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“The Extremes of Civilized Europe”: Anglo-Italian Musical Cultures, ca. 1813-1830

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"The Extremes of Civilized Europe": Anglo-Italian Musical Cultures, ca. 1813-1830

By

Amalya Efrat Lehmann

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Committee in charge:

Professor James Q. Davies, Chair
Professor Thomas Laqueur
Professor Nicholas Mathew
Professor Mary Ann Smart

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Abstract

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This dissertation identifies a series of "Anglo-Italian musical cultures" that emerged in the years immediately following the Napoleonic Wars, by investigating the movement of musical products and individuals—Roman gut strings, singers, instrumentalists, pedagogues, dilettante composers, expatriate music enthusiasts, and tourists—between British and Italian lands. While Anglo-Italian musical interactions had been common and ubiquitous since at least the early seventeenth century, I focus on the period 1813 to 1830 for three reasons: first, because of Britain's emergence from the Napoleonic Wars as the most powerful global empire (at the beginning of what Jürgen Osterhammel calls the "European century"); second, because of the post-Napoleonic tourist boom; and third because of the rise of musical institutions in London, such as the Philharmonic Society in 1813 and the Royal Academy of Music in 1822, as well as an increase in music-critical activity and music periodical publication in Britain. I argue that, to understand the global impact of "European music" and indeed the modern invention of "Europe" in the context of the European post-Napoleonic polity, requires intentional focus on musical exchanges occurring between what Francis Jeffrey called the "extremes of civilized Europe": Italy and Britain. The musical interactions raised to prominence here deserve our attention, because thinking about Anglo-Italianness and the formation of distinct Anglo-Italian musical cultures, works to sharpen our understanding of intra-European migration and structures of power when the very concepts of music history and musical knowledge were shifting.

For my family

&

In loving memory of my mother, Rivka Lehmann ז״ל

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Acknowledgments

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help, support, and encouragement of my family, mentors, medical team, friends, colleagues, and many others. When I first began this project, I could not have imagined that in a few short years, I would experience the escalation and diagnoses of a few disabling chronic conditions, the brief illness and passing of my mother, and a global pandemic. It is a well-trodden cliché to say that it "takes a village," but I am truly grateful to everyone who has supported me, both directly and indirectly, throughout this journey.

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I wrote the bulk of this dissertation in Israel throughout the pandemic. Thank you to the musicology departments at Bar-Ilan University and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for providing a second academic home for me. Yoel Greenberg has been a steadfast supporter, sponsored my "Sandwich" fellowship, provided me with several opportunities at BIU, and offered helpful feedback. Ruth HaCohen warmly welcomed me and supported my Visiting Research Fellowship at HUJI for my first two years in Israel. Thanks as well to Oded Erez, Yossi Maurey, and Assaf Shelleg, for their probing questions and inspirational engagement. I am also grateful to Jehoash Hirshberg for his generosity, hospitality, and discussions of all things Italian opera.

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My life and this dissertation have taken many unexpected turns over the years, especially after I could no longer live independently. I have therefore worked on this project not only in Berkeley, but also in Baltimore, in Sheffield for my research year and to join Ariel, and finally in Jerusalem, for his post-doc. I would not have been able to complete this dissertation, were it not for the generous support of my communities, friends, and family.

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Jerusalem, Israel. December 2022.

INTRODUCTION

MUSIC AT "THE EXTREMES OF CIVILIZED EUROPE"

On 6 February 1813, thirty musicians signed a manifesto officially founding the Philharmonic Society, a new concert society in London. This "First Prospectus" declared that the members of the Society would "promote the performance in the most perfect manner possible, of the best and most approved instrumental music."[1] Several of these signatories were Italian-born, such as violinist, composer, and pedagogue Giovanni Battista Viotti, or descendants of Italian immigrants, such as publisher Vincent Novello. Seven members were chosen as directors of the Society, among them, the Roman-born composer, pianist, pedagogue, and music-business owner, Muzio Clementi.[2] Having been "imported" into the country after his discovery by a Grand Tourist fifty years earlier, Clementi (to be headlined in Chapter 1) had become a naturalized British citizen exactly twelve years before, on 27 February 1801. By the time of his election to the Society, he had established himself as a leading figure of musical culture in London and was chosen to serve as one of the seven directors of the Philharmonic Society.[3]

