisé, sa jambe déchirée; on l’emporte dans la coulisse plus mort que vif. La sale entière reste immobile et muette de stupeur.”

received only a “severe blow,” and was praised for the “devotion and excesses of courage” she displayed in continuing her performance to the end of the opera.<sup>42</sup>

Excepting the unfortunate circumstances of Rosati’s accident, *La Tempesta* was deemed an overwhelming success, and the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* proclaimed:

It has fully succeeded; one can say to Paris, as one had written to London some months back: *The hit is decisive!*<sup>43</sup>

But to others, the accident on opening night seemed a portent for things to come. The same reviewer also pointed out that the Théâtre-Italien was a theatre infamous for its capriciousness, and that success at the Théâtre-Italien was “not the easiest to obtain” by any means.<sup>44</sup> This statement was further supported by French music critic Oscar Comettant, who wrote in a subsequent article:

I do not know what the capricious destiny of the theatres reserves for *La Tempesta*. Two performances have been given with long intervals in between, and the interruption this week as a result of the event by which Mme. Rosati is the poetic and gracious victim has, in the opinion of some people, compromised the success born of this opera.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> See *Musical World* (London), 8 March 1851; and *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 2 March 1851: “Autant M. Lumley en a dû dire à Mlle. Rosati, lorsque, par dévouement, par excès de courage, la jeune et jolie danseuse s’est décidée poursuivre sa tâche et à la conduire bravement jusqu’à la fin.”

<sup>43</sup> *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 2 March 1851: “Elle a réussi pleinement; on peut à Paris, comme on l’écrivait à Londres il y a quelques mois: *The hit is decisive.*”

<sup>44</sup> *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 2 March 1851: “Mais le succès de Londres n’était pour la *Tempesta* qu’un point de départ: il lui fallait encore le succès de Paris, et celui-là n’était pas le plus facile à obtenir au Théâtre-Italien de Paris.”

<sup>45</sup> *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 16 March 1851: “Je ne sais pas quel sort le destin capricieux des théâtres réserve chez nous à la *Tempesta*. Deux représentations données de longs intervalles, et interrompues cette semaine par suite de l’événement dont Mme. Rosati est la poétique et gracieuse victime, ont pu compromettre dans l’opinion de quelques personnes le succès naissant de cet opéra.”

While Rosati bravely saw her commitment to the end of the performance at the premiere, there was no denying that “a damp was thrown over the performance,” and *La Tempesta* ultimately lost its momentum.<sup>46</sup> It appeared that the *Tempesta* indeed could not “stand the rough-and-tumble usage of the Opera,” and it was withdrawn after only eight performances.<sup>47</sup>

Of course the London journals had their opinions as to the reasons *La Tempesta* failed in Paris. Notwithstanding the fact that Parisian audiences greatly appreciated Lablache’s talent as a performer, one critic believed the grotesquery exhibited by his Caliban “to have puzzled the Parisian amateurs not deeply versed in Shakespeare.”<sup>48</sup> Moreover, a critic for *Bell’s New Weekly Bulletin* reported that:

The opera did not appear to find much favour with the Parisians, who, not having the *prestige* of Shakspeare’s [sic] exquisite poem to give it adventitious aid, seemed scarcely to comprehend it.<sup>49</sup>

These instances of reverse cultural bias are substantiated by Ruth Jordan, who has offered that “the mixture of Shakespeare, Scribe and an Italian libretto left Paris cold.”<sup>50</sup>

Even Halévy did not come away unscathed. The majority of the reviews found favor with his music, but most of the commendations were aimed specifically at the wonderfully atmospheric music of the prologue. Comettant vociferously praised Halévy’s prologue, saying:

The entirety of the prologue of the *Tempesta* was a worthy composition of the most beautiful pages of the master.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 8 March 1851.

<sup>47</sup> *Message Bird* (New York), 1 April 1851. See also Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 152.

<sup>48</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 8 March 1851.

<sup>49</sup> *Bell’s New Weekly Bulletin* (London), 9 March 1851.

<sup>50</sup> Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 152.



Yet in the very same article, Comettant berated Halévy for borrowing from the Italian style:

You [Halévy] have wished to imitate the genre of the Italian school, but permit me to reproach you. When one has the good fortune of writing as M. Halévy, it is only M. Halévy that should be imitated.<sup>52</sup>

Comettant's comments belie another strain of cultural bias among Parisian critics not unlike the bias we examined among Londoners in chapter one. To understand this bias better, it would be most useful to examine the comments on Italian music that Comettant makes near the beginning of his article:

In evaluating certain scores of Bellini or of Donizetti, the richest of inspirations [such as] *La Sonnambula*, *Norma*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, some of which have the power to charm one with its abundance of melody, one feels that these operas, so justly admired elsewhere, do not rise to the height of dramatic works of the first order. This is not the case with *Guillaume Tell*, for example, nor *Robert-le-Diable*, *Les Huguenots*, *Le Prophète*, *La Juive*, *Charles VI*, and plenty of other works that join in melodic inspiration this mark of grandeur which concerns style.<sup>53</sup>

In numbering only French grand opéras in his list of “first order works,” and to the detriment of Italian grand opera at that, Comettant provides an example of the measuring tool by which works were evaluated by certain French critics. Another critic for the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* demonstrated a similar attitude, and censured Halévy by saying that his music for *La*

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<sup>51</sup> *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 16 March 1851: “[...] que le prologue tout entire de la *Tempesta* était une composition digne des plus belles pages du maître.”

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.: “Vous avez voulu imiter le genre de l’école italienne, permettez-moi de vous en faire un reproche. Quand on a le bonheur d’écrire comme M. Halévy, ce n’est que M. Halévy qu’il faut imiter.”

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.: “A l’audition de certaines partitions de Bellini ou de Donizetti, les plus riches d’inspiration, la *Sonnambula*, *Norma*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, quelque charmé que l’on puisse être par l’abondance des melodies, on sent que ces opéras, si justement admirés d’ailleurs, ne s’élèvent pas à la hauteur des ouvrages dramatiques de premier order. Ce doute ne peut exister un instant pour *Guillaume Tell*, par exemple, *Robert-le-Diable*, les *Huguenots*, le *Prophète*, la *Juive*, *Charles VI*, et plusieurs autres ouvrages qui réunissent l’inspiration mélodique ce cachet de grandeur qui relève du style.”

*Tempesta*, “although often Italian in inspiration, is not always so in the details of its manifestation.”<sup>54</sup> Others were much less kind. A correspondent for *The Message Bird* brusquely stated:

The *Tempesta* here is not deemed a success. M. Halévy has his merits, but to write an opera for Italian artists, such as Lablache and Sontag, requires a temperament and inspirations different from what seem to have fallen to his lot. A spontaneous, passionate, graceful melody, cannot be dispensed with for any of the secondary infusion of orchestral treatment, or contrapuntal frigidity and calculation. This melody cannot be found in Halévy. In several places he fell, it seemed to me, below the level of a tolerable extemporization, not to mention the production of the happiest moments of a really gifted melodist.<sup>55</sup>

Despite the acrimony of this particular review, Halévy did not suffer much as a result of the failure of *La Tempesta* at the Théâtre-Italien. Regarding the effect of *La Tempesta* on Halévy’s career in Paris, Jordan cites the general opinion of even Halévy’s closest friends: “Without harming the Master’s name it [*La Tempesta*] did nothing to enhance it.”<sup>56</sup>

So it is most curious that Halévy, who had won so much favor with the audiences at Her Majesty’s Theatre, was denied a reception in his native country that was at least equal to that of London. With its amalgamation of spectacle, ballet, choral singing, Italianate arias and melodramatic derived plot, *La Tempesta* had something that was sure to have pleased the majority of the audiences.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps the French critics were correct in their estimation that the work never really made it off the ground as a result of Rosati’s accident. Or, as the English

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<sup>54</sup> *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 2 March 1851: “La musique d’Halévy, quoique souvent italienne d’inspiration, ne l’est nullement dans les détails de sa facture.”

<sup>55</sup> *Message Bird* (New York), 15 April 1851.

<sup>56</sup> Ludovic Halévy, *Fromental Halévy sa vie et ses œuvres*, 48, cited in Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 152.

<sup>57</sup> See Charlton, “Grand Opéra,” 85-140.

critics pointed out, the plot of *La Tempête* could well have seemed incomprehensible to a public versed in a longstanding neoclassical tradition that ultimately rejected anything Shakespearean. Even taking the inherent romantic tendencies of grand opéra into consideration, the French had really never understood Shakespeare, and the introduction of his plays into French theatre was fraught with problems. In choosing to produce a work based on Shakespeare, Lumley faced a staunch resistance that had existed for years. While it is true that the dynamic performances of English companies that toured France during the early years of the nineteenth century helped to overcome this resistance, “French qualms were by no means allayed.”<sup>58</sup> As Furst concludes:

The third English company, which came to Paris in 1844-45, still shocked the French with their performances of *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet*.<sup>59</sup>

While there was certainly a species of cultural bias active in London during the run of *La Tempête*, its presence was not so strong as to impact the overall reception of the opera. Yet it appears that the particular form of cultural bias surrounding Shakespeare in France, so entrenched in the culture, may have been a significant force at work in the failed reception of *La Tempête* in Paris. This particular characteristic was even commented on by a reviewer for *La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, who in regard to the nature of London audiences, stated:

It is true that in the creation of art, this public [London] does not have nearly the prejudices as some, and that it [a foreign performance] would be received well provided the foreign sources were good.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Furst, “Romantic Drama,” 8.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 2 March 1851: “Il est vrai qu’en fait d’art, ce public n’a presque pas de préjugés, et qu’il accueille bien, pourvu qu’elles soient bonnes, toutes les provenances étrangères.”