While Clementi represents an Anglicized Italian, other Italianized Englishmen took the return trip. A year after Clementi helped to found the Philharmonic Society, and shortly after Napoleon's exile to Elba and the repeal of the Continental Blockade, John Fane, Lord Burghersh, was appointed the British Envoy to Tuscany in 1814.[4] In Florence, the diplomat composed and produced six operas performed by a mixture of Italian and English musicians, both professional and dilettante, to an audience comprised mostly of Italian and English guests.[5] Italian critics and intellectuals, such as the *improvvisatore* (improvisatory poet) Tommaso Sgricci, lauded his contributions to Florentine musical culture, hailing him as an "ardent, Italian-like Bard."[6] Burghersh will return for Chapter 3.

A large trove of evidence from the early nineteenth century details Anglo-Italian musical interactions: Anglicized Italians, such as Clementi; Italianized Englishmen, such as Burghersh; self-proclaimed Anglo-Italians, such as Mary Shelley (to be featured in Chapter 3); Italian musicians performing in England, such as the *basso buffo* Giuseppe Ambrogetti (who will headline Chapter 2) and the virtuoso violinist Niccolò Paganini (discussed in the Epilogue); British singers performing in Italy, such as the tenor John Sinclair, and English descendants of Italians, such as the musician and publisher Vincent Novello and Nicolas Mori (all of whom exemplify points made throughout this dissertation). These musical

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[1] As quoted in Miles Birket Foster, *History of the Philharmonic Society of London, 1813-1912: A Record of a Hundred Years' Work in the Cause of Music* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1912), 4.
[2] Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 3-5.
[3] Leon Plantinga, *Clementi: His Life and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press), 2.
[4] See Aubrey S. Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence, 1814-1830: Dilettantes in an 'Earthly Paradise'* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 1-8; 28-62.
[5] Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence*, 71-80.
[6] "Granducato di Toscana," *Supplemento alla Gazzetta di Firenze* no. 46 (April 17, 1830), 4.

interactions, those occurring between the years 1813 and 1830, are the critical concerns of my dissertation. I identify a novel series of "Anglo-Italian musical cultures" that emerged in the years immediately following the Napoleonic Wars by investigating the movement of musical products and individuals—Roman gut strings, singers, instrumentalists, pedagogues, dilettante composers, expatriate music enthusiasts, and tourists—between British and Italian lands.

While Anglo-Italian musical interactions had been common and ubiquitous since at least the early seventeenth century, I focus on the period 1813 to 1830 for three reasons: first, because of Britain's emergence from the Napoleonic Wars as the most powerful global empire (at the beginning of what Jürgen Osterhammel calls the "European century"); second, because of the post-Napoleonic tourist boom; and third because of the rise of musical institutions in London, such as the Philharmonic Society in 1813 and the Royal Academy of Music in 1822, as well as an increase in music-critical activity and music periodical publication in Britain.[7] (The *Theatrical Inquisitor* was first printed in 1812, the *British Stage* and *Literary Gazette* were founded in 1817, the *Observer* and the *Quarterly Musical Magazine & Review* were founded in 1818, the *London Magazine* was founded in 1820, followed by the *Harmonicon* in 1823.[8]) There are many reasons for this surge of activity, as well as causes for the long-standing durability of the Philharmonic Society (still in existence.)[9] But at least in

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[7] Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014). Regarding periodicals: the *Theatrical Inquisitor* was first printed in 1812, the *British Stage* and *Literary Gazette* were founded in 1817, the *Observer* and the *Quarterly Musical Magazine & Review* were founded in 1818, the *London Magazine* was founded in 1820, followed by the *Harmonicon* in 1823. See Theodore Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press,1785-1830* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 51-53 and Leanne Langley, "The English Music Journal in the Early Nineteenth Century," PhD diss. (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1983.)

[8] See Fenner, *Opera in London*, 51-53. For more on the growth of the musical periodical press in England, see Langley, "The English Music Journal in the Early Nineteenth Century," PhD diss. (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1983.)