As it pertains to *La Tempesta*, this statement perhaps gives more credit to Londoners than need be. What the author seems to have forgotten is that it was the authorship of *La Tempesta* that was foreign; the source was English, and the result was spectacular. In France, the source was foreign, and the result was inevitable.

#### CONCLUSIONS: “WHAT STRENGTH I HAVE’S MINE OWN”<sup>61</sup>

In his biography of Countess Henrietta Sontag-Rossi, Frank Russell made a brief but very succinct reference to the London run of *La Tempesta*, stating:

The success on the first night was tremendous, due to some good music in the score but mostly due to the excitement of the occasion. The initial momentum carried it along for some time, so that it was sung nearly every night for a few weeks but, eventually, it was found to be a second-rate work.<sup>62</sup>

While Russell provides no sources affirming the work was later “found to be second-rate,” this particular point really lies outside the scope of this study. What lies closer to the heart of this study is his comment regarding “the excitement of the occasion” and its “initial momentum.” As a specimen of cultural reception in mid-nineteenth-century Europe, *La Tempesta* was indeed a “national event.”<sup>63</sup> It was the embodiment of all the leading elements of lyrical drama of its time: melodrama, Italian singing, atmospheric harmony, grand spectacle, star performers, and of course, Shakespeare. Its success was a result of a collaboration among talented singers, dancers, scenic designers, painters, costumers, musicians, and a gifted composer and librettist. But this success was equally, if not more, dependent on a composer and librettist who were not only

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<sup>61</sup> Norton Shakespeare (Epilogue.2), 3106.

<sup>62</sup> Frank Russell, *Queen of Song: The Life of Henrietta Sontag* (New York: Exposition Press, 1964), 209.

<sup>63</sup> *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 16 June 1850: “C’était presque un événement national pour l’Angleterre et pour la France, et cet événement se résume en trios noms illustres: Shakspeare [sic], Scribe et Halévy.”

experts in their respective fields, but who also had the flexibility to create a work of art based on the particular tastes of their audience.

Moreover, the audience for which Scribe and Halévy wrote was one who found themselves in the midst of many changes. First, audiences in mid-century London were much more heterogeneous than ever before, with an increasing number of middle-class citizens joining the upper classes in pursuit of operatic entertainment.<sup>64</sup> Perhaps more importantly, however, was a change in opera-going as an event. As Jennifer Lee Hall argues in her study, “two distinctive modes of audience behavior” had emerged by 1850: “in one, the audience socializes during the performance and listens to only the most popular arias; in the other, it remains silent and approaches the opera as a cohesive work.”<sup>65</sup> Opera-going as a fashionable event was quickly succumbing to opera-going as a spectator event, yet *La Tempesta* premiered at a time when “event- and work- approaches to the interpretation of opera existed alongside one another,” and “members of the audience combined elements of each in the meaning they ascribed to opera-going.”<sup>66</sup>

Yet another change centered around the nature of operatic style itself. During the first half of the nineteenth century, opera-goers in London thrived on the works of Cimarossa, Mayr, and Pacini, among others, but the most popular were those of Rossini and Mozart.<sup>67</sup> After 1830,

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<sup>64</sup> Cowgill, “Wise Men,” remains useful.

<sup>65</sup> Hall, “Re-fashioning,” 323.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> See Fenner, *Opera in London*, 93; and Hall “Re-fashioning,” 267. Chorley, *Thirty Years*, also remains useful.

the operas of Bellini and Donizetti gained widespread appeal, and by mid-century, a writer for the *Musical World* stated:

Donizetti, in one respect, must be considered the most extraordinary man of his age. Without decided of genius he has become the most popular dramatic writer of the day. Mozart is neglected—Rossini forgotten—Bellini beginning to pall upon the taste; but the grand *maestro*, as some of the small journals of the Continent style him, has reached the topmost point of public favor, from which, so far from descending—the natural and inevitable concomitant of genius—he seems to rise hourly higher, heaping l’elion upon the Mount Ossa of his musical reputation.<sup>68</sup>

At about the same time in Italy, Giuseppe Verdi was making a name for himself with such works as *Nabucco* (1842) and *Ernani* (1843), and in 1851 he premiered his masterpiece *Rigoletto* at the Teatro La Fenice in Venice.<sup>69</sup> But unlike his predecessors Bellini and Donizetti, Verdi struggled to find an audience in England. According to Chorley, Verdi was first introduced to the English opera public with a performance of his *Ernani* in 1845, and the work was “received with curiosity rather than sympathy.”<sup>70</sup> As Verdi rose in popularity in Italy, maintaining “almost singlehanded[ly] the cause of Italian opera against the tide of enthusiasm for Wagner” and vindicating “the tradition of Scarlatti and Rossini,” England could find only fault.<sup>71</sup> His music was “though not altogether deficient in the quality of *tune*, [. . .] in every other respect deplorably bald—sicculent as the sirocco, barren as the sands.”<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> *Musical World* (London), 16 October 1847.

<sup>69</sup> See Roger Parker, “Rigoletto” in *The New Grove Book of Operas*, ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 537; and Grout, *Short History*, 362.

<sup>70</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years’*, 165.

<sup>71</sup> Grout, *Short History*, 362.

<sup>72</sup> *Musical World* (London), 6 March 1847.

The year 1847, however, appears to be a turning point in the history of opera in London. Verdi had still not found a home in London, and was considered by Chorley to be “the most untender of Italians, past, present (let it be hoped), to come.”<sup>73</sup> Yet it was also the same year that the Italian Opera at Her Majesty’s Theatre was rivaled by the new Italian Opera at Covent Garden. The sensations resulting from the “Jenny Lind crush” and *La Tempesta* were Lumley’s attempts to save a failing theatre. Yet they were not necessarily in line with the changes occurring in the London operatic audiences. Jenny Lind’s brief time at Her Majesty’s Theatre and Scribe’s and Halévy’s collaboration on *La Tempesta* sustained Her Majesty’s because they fulfilled the expectations of a waning, event-approach public. In contrast, the Italian Opera at Covent Garden had begun to feature new works, particularly the operas of Meyerbeer.

Meyerbeer’s *Robert le Diable* had been a staple in London since 1832, but according to Chorley, it had “never been accepted as a favourite [*sic*] by [the] public.”<sup>74</sup> During the season of 1847, however, *Robert* was performed at Her Majesty’s Theatre with Jenny Lind in the title role of Alice, and was “received with applause which was neither encouragement nor appreciation nor enthusiasm so much as idolatry.”<sup>75</sup> While it was inevitably the “Jenny Lind crush” and not the audience’s sudden recognition of Meyerbeer’s genius that created the sensation surrounding this performance of Meyerbeer’s work, the event did seem to usher in a new era for the appreciation of Meyerbeer’s works, and for French opera in general.<sup>76</sup> A year later *Les*

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<sup>73</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 183.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-35.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

<sup>76</sup> See Hall, “Re-fashioning,” 268, who states that “beginning in the late 1840’s and early 1850’s, composers of French grand opera exerted greater influence than they had earlier, particularly Meyerbeer and Auber,” and that it was “the Royal Italian Opera at Covent Garden [that] performed French grand opera much more frequently than Her Majesty’s.”

*Huguenots* was presented at Covent Garden with tremendous success, and the sensation created by its subsequent performances was touted by the *Illustrated London News* as increasing “tenfold at every performance.”<sup>77</sup> Halévy’s *La Juive* followed in 1850 with similar success, and French grand opéra, though on the wane in Paris, was finally established in London.<sup>78</sup>

Thus it can be concluded that *La Tempesta* was produced for a public in the midst of a significant period of transition. Covent Garden had begun presenting “the splendid series of Meyerbeer productions which,” as Klein asserts, “unquestionably had an important influence in improving the taste of the opera-going public.” Taking into account both Cowgill’s and Hall’s studies of the changing tide of audience behavior during the same time period, it is likely that the introduction of new works such as these helped to expedite the shift from an “event-approach” to opera-going to a “work-approach.”<sup>79</sup> At the same time, the longstanding domination of the works of Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti, while still in vogue with audiences in 1850, would gradually succumb to those of Verdi, who according to Chorley, “at last arrived at his real popularity in England” with his *Il Trovatore* in 1855.<sup>80</sup> In *La Tempesta*, Halévy and Scribe managed to unite “all the magnificence of modern art, ripening in the sun of the three great schools: Italian,

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<sup>77</sup> *Illustrated London News*, cited in Rosenthal, “Covent Garden,” 33. See also Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 146-147, who describes how *Les Huguenots* was introduced to the London public in an interesting mixture of Italian and French. Note that this was an anomaly; French operas given at either Her Majesty’s or Covent Garden were normally presented in Italian translations.

<sup>78</sup> See Charlton, “Opera 1850-1890: France,” in *Romanticism*, ed. Gerald Abraham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 327-328, who states that “the 1850’s bear the hallmarks of a transitional period” in France, particularly through the numerous changes in theatrical venues, the advent of *opéra lyrique*, and the sensation created by Gounod’s *Faust*.

<sup>79</sup> Klein, *Golden Age*, xxi. See also Hall, “Re-fashioning,” 343-344, who cites a production at Covent Garden in 1849 whereby one audience member described his intention to “sit and see [the] grand opera in great ease and quiet.” Cowgill, “Wise Men,” remains useful.

<sup>80</sup> Chorley, *Thirty Years*, 343. See also Hall, “Re-fashioning,” 268, who states that “by the 1850’s, his [Verdi’s] works accounted for nearly a quarter of the repertoire at Her Majesty’s Theatre.”



German and French.”<sup>81</sup> The Rossinian-influenced arias and ensembles, the spectacle, the ballet and the cast of international opera stars provided fare for the event-oriented patrons, while the romantic tendencies associated with Caliban’s music, the catholic vogue for melodrama, and the inimitably English Shakespearean subject matter satisfied the expectations of both event- and work-approach audience members.

Looking back, the extraordinary events surrounding the production of *La Tempesta* in mid-century London can be viewed as a benchmark in the continuous development of western music and drama. In the realm of lyrical drama, *La Tempesta* represents a unique intermingling of national styles and genres, and while the opera has by no means made its way into the mainstream of operatic repertoire, it is nonetheless significant. It represents not only the musical and theatrical elements favored by the contemporary nineteenth-century public, but in some ways, it also looks to the future of lyric drama. The cosmopolitan features of *La Tempesta* are not at all unlike those exhibited in the works of such composers as Handel and Mozart, and while Halévy’s and Scribe’s contributions to French grand opéra and opéra comique should not be overlooked, their collaboration in London also contributed to the continued advancement of lyric drama. As Diana Hallman observes:

Halévy’s work was inspired by many past composers, including his beloved teacher Cherubini, but also contemporaries such as Rossini, Meyerbeer [,] and Auber. In turn, the operas of Donizetti, Verdi [,] and Wagner, among others, bear his influence, something which is reflected in criticism of the day.<sup>82</sup>

Moreover, it is significant not only that Scribe’s treatment of a Shakespearean play antedates the popular Shakespearean adaptations by Berlioz, Gounod, and Verdi, but also that *La Tempesta*

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<sup>81</sup> *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 16 June 1850: “Dans d’autres, et notamment dans le prologue, il a déployé, comme il sait le faire, toutes les magnificences de l’art moderne, mûri au soleil des trios grandes écoles italienne, allemande et française.”

<sup>82</sup> Hallman, “Grand Operas,” 257.

premiered just as the works of Shakespeare were being reintroduced to a welcoming English audience.

By mid-century, Shakespeare was recognized throughout Europe as “one of the touchstones of Romantic sensibility,” yet the admiration of his works became so strong that he remained a prominent figure even as romanticism gradually evolved into the movement known as realism.<sup>83</sup> As Brockett observes:

Until about 1830 the movement called romanticism, with its idealistic views and yearnings for natural man and equality, dominated both artistic and social thought. But the failure of the 1830 uprisings turned this idealism, already weakened by earlier events, into disillusionment. Thereafter pessimism grew. Around 1850 a new movement—realism—began to replace the romantic vision.<sup>84</sup>

In London, Shakespeare was reintroduced to the English public in the pictorially realistic productions of Charles Kean, who was in essence continuing and building on the work of Macready and Phelps. In Italy, Shakespeare was described by contemporary critics as “more spontaneous and truthful [. . .] than the regimented drama of the French tradition,” and according to David Kimbell, “Verdi was determined that its [Shakespearean tragedy’s] awe-inspiring characters should not be watered down into stereotypes of Romantic melodrama.”<sup>85</sup> And the discussion seemingly comes full circle as we turn to France, where Scribe had a seminal influence on the realistic movement. As Oscar Brockett concludes, while Scribe “was not associated with the realistic movement,” it was “his well-made play formula, emphasizing as it

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<sup>83</sup> Kimbel, *Italian Opera*, 491. The premiere dates for Verdi’s Shakespearean operas are *Macbeth* (1847); *Otello* (1887); and *Falstaff* (1893). The premiere dates for Berlioz’s and Gounod’s operas are, respectively, *Béatrice et Bénédicte* (1862) and *Roméo et Juliette* (1867). While Verdi’s *Macbeth* was composed before *La Tempesta*, it did not find favor in London until much later, as established earlier.

<sup>84</sup> Brockett, *History*, 425.

<sup>85</sup> Kimbell, “Romantic Opera 1830-1850: Italy” in *Romanticism*, 168-169.

did the seemingly logical development from cause to effect” that supplied the later realists with “a suitable form for their ideas.”<sup>86</sup>

*La Tempesta*, then, simultaneously embodies past, present, and future. It not only represents the culmination of the stylistic characteristics of a particular era and the tastes of a particular culture, it also represents these characteristics and tastes *in the process of change*. The *Illustrated London News* put it best when it proclaimed in its initial review that “*La Tempesta* [. . .] form[ed] a new epoch in lyrical art.”<sup>87</sup> While the opera was produced under extremely difficult circumstances, Lumley’s refusal to spare no expenses in artistic resources, working in tandem with Scribe’s and Halévy’s informed decisions regarding musical and literary elements, resulted in an artistic effort that not only assumed a high position in the “lyrical annals” of mid-century London, but can also be viewed as a significant event in which a number of national and international elements coalesced, though only for a brief while, into a cultural phenomenon of historic proportions.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Brockett, *History*, 491.

<sup>87</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

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**APPENDIX A**

**OPENING LINES OF SIGNIFICANT ARIAS**



**Example 1. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 3, Cavatina "Andantino"**

Andantino

Miranda

Par - mi una voce il murmur-e dell' au-re edei ru - scel — li, gor-gheggianno gl'uc-cel - li ar -  
ca - ni sen - si al cor, han lu-ce in ciel più lim - pi - da pùì gratoolezzo i fior;

**Example. 2. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 3 Cavatina "Allegro"**

Allegro

Miranda

Rapitaallorin es-tasid'un puroe vi-vo a-more, d'un — puro — e vi - vo a-mor, Ah!

**Example 3. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 4 Romanza**

Andantino

Prospero

Sorge un fior sovrain os-pita spiaggia, lo ca - rezza un leggier ven-ti - cello — gli da  
l'ac-que cor - te - seil ru - scel - lo, l'alb - ail pian - to, la luc - eil - co - lor! —

**Example 4. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 5 Terzetto, mm. 57-61**

Allegro non troppo

Caliban

In quest' i - so - la ra - pi - ta a mia madre un di — da te,

**Example 5. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 5 Terzetto, mm. 164-167**

Caliban

O ma - dre, se al per - fi - do — sol - trar - ti un di po - trai,

Example 6. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 5 Terzetto, mm. 221-224

Prospero

Mos - tro na - to nell' I - ra del cie - lo,

Example 7. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 6, mm. 111-118

Voce invisibile

Più lento

All' alma tua che ge-me, al tuo marri-to cor da - ranno gioiain - sie-me fede, speranza, a - mor,

Example 8. *La Tempesta*: Act I, No. 7 Cavatina "Andantino," mm. 7-14

Fernando

Andantino

Ca-ra, so-ave, a - e - re-a vo-ce che a me dis - cen - di e al

cor la vi-ta ren - di e ren - di il mo-to al piè, ah!

Example 9. *La Tempesta*: Act I, No. 7 Cavatina "Allegretto," mm. 79-86

Fernando

Allegretto

Voce che ten-ti can - giar il mio fa-to, di forme ri - den-ti tu ves-ti il cre - ato,

Example. 10. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 8, mm. 28-35

Fernando

Andantino mosso

S'odio eor - ror di me non hai, nel ve-der-mi, ah, -dim-mial - me-no, se ti

bat - teil cor in se - no, co - me in sen mi bat<sup>3</sup> te il cor, ah!

Example 11. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 9, mm. 63-65

**Allegro Moderato**

Caliban

*p* Come il ser - pe cal - pe - sta - to al - zail ca-po e si re - bel-la, —

Example 12. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 9, mm. 87-88

Caliban

Ora un bran - co di fol - let - ti

Example 13. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 9, mm. 149-152

Caliban

O ma-dre, di questa I-so-la tu già pa - drone un di, tu già pa - drone un di,

Example 14. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 10, mm. 69-75

Caliban

Ah! sen - to, — sento-un-a fiamma in - so - li-ta in - va-der-mi, inon - dar - mi

Example 15. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 11, mm. 2-5

**Andantino grazioso**

Miranda

Pure mi scuote ed a - gita un senso i - gnoto un senso ignoto e — nuo - vo, ah,

Example 16. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 11, mm. 12-14

Caliban

Come è bel - la, come è bel - la; ah, quanto è bel - la; av-vam-pa-mi

Example 17. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 11, mm. 146-149

Caliban

Non può tuo padre in - ten-der-ti, - e A - rei - le, che ti sen - te,

**Example 18. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 11, mm. 172-175**

Caliban

E pur giunto il mo-men - to bra ma - to di sfo - far sù di te mia ven - det - ta,

**Example 19. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 12, mm. 131-134**

Stefano

Moderato

San - to li-quer che in - fon - di co rag - gio al vile in - cor - re

**Example 20. *La Tempesta*: Act II, No. 12, mm. 160-167**

Stephano

Allegro

Viva - il Rhum che - fa can - ta - re, che fa ri - der, - fa bal - la - re

**Example 21. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 13, mm. 119-126**

Miranda

Deh togli, o si - gnore, Il mi-se-re core a tanta ama - rezza, a tan - to — ros - sor!

**Example 22. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 13, mm. 229-231**

Caliban

Ma mi par.... ma mi par chè la ter - ra tra bal - li,

**Example 23. *La Tempesta*: Act III, no. 14, 73-76, mm. 73-76**

Prospero

Per sem-pre-i-ne - so - ra - bi - le, come - a Ca-i - no Id - di - <sup>3</sup> o,


**Example 24. *La Tempesta*: Act III, no. 15, mm. 23-26**

Miranda

Ques - ta fron - te, — ques - to vi - so pari agli an - ge - li del cie - lo,

**Example 25. *La Tempesta*: Act III, no. 15, mm. 330-332**

Voce Invisibile



Ta sol vi re - sti, signo - re e rè:

Detailed description: This musical example shows a single staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The melody begins with a whole rest, followed by a quarter note B-flat, a dotted half note G, a quarter note F, a quarter note E, a quarter note D, a quarter note C, a quarter note B-flat, and a quarter note A. The lyrics are aligned under the notes: 'Ta' under the first B-flat, 'sol' under the G, 'vi' under the F, 're -' under the E, 'sti,' under the D, 'signo -' under the C, 're' under the B-flat, and 'e rè:' under the A.

**Example 26. *La Tempesta*: Act III, no. 15, mm. 350-353**

Miranda



Spar-ir tor - menti e pene, vin - se na - tu - ra e a - mo - - - re,

Detailed description: This musical example shows a single staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The melody is more active than in Example 25, featuring many eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics are: 'Spar-ir' under the first two notes, 'tor -' under the next two, 'menti e' under the next two, 'pene,' under the next two, 'vin -' under the next two, 'se na -' under the next two, 'tu -' under the next two, 'ra e' under the next two, 'a -' under the next two, 'mo -' under the next two, and '- - - re,' under the final notes.

## **APPENDIX B**

### **OPENING LINES OF SIGNIFICANT CHORUS THEMES**

**Example 1. *La Tempesta*: Prologue, mm. 98-102**

**Moderato** *f con energia*

Soprani

Assas - sind'unfratello inno - cen - te, \_\_\_\_\_ D'un de - litto tu complice in - fa - me \_\_\_\_\_

Tenori

Ah! \_\_\_\_\_ Ah! \_\_\_\_\_

Bassi

Ah! \_\_\_\_\_ Ah! \_\_\_\_\_

**Example 2. *La Tempesta*: Prologue, Preghiera, mm. 1-4**

**Andante religioso** *pp* *dolcissimo, con molta espressione*

Soprani

Nu - me, che ira - to i flut - ti sol - le - vi, la

Tenori

Nu - me, che ira - to i flut - ti sol - le - vi, la

Bassi

Nu - me, che ira - to i flut - ti sol - le - vi, la

**Example 3. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 12, mm. 52-57**

Tenori

*f*

8

Ciop-pres-se ab-bas-tan-za dei ma-li il pen-sier, la\_\_ vi-ta che av-van-za

Bassi

*f*

Ciop-pres-se ab-bas-tan-za dei ma-li il pen-sier,\_\_ la vi-ta che av-van-za

**Example 4. *La Tempesta*: Act III, no. 15, mm. 321-325**

Soprani I

*p*

Regninsoli in ogni petto amista, costanza, a-mor; regninsoli in ogni petto amista, costanza, a-mor!

Soprani II

*p*

Regninsoli in ogni petto amista, costanza, a-mor; regninsoli in ogni petto amista, costanza, a-mor!

Tenori

*p*

8

Regninsoli in ogni petto amista, costanza, a-mor; regninsoli in ogni petto amista, costanza, a-mor!

Bassi

*p*

Regninsoli in ogni petto amista, costanza, a-mor; regninsoli in ogni petto amista, costanza, a-mor!



## **APPENDIX C**

### **OPENING LINES OF SIGNIFICANT ENSEMBLE THEMES**

Example 1. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 5, mm. 94-99

Miranda

Alma cru - deema - le - det - ta!

Prospero

ed il ben chea fe fee' i - o? scono-

Caliban

creb-be l'o - dio edil fu-

Orch.

*p* *p* *crescendo sempre*

ed or pre - ghial pa - dre mi - o

scen - te mo - leab - biet - ta, tre ma

ror ed or pre - goal pa - dre tu - o do-

*crescendo sempre*

**Example 2. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 5, mm. 135-138**

Miranda  
Tan - toin u-dir quel per - fi-do non eb - bi or - ror giam - mai;

Prospero  
Tan - toin u-dir quel per - fi-do non eb - bi or - ror giam - mai;

**Example 3. *La Tempesta*: Act I, no. 5, mm. 270-271**

Miranda  
*Andantino*  
*dolce*  
Ah! pel ter - ror ch'io sen - to,

Caliban  
*p*  
ah, quel ti mor ch'io sen - to,

**Example 4. *La Tempesta*: Act I, No. 8, mm. 80-83**

Miranda  
*Andante espressivo dolce*  
Cie - lo perche m'ar-res - to, che av-ven - ne, o-ve-son i - o?

Fernando  
Cie - lo perche m'ar-res - to, che av-ven - ne, o ve son i - o?

**Example 5. *La Tempesta*: Act II, no. 11, mm. 22-25**

Miranda  
*tr*  
Pu - re miscuote ed a - gita un senso i - gno - to un sensoigno - to ed nuo - vo,

Caliban  
Av-vampami, avvampami un tal incendioil cor,

## **APPENDIX D**

### **GRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS OF PRIMARY KEY AREAS**

## Key

Whole Notes = Primary key areas

Half Notes = Secondary key areas

Quarter Notes = Temporary/Transitory key areas

### Example D.1. *La Tempesta*: Introduction and Prologue

Introduction                      Prologue

c                      c                      Ab                      Db                      Ab                      f

### Example D.2. *La Tempesta*: Act I

No. 2

D                      A                      C                      A                      D                      F                      Bb                      F                      D                      g                      Bb                      g                      D

No. 3                                      No. 4

D                      b                      D                      F                      E                      Bb                      E                      f#                      D                      Bb                      Eb

No. 5

Eb                      g                      Eb                      d                      D                      b                      D                      b                      d                      Bb                      F                      Bb/bb                      F                      d                      bb                      Dd                      Bb                      g                      a                      Bb                      'Bb

No. 6                                      No. 7

f                      Ab                      F                      d                      Bb                      c/C                      E                      d                      Bb                      D                      G                      G                      D                      G                      D

No. 8

C                      Eb                      Bb                      G                      Eb                      C                      C

### Example D.3. *La Tempesta*: Act II

**No. 9**

c g d D b F# c# D

**No. 10**

g bb eb Gb Eb eb b e G C E C f/F Bb f F A G

**No. 11**

G e G B b e G Eb g G eb/Eb e/E

**No. 12**

Bb g Bb g Bb g/G D G C Ab f Ab Eb

**No. 13**

C Ab f Ab Eb

### Example D.4. *La Tempesta*: Act III

**No. 14**

Eb E/e g/G b/B D Eb a/A D b c e

**No. 15**

F/f F c/C F a D/d Bb Db f c Ab E C E A F d F F

### Example D. 5. *La Tempesta*: Overall Key Structure

**Introduction/Prologue**

c f

**Act I**

D C

**Act II**

c Eb

**Act III**

Eb F

## **APPENDIX E**

### **PLOT COMPARISON BETWEEN *THE TEMPEST* AND *LA TEMPESTA***

<b>Shakespeare's <i>Tempest</i></b>	<b><i>La Tempesta: Libretto</i></b>	<b><i>La Tempesta: Vocal Score</i></b>
<p><b>Act I, scene 1</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Antonio                      Alonso  Sebastian                      Ferdinand     Gonzolo  Courtiers  Sailors (including Boatswain,  Master, etc.)</p> <p>Argument between sailors  and courtiers during the storm;  sailors forsake the ship and  begin to pray; courtiers join  them in prayer.</p>	<p><b>Prologue</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Antonio                      Alfonso  Ariel                              Ferdinand     Chorus of Spirits  Courtiers  Sailors</p> <p>Deck of the ship is  swarmed by a Chorus of  Spirits; sailors and courtiers  are charmed asleep while  Chorus sings of Antonio's  treachery against Prospero;  Ariel flies about and is  depicted as the creator of the  tempest. Sailors perform a  sung prayer.</p>	<p><b>Introduction (orchestral)  and Prologue</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Antonio                      Alfonso  Ariel                              Ferdinand     Chorus of Spirits  Courtiers  Sailors</p> <p>Deck of the ship is  swarmed by a Chorus of  Spirits; sailors and courtiers  are charmed asleep while  Chorus sings of Antonio's  treachery against Prospero;  Ariel flies about and is  depicted as the creator of the  tempest. Sailors perform a  sung prayer.</p>
<p><b>Act I, scene 1 (continued)</b></p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 1</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Ariel  Sylphides  Chorus of Spirits</p> <p>Chorus of Spirits sing of  their charge, Miranda. Ariel  appears and dances. Chorus  exits.</p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 1</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Ariel  Sylphides  Chorus of Spirits</p> <p>Chorus of Spirits sing of their  charge, Miranda. Ariel  appears and dances. Chorus  exits.</p>



<p><b>Act I, scene 2</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Ariel                      Prospero Miranda                  Caliban</p> <p>Miranda sees the shipwreck and begs Prospero to calm the storm; Prospero tells Miranda of his former life and the duchy that was stolen from him by his brother, who is aboard the ship. Prospero charms Miranda asleep and summons Ariel, a spirit of the air. We learn that it was Ariel who created the storm upon Prospero's command.</p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 2</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda</p> <p>Miranda enters searching for Prospero. She sings in recitative of the horror of the shipwreck, then sings a cavatina describing her feelings of isolation and her longing for a true love.</p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 2</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda</p> <p>Miranda enters searching for Prospero. The recitative is cut and the scene begins with the cavatina.</p>
<p><b>Act I, scene 2 (continued)</b></p> <p>Prospero recounts how Ariel was imprisoned by Sycorax. After Ariel exits, Miranda awakens and she and Prospero visit Caliban. Caliban complains that the island was stolen from him by Prospero, who retaliates by accusing Caliban of an attempted rape of Miranda.</p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 3</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda Prospero Caliban</p> <p>Miranda begs Prospero to calm the sea and save the ship; Prospero discloses how his brother usurped his duchy. Prospero and Miranda visit Caliban, and we learn that Prospero imprisoned Sycorax, Caliban's mother, in a rock. Prospero then calls for Caliban to come out of the cave.</p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 3</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda Prospero</p> <p>Miranda begs Prospero to calm the sea and save the ship; Prospero discloses how his brother usurped his duchy. Prospero then sings a romanza to comfort Miranda, who lives in fear of Caliban.</p>

	<p><b>Act I, scene 4</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda Prospero Caliban</p> <p>The three sing a trio, each commenting on their personal feelings: Caliban sings of his resentment of Prospero, Prospero sings of his enmity for Caliban, and Miranda sings of her fear of Caliban. Caliban exits after the trio.</p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 4</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda Prospero Caliban</p> <p>Prospero calls for Caliban to come out of the cave. The three sing a trio, each commenting on their personal feelings: Caliban sings of his resentment of Prospero, Prospero sings of his enmity for Caliban, and Miranda sings of her fear of Caliban. Caliban exits after the trio.</p>
<p><b>Act I, scene 2 (continued)</b></p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 5</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda Prospero</p> <p>Prospero sings a romanza to comfort Miranda, who lives in fear of Caliban. Miranda then exits into the cave.</p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 5</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda* Prospero</p> <p>Prospero summons Ariel and inquires the whereabouts of the shipwrecked victims. We learn that Prospero is planning a match between Miranda and Ferdinand, and instructs Ariel to protect Miranda from Caliban. Ariel signals for Prospero to exit.</p> <p>*It is unclear as to whether or not Miranda is on stage. Based on the content of the dialogue, it makes sense that she remained on stage, but is unaware of the conversation between Prospero and Ariel.</p>

<p>Ariel reappears guiding Ferdinand who, upon meeting her, is instantly enamored with Miranda, indicating that Prospero's plan is working.</p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 6</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Prospero Ariel</p> <p>Prospero summons Ariel and inquires the whereabouts of the shipwrecked victims. We learn that Prospero is planning a match between Miranda and Ferdinand, and instructs Ariel to protect Miranda from Caliban. Ariel signals for Prospero to exit.</p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 6</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Ariel Ferdinand Chorus of Spirits</p> <p>Ariel plays the theorbo and summons the Chorus of Spirits; the Chorus "vanishes" as Ferdinand enters. The song of the Chorus guides Ferdinand as instructed by Prospero.</p>
<p><b>Act I, scene 2 (continued)</b></p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 7</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Ariel                      Ferdinand Chorus of Spirits</p> <p>Ariel plays the theorbo and summons the Chorus of Spirits; the Chorus "vanishes" as Ferdinand enters. The song of the Chorus guides Ferdinand as instructed by Prospero. Ferdinand sings a cavatina relating the newfound hope he feels as a result of the pleasing sounds of the invisible voices.</p>	<p><b>Act I, scene 7</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Ariel                      Ferdinand Chorus of Spirits</p> <p>Ferdinand sings a cavatina relating the newfound hope he feels as a result of the pleasing sounds of the invisible voices.</p>



<p><b>Act II, scene 1</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Alonso                Sebastian  Ariel  Antonio                Gonzalo  Adrian                Francisco</p> <p>The dialogue reveals that Alonso and Antonio are annoyed with Gonzalo. Ariel charms all but Antonio and Sebastian asleep, and their treachery is revealed: since Ferdinand is presumed dead, Sebastian plans to take his place as next in line for the throne. He and Antonio plan to murder Gonzalo in his sleep, but they are thwarted by Ariel.</p>	<p><b>Act II, scene 1</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Caliban                Voice of  Sycorax</p> <p>Caliban enters and sings an aria describing his wretched existence. Afterwards, the Voice of Sycorax tells Caliban of magic flowers growing on the rock; he gathers the flowers and plans to use them to have his way with Miranda, while Sycorax begs him to use one wish to set her free from her prison. Caliban, consumed with lust, refuses his mother.</p>	<p><b>Act II, scene 1</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Caliban                Voice of  Sycorax</p> <p>Caliban enters and sings an aria describing his wretched existence.* fterwards, the Voice of Sycorax tells Caliban of magic flowers growing on the rock; he gathers the flowers and plans to use them to have his way with Miranda, while Sycorax begs him to use one wish to set her free from her prison. Caliban, consumed with lust, refuses his mother.</p>
<p><b>Act II, scene 1 (continued)</b></p>	<p><b>Act II, scene 2</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Prospero  Ariel  Caliban</p> <p>Prospero leaves Ariel to watch over Miranda. Caliban then sneaks up behind Ariel, and uses a wish to imprison Ariel in a nearby tree.</p>	<p><b>Act II, scene 1 (continued)</b></p> <p>*In the vocal score, Caliban's aria is greatly extended by additional text that does not appear in the libretto.</p> <p>Prospero leaves Ariel to watch over Miranda. Caliban then sneaks up behind Ariel, and uses a wish to imprison Ariel in a nearby tree.</p>

<p><b>Act II, scene 1 (continued)</b></p>	<p><b>Act II, scene 3</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda Caliban</p> <p>Caliban confronts Miranda, who quickly becomes aware of his intentions. She tries in vain to escape, then attempts to stab herself rather than succumb to Caliban's lust. Caliban uses a second wish to render Miranda unconscious, and exits carrying her in his arms. Sycorax is heard once again entreating Caliban to help her.</p>	<p><b>Act II, scene 2</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda Caliban</p> <p>Caliban confronts Miranda, who quickly becomes aware of his intentions. She tries in vain to escape, then attempts to stab herself rather than succumb to Caliban's lust. Caliban uses a second wish to render Miranda unconscious, and exits carrying her in his arms. Sycorax is heard once again entreating Caliban to help her.</p>
<p><b>Act II, scene 1 (continued)</b></p>	<p><b>Act II, scene 4</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Trinculo Stefano Sailors</p> <p>Trinculo, Stefano, and the Sailors are seen drinking, celebrating their survival. They join in a rousing drinking song.</p>	<p><b>Act II, scene 3</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Trinculo Stefano Sailors</p> <p>Trinculo, Stefano, and the Sailors are seen drinking, celebrating their survival. They join in a rousing drinking song. Stefano sings an aria accompanied by the Sailor chorus.</p>

<p><b>Act II, scene 1 (continued)</b></p>	<p><b>Act II, scene 5</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Trinculo Stefano Sailors</p> <p>Stefano sings an aria accompanied by the Sailor chorus. They hear Caliban approaching and hide.</p>	<p><b>Act II, scene 4</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Trinculo Stefano Sailors</p> <p>The Sailors hear Caliban approaching and hide. Caliban enters carrying the sleeping Miranda.</p>
<p><b>Act II, scene 1 (continued)</b></p>	<p><b>Act II, scene 6</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda                      Caliban Trinculo                      Stefano Sailors</p> <p>Caliban enters carrying the sleeping Miranda. He introduces himself to the Sailors as King of the Island, and tells them that Miranda is his slave. The Sailors laugh at him, then invite Caliban to drink with them. Miranda awakens, and Caliban orders her to serve him drink. Caliban then sings a drinking song and becomes intoxicated. When Caliban isn't looking Miranda grabs the flowers, and uses the last wish to render Caliban and the Sailors immobile. She runs off. Curtain.</p>	<p><b>Act II, scene 4 (continued)</b></p> <p>Caliban introduces himself to the Sailors as King of the Island, and tells them that Miranda is his slave. The Sailors laugh at him, then invite Caliban to drink with them. Miranda awakens, and Caliban orders her to serve him drink. Caliban then sings a drinking song and becomes intoxicated. When Caliban isn't looking Miranda grabs the flowers, and uses the last wish to render Caliban and the Sailors immobile. She runs off. Curtain.</p>

<p><b>Act III, scene 1</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda Ferdinand Prospero</p> <p>Ferdinand and Miranda meet and profess their love for one another as Prospero looks on.</p>	<p><b>Act III, scene 1</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Antonio Alonzo</p> <p>Antonio and Alonzo wander alone on the island, lamenting their fate and confessing their sins against Prospero.</p>	<p><b>Act III, scene 1</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Antonio Alonzo</p> <p>Antonio and Alonzo wander alone on the island, lamenting their fate and confessing their sins against Prospero.</p>
<p><b>Act III, scene 2</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Caliban                      Trinculo Stefano</p> <p>Caliban pledges allegiance to Stefano, but greatly distrusts Trinculo. Caliban tries to convince Stefano to murder Prospero in exchange for Caliban's servitude. Ariel, invisible, plays tricks on the three until a fight breaks out between them. Stefano agrees to murder Prospero, enticed by the prospect of Miranda becoming his queen.</p>	<p><b>Act III, scene 2</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Prospero              Antonio Alonzo</p> <p>Prospero appears and confronts his usurpers. Antonio and Alonzo plead their guilt and fall prostrate before the forgiving Prospero.</p>	<p><b>Act III, scene 1 (continued)</b></p> <p>Prospero appears and confronts his usurpers. Antonio and Alonzo plead their guilt and fall prostrate before the forgiving Prospero.</p>



<p><b>Act III, scene 3</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Alonso                      Sebastian Antonio                      Gonzalo Adrian                      Francisco</p> <p>Sebastian and Antonio continue to hatch their murderous plans for Gonzalo and Alonso. Prospero and Ariel provide a magnificent banquet, which disappears as they approach the table. Ariel descends and confronts Alonso, Antonio and Sebastian. Alonso exits in despair; Sebastian and Antonio exit, but with more determination than ever to carry out their plan.</p>	<p><b>Act III, scene 3</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Prospero                      Alonzo Antonio                      Ariel</p> <p>Prospero calls for Ariel, and discovers Ariel has been confined in the tree. Prospero uses his magic to release Ariel, who informs him of Caliban's base intentions. They all exit in search of Caliban and Miranda.</p>	<p><b>Act III, scene 2</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda Voice of Sycorax</p> <p>As Miranda wanders aimlessly, she hears the Voice of Sycorax speaking to her. Sycorax tricks Miranda into believing that Ferdinand is evil and that Prospero is in danger. Miranda is convinced that the only way to save her father's life is to kill Ferdinand. Miranda exits in search of Ferdinand.</p>
<p><b>Act IV, scene 1</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Prospero                      Miranda Trinculo Ferdinand                      Ariel Caliban                      Stefano</p> <p>Prospero gives his blessing to Miranda and Ferdinand, and organizes a Masque in their honor. Afterwards, the lovers exit into the cave while Prospero and Ariel set a trap for Caliban. Upon entering, Stefano and Trinculo argue over the clothes left by Prospero. Prospero and a group of spirits enter and pursue the frightened trio.</p>	<p><b>Act III, scene 4</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda Voice of Sycorax</p> <p>As Miranda wanders aimlessly, she hears the Voice of Sycorax speaking to her. Sycorax tricks Miranda into believing that Ferdinand is evil and that Prospero is in danger. Miranda is convinced that the only way to save her father's life is to kill Ferdinand. Miranda exits in search of Ferdinand.</p>	<p><b>Act III, scene 3</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda Ferdinand</p> <p>Miranda finds Ferdinand asleep in a nearby grotto. She advances upon him with a dagger, but stops herself at the last moment. Ferdinand awakens and tells Miranda that he would gladly die by her hand. Miranda is confused, but realizes she cannot carry out the murder, and both become anxious when they hear Caliban and the Sailors approach. Caliban enters the cave with the intention of murdering Prospero. The Sailors</p>

	<p><b>Act III, scene 5</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Miranda Ferdinand</p> <p>Miranda finds Ferdinand asleep in a nearby grotto. She advances upon him with a dagger, but stops herself at the last moment. Ferdinand awakens and tells Miranda that he would gladly die by her hand. Miranda is confused, but realizes she cannot carry out the murder, and both become anxious when they hear Caliban and the Sailors approach.</p>	<p>immediately recognize Ferdinand and bow to the Prince. Ferdinand introduced Miranda to them as their future queen, while Caliban attempts to gain control with the power of the flowers. The third wish having been spent by Miranda, Caliban fails.</p>
<p><b>Act V, scene 1</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Ariel      Alonso      Gonzalo Antonio    Sebastian    Miranda Caliban    Ferdinand    Prospero Trinculo   Stefano</p> <p>Ariel leads Alonso, Antonio, and Sebastian to Prospero, who pronounces judgment on the usurpers and proclaims himself as the rightful Duke. After forgiving his enemies, he reveals Miranda and Ferdinand playing chess in the cave. Ferdinand introduces Miranda to his father, while Caliban, Trinculo, and Stefano are rebuked for their wrongdoings. Prospero invites the party into his cave for a celebration and sets Ariel free.</p>	<p><b>Act III, scene 6</b></p> <p><b>Characters:</b></p> <p>Caliban enters the cave with the intention of murdering Prospero. The Sailors immediately recognize Ferdinand and bow to the Prince. Ferdinand introduced Miranda to them as their future queen, while Caliban attempts to gain control with the power of the flowers. The third wish having been spent by Miranda, Caliban fails. Ariel then appears and waves his wand, and the scene magically transforms into a palace hall. There, seated upon the throne are Prospero, flanked by Antonio and Alonzo. Prospero then is seen crossing to Miranda and Ferdinand, who unite hands in</p>	<p><b>Act III, scene 3 (continued)</b></p> <p>Ariel appears and waves his wand, and the scene magically transforms into a palace hall. There, seated upon the throne are Prospero, flanked by Antonio and Alonzo. Prospero then is seen crossing to Miranda and Ferdinand, who unite hands in holy matrimony. The chorus sings of happy endings while Caliban is left alone to commiserate his unhappy plight. Ariel waves his wand again, and the backdrop is lifted to reveal a magnificent ship ready to take everyone but Caliban back to Naples. Curtain.</p>

<p><b>Epilogue:</b> Prospero speaks a final soliloquy announcing the end of the play.</p>	<p>holy matrimony. The chorus sings of happy endings while Caliban is left alone to commiserate his unhappy plight. Ariel waves his wand again, and the backdrop is lifted to reveal a magnificent ship ready to take everyone but Caliban back to Naples. Curtain.</p>	
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**APPENDIX F**

**PROLOGUE TO THE ENCHANTED ISLE [20 JUNE 1850]**

**Transcription by Christopher Hendley**

**Scene:** The Opera \_\_\_\_\_ by moonlight.

[Enter the ghost of Shakespeare followed by a popular comedian (à la Hamlet)]

COMEDIAN: Whither wilt thou lead me? Speak. I'll go no further.

GHOST: Mark me.

COMEDIAN: I will

GHOST: I am old Shakespeare's spirit.  
Doom'd for a certain term to walk the earth  
And on the stage draw tolerable houses  
Til' by the taste of a discerning age  
For monster drums and Ethiopian bards  
Driven to waste a way. But that I am forbid  
To charm the public—is not what has caused  
My troubled spirit to revisit earth:  
I can a tale unfold of recent wrongs—  
Whose brightest word would harrow up thy soul,  
Though tough as Gertta Percha—freeze thy blood  
Changing the healthful stream to pors'nous Wenham  
Make thy two eyes like cabs start from their stands  
And each particular orb to roll and stretch  
Like pictures of the/an fretful Hippopotamus  
As this zoological—List! List! Oh list  
If thou didst e'er old Stratford William love—

COMEDIAN: Good gracious.

GHOST: Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder

COMEDIAN: Murder?

GHOST: Murder most foul I've been accustom'd to  
And in the ordinary way—don't mind it—  
But this most foul strange and unnatural—

COMEDIAN: Haste me to know it, that I with wings as swift  
As carrier pigeons on the Derby day  
May sweep to my revenge—

GHOST: I find thee apt—  
And duller shouldn't thou be than the dead cuts  
That rot in countless shoals on Thames's banks  
Didst thou not stir in this—You've seen my *Tempest*?

COMEDIAN: Some time ago—

GHOST: Ah well—you know the work—  
The other day when dozing in the shades  
A rumour reach'd me—That the whole ear of London  
Was by a forgèd process of my play  
Rankly abused. And know thou noble youth  
With serpents and trombones disguised my piece  
Now scares the town!

COMEDIAN: Oh. My prophetic soul the Opera!

GHOST: Ay that most weak and nondescript affair  
With witchcraft and most childish fairy tales  
(Oh! Little wit that could on Shakespeare graft  
Old Mother Bunch!) bringing to Tom Thumb's level  
My tricky Ariel in a ballet skirt  
The fairy of a Christmas pantomime—  
My Caliban a melodrama villain  
Bearing Miranda off (stol'n incident  
From Grindoff in the Miller and his Men!)  
And then resorting to an ancient schema  
From Harlequin and the three wishes borrow'd—

COMEDIAN: Oh horrible! Most horrible!

GHOST: If thou hast nature in thee bear it not  
Do something please—I'm not particular what.  
But soft! An odour wafts along the wake  
Methinks I scent an early breakfast steak  
I must get home—I'm not allow'd a key  
Adieu! Adieu! Adieu! Remember me!  
[Exit]

COMEDIAN: Remember thee. Aye thou poor ghost—  
Mem'ry holds sent 'neath eàu while this distracted tile  
I will avenge thee for this outrage vile  
But how? Burlesque! Yes the Enchanted Isle  
Beat them on their own ground—the play's the thing—  
But herod herod—Ho \_\_\_\_\_! Prompter ring!  
[Rushes out]

**APPENDIX G**

**CAST LIST FOR THE PREMIERE OF**

**HALEVY'S AND SCRIBE'S *LA TEMPESTA***

Alfonso (King of Naples).....Lorenzo (tenor)  
 Prospero (Duke of Naples).....Filippo Coletti (Italian baritone)  
 Antonio (his brother, the Usurper).....Federico Lablache (Italian bass and son of Luigi)  
 Ferdinand (Prince of Naples).....Carlo Baucardé (Italian? tenor)  
 Trinculo.....Ferrari (bass)  
 Stephano.....Teresa Parodi (Italian soprano)  
 Sycorax.....Ida Bertrand (Italian soprano)  
 Spirit of the Air.....Giuliani (soprano)  
 Ariel.....Carlotta Grisi (Italian dancer)  
 Caliban.....Luigi Lablache (Italian bass)  
 Miranda.....Henriette Sontag (German soprano)



## APPENDIX H

### COMPARISON OF THE AUTOGRAPH SCORE WITH THE PUBLISHED VOCAL SCORE

<i>La Tempesta: Autograph Score</i>	<i>La Tempesta: Vocal Score</i>
<p><b>No. 1: Prologue (includes orchestral introduction)</b></p> <p>Instrumentation: Flute Piccolo Oboe Clarinet in Bb Natural Trumpet in C Valve Trumpet in C Horn in Eb Horn in F Bassoon Trombone Ophicleide Timpani in C Violin Viola Cello Bass Harp</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opens with short introduction in c minor; segues into Prologue, which opens with chorus.</li> <li>• Prologue in c minor features a chorus of spirits; texture changes to recitative featuring Antonio and Alonzo with choral responses</li> <li>• Moderato section modulates to f minor, and Ariel sings an arietta supported by choral responses among the tenors and basses</li> <li>• Modulation to Ab major prepares the <i>preghiera</i>; f minor returns near the end of No. 1 as the “tempest” resumes</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 1: Introduction (orchestral) and Prologue</b></p> <p>Instrumentation: Piano (orchestral reduction)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vocal score orchestral introduction follows the manuscript exactly</li> <li>• No. 1 of the vocal score is the same as the manuscript up unto the moderato section in f minor;</li> <li>• At the moderato, soprani from Spirit Chorus assume Ariel’s “arietta;” approximately 30 bars of music for chorus cut from manuscript</li> <li>• After the abbreviated chorus in f minor, vocal score modulates to Ab major and follows manuscript for the remainder of No. 1</li> </ul>

<p><b>No. 2: “Chorus (with Ballet)”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opens with allegretto in D major for Sylphide dance; chorus enters at modulation to A major (allegretto grazioso)</li> <li>• After chorus, approximately 20 bars of music material from the opening of No. 2 prepare for the più lento that follows</li> <li>• The più lento in Eb major features a choral/orchestral tag 22 bars in length</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 2: “Chorus (with Ballet)”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vocal score No. 2 opens same as manuscript, up through the allegretto grazioso</li> <li>• Vocal score modulates back to D major, then moves into the ballet proper in F major; from this point on, the vocal score contains some 260 measures of new ballet music; one section contains an arrangement of Thomas Arne’s <i>Where the bee sucks</i>; none of this is in the manuscript</li> <li>• No. 2 ends with a “Dopo il ballo” in D major; this is the più lento from the manuscript transposed</li> </ul>
<p><b>No. 3: “Scene and Miranda’s Cavatina”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opens with recitative scena in g minor for Miranda and cadences on a dominant seven of D major</li> <li>• Scena segues into Miranda’s cavatina, an andantino in D major, and segues into an allegro section; both sections feature a great deal of coloratura vocal writing</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 3: “Scene and Miranda’s Cavatina”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scena is cut from vocal score; No. 3 opens with the cavatina in D major</li> <li>• Coloratura writing is greatly reduced in vocal score, particularly at the ends of verses one and two of the cavatina</li> <li>• The allegro section of vocal score has text that is not found in the libretto; the allegro of the manuscript, however, uses the libretto text; a substitution was made at some point (perhaps the cavatina was reworked for the Paris production?); again, the manuscript contains much more coloratura at the end of No. 3</li> </ul>
<p><b>No. 4: “Scene and Prospero’s Romanza”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scena opens in E major and features recitative dialogue between Miranda and Prospero; in the libretto, this scene and romanza followed the scene and trio of No. 5</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 4: “Scene and Prospero’s Romanza”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scena opens in E major and features recitative dialogue between Miranda and Prospero; other than cutting a few lines of recitative, the vocal score follows the manuscript exactly</li> </ul>

<p><b>No. 5: “Scene and Trio”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No. 5 opens with an allegro moderato in g minor, identified in chapter 4 of this document at “Caliban’s revenge;” the trio section opens in d minor with an extended arietta section for Caliban before moving into the trio proper; another arietta section for Caliban then leads into another trio section; Prospero then sings an arietta before a final trio section that cadences in Bb major</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 5: “Scene and Trio”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No. 5 of vocal score follows manuscript at beginning, but there are a few measures of instrumental interludes that have been cut; also, approximately eight measures of Caliban’s first arietta are cut, and the vocal line is slightly different as well; still cadences with trio in Bb major</li> </ul>
<p><b>No. 6: “Scene and Ariel’s Rondo”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No. 6 opens with recitative from the libretto (Act I, scene 5), but contains additional text not in libretto; this recitative section opens in Bb major and cadences in Ab major; here Halévy wrote: “Segue rondo d’Ariele;” the remainder of No. 6 features an extended aria for Ariel in Ab major</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 6: “Recitative and Scene”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Here we find a significant deviation; the vocal score opens with a short ballet section in f minor (Ariel’s theme) for Ariel’s entrance; this segues into a recitative section in F major for Prospero, featuring text from Act I, scene 6 of the libretto; originally, this text immediately followed Prospero’s romanza in the libretto</li> </ul>
<p><b>No. 7: “Scene and Fernando’s Cavatina”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This scene is drawn from Act I, scene 7 of the libretto, and roughly corresponds to No. 6 of the vocal score, except that the Invisible Voice of the vocal score is scored for Ariel in the manuscript; Fernando’s cavatina, in G major, follows Prospero’s recitative; again, what was scored as the Invisible Voice in the vocal score is scored for Ariel in the manuscript, making No. 7 virtually a duet between Fernando and Ariel</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 7: “Fernando’s Cavatina”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The scene of No. 6 cadences with a dominant seven chord of G major, creating a seamless segue into Fernando’s cavatina of No. 7; here, Ariel’s part has been allocated to the Invisible Voice; the allegro of the cavatina ends in D major</li> </ul>

<p><b>No. 8: “Scene, Duet and Trio”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No. 8 features alternating sections of recitative and lyrical aria and duet between Miranda and Fernando; Prospero enters at the più animato as the number becomes a trio, first in arioso texture, then in a metered, predominately homophonic trio texture that cadences in C major</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 8: “Scene, Duet and Trio”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The vocal score follows the manuscript for the most part, with the exception of several lines of recitative that are cut; as in the manuscript, the trio serves as the finale for Act I, which cadences in C major</li> </ul>
<p><b>No. 9: “Introduction and Caliban’s Aria”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opens with a short orchestral introduction in c minor that features the “Caliban” theme; a new motive is introduced, labeled in this document as “Caliban’s revenge;” this theme alternates with recitative sung by Caliban, and is followed by a series of arias and ariettas for Caliban</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 9: “Introduction and Caliban’s Aria”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The vocal score corresponds exactly to the manuscript</li> </ul>
<p><b>No. 10: “Scene and Caliban’s Arietta”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No. 10 opens with the voice of Sycorax calling out to Caliban from beneath the rock; the texture moves swiftly between recitative and arioso as Sycorax instructs Caliban about the magic flowers; a sudden allegro signals another arietta for Caliban, and the texture changes back to recitative as Sycorax makes another plea for help</li> <li>• 8 bars of orchestral music announce the arrival of Prospero and Ariel, who sing dialogue in recitative using text from the libretto (Act II, scene 2)</li> <li>• Prospero leaves, and 16 bars of orchestral music underscore Ariel’s entrapment in the tree by Caliban; as Caliban sings of his victory in recitative, the voice of Sycorax is heard once again</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 10: “Scene and Caliban’s Arietta”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No 10 follows the manuscript up until the first orchestral tag</li> <li>• After the orchestral tag, 44 additional bars of dance music are added, replacing the scene between Prospero and Ariel; the action of trapping Ariel in the tree is now presumed to be mimed</li> <li>• The vocal score picks up Caliban’s victory recitative after the 44 bars of new music, and the score follows the manuscript again until Miranda’s entrance</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 9 bars of orchestral music announce the entrance of Miranda; Caliban, hidden from Miranda, watches as Miranda sings a recitative drawn from Act II, scene 3 of the libretto; 4 bars of a grazioso tempo end the scene, which segues straight into No. 1</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• After Miranda's entrance, 8 bars of Miranda's recitative are cut, and 2 bars of the orchestral grazioso are cut</li> </ul>
<p><b><u>No. 11: "Duet and Scene"</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The grazioso of No. 10 continues with 5 bars of orchestral introduction; Miranda then sings a verse of the duet, followed by a second verse by Caliban; a duet section ensues, and a sudden allegro vivace signals the change to recitative</li> <li>• Another extensive duet section in b minor follows as Caliban makes his advances towards Miranda; the passion escalates at the più presto, then Caliban and Miranda each sing an arietta section that expresses their individual emotional states</li> <li>• Yet another duet section follows in g minor; the texture changes again to recitative as Miranda sings "I'd rather die"</li> <li>• Several extreme tempo contrasts occur during the ensuing arioso section, and a sudden lento heralds the return of the voice of Sycorax, making yet another plea for help; 17 bars of orchestral tag music in e minor (containing the "Caliban" theme), and the number concludes with an abrupt change to E major during the last 5 bars of tag music</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 11: "Duet and Scene"</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 bars of the orchestral introduction are cut in the vocal score, and 4 bars are cut at the end of Miranda's verse of the first duet; Caliban's verse is the same</li> <li>• The duet in b minor and the ariettas remain unaltered</li> <li>• The duet in g minor is the same; 7 bars of recitative are cut at the end of the duet</li> <li>• Approximately 12 bars of orchestral tag (the "Caliban" theme) are cut, leaving only the bars in E major</li> </ul>

<p><b>No. 12: “Chorus, Canzona and Scene”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No. 12 opens with an extensive orchestral introduction that heralds the entrance of the chorus of sailors</li> <li>• At the end of this chorus, an 8 bar orchestral interlude precedes the canzona, in G major, which alternates between solo sections for Stefano and choral sections for the sailors</li> <li>• The canzona segues into a recitative section that contains text from Act II, scene 5 of the libretto and text that is <b>not</b> in the libretto</li> <li>• 10 bars of the canzona return, followed by another extensive recitative section; the number ends with a 2 bar orchestral tag</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 12: “Chorus, Canzona and Scene”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The chorus is the same</li> <li>• At the end of the sailor chorus, 11 bars of recitative for Stefano, and 33 bars of an aria (Stefano) with chorus, are inserted into the vocal score; this music is not in the manuscript</li> <li>• After the new recitative and chorus section, the vocal score picks up the canzona, which concludes No. 12 of the vocal score</li> </ul>
<p><b>No. 13: “Scene and Finale”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No. 13 opens with 14 bars of orchestral introduction using material based on the “Caliban” themes of No. 9; this introduction segues into a recitative section with choral responses featuring Caliban, Stefano and Trinculo; just before a <i>più presto</i>, Miranda cries for help in recitative, and the sailor chorus invites Caliban to drink</li> <li>• An <i>andante espressivo</i> in Ab major opens what is essentially a quartet between Miranda, Caliban, Trinculo and Stefano, again with choral responses from the sailors</li> <li>• The <i>bacchanale</i>, in Eb major, follows; this is an extended arietta for Caliban, with responses from Trinculo and Stefano (and the sailors); a 9 bar orchestral connects the <i>bacchanale</i> with an ensuing <i>allegro moderato</i> in Ab major</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 13: “Finale”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The finale in the vocal score opens with a 17 bar section of recitative featuring dialogue between Stefano and Trinculo; this music is not in the manuscript; the last 4 bars of the orchestral introduction in the manuscript connect this new recitative section with Caliban’s recitative</li> <li>• After Caliban’s recitative, the vocal score follows the manuscript until the end of the <i>bacchanale</i></li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The allegro moderato opens with approximately 20 bars of orchestral introductory music before another sailor chorus begins; another extended aria for Caliban follows, and the number ends with energetic choral responses</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The bacchanale ends No. 13 in the vocal score; some 136 bars of music were cut , and a 16 bar orchestral tag featuring new music signals the end of Act II</li> </ul>
<p><b>No. 14: “Scene and Prospero’s Aria”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No. 14 opens with an allegro in Eb major, and is followed by an extended recitative section between Antonio, Alonzo and Prospero</li> <li>• At the end of the recitative, Prospero sings an aria (allegro non troppo) in Eb major with responses from Antonio and Alonzo</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 14: “Scene and Prospero’s Aria”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No. 14 of the vocal score follows No. 14 of the manuscript exactly, but segues directly into another “scena” in recitative and arioso between Miranda and the voice of Sycorax; this material is from No. 16 of the manuscript</li> </ul>
<p><b>No. 15: “Scene and Quartet”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No. 15 opens in G major and features 23 bars of recitative between Prospero and Ariel (Prospero has discovered that Ariel is trapped in the tree, and releases Ariel)</li> <li>• After the recitative section, the key modulates to E major, and Ariel embarks on a 48 bar arietta in which he informs Prospero how Miranda was taken away by Caliban; Prospero, Antonio and Alonzo sing choral responses to Ariel’s solo line</li> <li>• Ariel’s arietta continues using texture that alternates between recitative and quartet sections, and modulates from E major to f minor and finally to C major; the number ends with an allegretto grazioso in E major (84 bars)</li> </ul>	<p><b>No. 15: “Duet and Finale”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manuscript No. 15 was completely cut from the vocal score; No. 15 of the vocal score picks up with No. 17 of the manuscript, and follows Nos. 17 and 18 exactly</li> </ul>



<p><b>No. 16: “Scene”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This number opens with an allegro agitato in a minor and features an extended recitative section for Miranda and Sycorax; after several modulations, the number cadences in e minor</li> </ul>	
<p><b>No. 17: “Duetto” and No. 18: “Finale Ultimo”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A 21 bar orchestral introduction in f minor begins No. 17; this is followed by an aria for Miranda; when she finds Fernando, the aria becomes a duet with small sections of recitative interpolated into the duet texture</li> <li>• The sailor chorus enters again at around bar 210, and the duet continues with choral responses</li> <li>• After the duet, No. 17 segues without pause into No. 18, which features another extended recitative section for Caliban with choral responses; the finale escalates as solo lines for Miranda, Caliban, the Voice of Sycorax, and Ariel alternate with choral responses; the number concludes with a coloratura aria for Miranda in F major with additional choral responses</li> </ul>	

**APPENDIX I**  
**TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR**  
**THE MANUSCRIPT OF *LA TEMPESTA*<sup>1</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> In the first volume of the manuscript, which contains the Prologue and Act I, each page of a double sheet of manuscript paper is numbered. In the second (Act II) and third (Act III) volumes, Halévy changed his page numbering system. In these volumes, he numbered only the right side of a double sheet of manuscript paper. In an effort to be consistent with the first volume, I have included alternative page numbers for the second and third volumes that reflect the numbering system of volume one. These alternative page numbers are designated using parentheses.

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<sup>2</sup> The total number of pages for the Prologue and Act I are 372.

<sup>3</sup> The total number of pages for Act II are 144 (287)

<sup>4</sup> The total number of pages for Act III are 93 (185).

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## **APPENDIX J**

### **SUMMARY OF CHANGES MADE FROM AUTOGRAPH SCORE TO VOCAL SCORE**

Key: P = Prospero; A = Ariel; M = Miranda; C = Caliban; F = Fernando; V = Voice of Sycorax  
T = Trinculo; S = Stefano; An = Antonio; Az = Alonzo; IV = Invisible Voice

VS = Vocal Score; Auto = Autograph Score

Autograph Score	Cuts	Additions/Changes	Vocal Score
<p><b><u>No. 1 Prologue</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• orchestral introduction</li> <li>• coro</li> <li>• arietta (A)</li> <li>• coro (<i>preghiera</i>)</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• arietta assumed by coro</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>No. 1 Introduction and Prologue</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• orchestral introduction</li> <li>• coro</li> <li>• coro</li> <li>• coro (<i>preghiera</i>)</li> </ul>
<p><b><u>No. 2 Coro with Ballet</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ballet</li> <li>• coro</li> <li>• coro with orchestral tag</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 260 bars of new ballet music</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>No. 2 Coro with Ballet</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ballet</li> <li>• coro</li> <li>• ballet (<i>Where the bee sucks</i>)</li> <li>• coro with orchestral tag</li> </ul>
<p><b><u>No. 3 Scene and Cavatina</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recitative (M)</li> <li>• cavatina (M)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recitative is cut</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• allegro of cavatina uses text not found in libretto</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>No. 3 Scene and Cavatina</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• cavatina (M)</li> </ul>
<p><b><u>No. 4 Scene and Romanza</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recitative (P)</li> <li>• romanza (P)</li> </ul>			<p><b><u>No. 4 Scene and Romanza</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recitative (P)</li> <li>• romanza (P)</li> </ul>



<p><b><u>No. 9 Introduction and Aria</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• orchestral introduction</li> <li>• recitative (C)</li> <li>• aria (C)</li> </ul> <p><b><u>No. 10 Scene and Arietta</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recitative (V, C)</li> <li>• arietta (C)</li> <li>• recitative/arioso (V, C)</li> <li>• recitative (P, A)</li> <li>• recitative/arioso (V, C)</li> <li>• recitative (M)</li> </ul> <p><b><u>No. 11 Duet and Scene</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• duet (M, C)</li> <li>• recitative (M, C)</li> <li>• duet (M, C)</li> <li>• arietta (C)</li> <li>• arietta (M)</li> <li>• duet (M, C)</li> <li>• recitative (M, C)</li> <li>• duet (M, C)</li> <li>• recitative/arioso (M, C, V)</li> <li>• orchestral tag</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recitative (P, A) cut</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 44 bars of new ballet music</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>No. 9 Introduction and Aria</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• orchestral introduction</li> <li>• recitative (C)</li> <li>• aria (C)</li> </ul> <p><b><u>No. 10 Scene and Arietta</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recitative (V, C)</li> <li>• arietta (C)</li> <li>• recitative/arioso (V, C)</li> <li>• ballet</li> <li>• recitative/arioso (V, C)</li> <li>• recitative (M)</li> </ul> <p><b><u>No. 11 Duet and Scene</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• duet (M, C)</li> <li>• recitative (M, C)</li> <li>• duet (M, C)</li> <li>• arietta (C)</li> <li>• arietta (M)</li> <li>• duet (M, C)</li> <li>• recitative (M, C)</li> <li>• duet (M, C)</li> <li>• recitative/arioso (M, C, V)</li> <li>• orchestral tag</li> </ul>
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<p><b><u>No. 14 Scene and Aria</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recitative (An, Az, P)</li> <li>• aria (P)</li> </ul> <p><b><u>No. 15 Scene and Quartet</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recitative (P, A)</li> <li>• arietta (A)</li> <li>• recitative (P, A, An, Az)</li> <li>• quartet (P, A, An, Az)</li> </ul> <p><b><u>No. 16 Scene</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recitative (M, V)</li> </ul> <p><b><u>No. 17 Duet and No. 18 Finale Ultimo</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• orchestral introduction</li> <li>• aria (M)</li> <li>• duet (M, F)</li> <li>• duet with coro</li> <li>• recitative (C)</li> <li>• ensemble finale</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recit. cut</li> <li>• arietta cut</li> <li>• rectit. cut</li> <li>• quartet cut</li> </ul> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recitative moved to No. 14 of VS</li> </ul> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No. 17 of auto moved to No. 15 of VS</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recit for M, V moved from No. 16 of auto</li> </ul> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No. 15 of VS drawn from Nos. 17 and 18 of auto</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>No. 14 Scene and Aria</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recitative (An, Az, P)</li> <li>• aria (P)</li> <li>• recitative/arioso (M, V)</li> </ul> <p><b><u>No. 15 Duet and Finale</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• orchestral introduction</li> <li>• aria (M)</li> <li>• duet (M, F)</li> <li>• duet with coro</li> <li>• recitative (C)</li> <li>• ensemble finale</li> </ul>
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