[9] See, especially, Langley, "The English Music Journal in the Early Nineteenth Century," 31-36. The growth of the press in early nineteenth-century London has long been associated with the Industrial Revolution and to contribute to the transformation of English society, in terms of economics, population growth, increased literacy, while technology had its own impact on the press, such as the help of the steam engine to print more newspapers. Newspaper circulation in Great Britain grew from seven million in 1753 to 12 million in 1776 to 24 million in 1811, and to 29 million in 1820. See Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Cardigan: Parthian, 2011), 207, 219, and 223. By 1821, 135 different newspapers were published in England—an increase from 50 in 1782—and 16 different dailies were published in London itself. See [Anonymous], *Periodical Press of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Hurst, Robinson, & Co. 1824), 1. Readership, moreover, was even more widespread than circulation and publications suggest. The state imposed high taxes to control the press, thereby preventing readers from buying their own newspapers. Yet newspaper readers found ways to read those newspapers, by sharing copies in taverns, inns, reading-rooms and reading societies, and most significantly, in coffee houses, which spread throughout London at this time: whereas only fifteen existed in 1815 London, the number grew to somewhere between 1600 to 1800 by 1840, at a rate of

part, they point to a new intensity in Anglo-Italian traffic, and a *conversazione* newly characteristic of institutes of arts and sciences in both countries.

The contribution and raison d'être of this dissertation can be enumerated in at least three ways. First is a lacuna in musical knowledge of this period. A long-standing preoccupation with Anglo-Italian interactions in fields such as comparative literature and history, strangely, has not been studied synoptically in music studies. Remarkably, accounts of British musical development seldom address the contributions and importance of Anglo-Italian musicians as a collective. Until recently, relevant music studies literature has tended to look past the Italianness of naturalized British musicians, and the ubiquitous presence of British composers, singers, instrumentalists, and music lovers in Italy.[10] And while a sizeable body of scholarship describes and analyzes the phenomena of the English Grand Tour and pleasure travel in Italy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and especially of the tourist boom in the post-Napoleonic years, these historians and literary thinkers rarely discuss the value of music in these travels, including details of musical experiences, and the Italian reception of these visitors. If anything, they take music for granted.[11] Second, and perhaps understandably, much of this scholarship on music in London has been framed theoretically according to long-standing narratives about the rising dominance of German instrumental music (particularly Beethoven) or the "rise of instruments" figured according to "serious" or "elite" audiences or styles of listening, in the early decades of the nineteenth century.[12] This dissertation does not share in those generalized concerns.

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about a hundred new coffee houses per year. See Arthur Aspinall, *Politics and the Press c. 1780-1850* (London: Home & Van Thal, 1949), 24-28.

[10] See, for example, the essays in Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, eds., *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); John Carnelley, *George Smart and Nineteenth-Century London Concert Life* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 2015); Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Paul Rodmell, *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Farham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2012); Ian Taylor, *Music in London and the Myth of Decline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Gillen D'Arcy Wood, *Romanticism and Music Culture in Britain, 1770-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); and others.

[11] See, for example, James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); C.P. Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics, the Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957); Roderick Cavaliero, *Italia Romantica: English Romantics and Italian Freedom* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005); Alison Chapman and Jane Stabler, *Unfolding the South: Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers and Artists in Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830* (Manchester, NY: Manchester University Press, 1999); Clare Hornsby, ed., *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond* (London: British School at Rome, 2000); Barbara Schaff, ed., *Exiles, Emigres and Intermediaries: Anglo-Italian Cultural Transactions* (Amsterdam: Rodolpi, 2010); and Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012; and others.

[12] In addition to the scholarship above, see the main studies responsible for the discussion of the rise of instrumental music and the "work" concept in the early nineteenth century: Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Bellamy Hosler, *Changing*

Third, and most importantly, the musical interactions raised to prominence here deserve our attention, I argue, because thinking about Anglo-Italianness and the formation of distinct Anglo-Italian musical cultures, works to sharpen our understanding of intra-European migration and structures of power, when the very concepts of music history and musical knowledge were shifting. It is only by defining the limits and boundaries of north-west and south-east that we can articulate a more precise and more variegated picture of European musical practice, and thus music history. My conviction is that thinking in what Tamara Levitz calls "in the border," or on the peripheries, can reorient what we know about the middle—here about the concept of "Europe."[13] An Anglo-Italian perspective necessarily frames music as a boundary concept, where musical knowledge, as the product of migration and movement, provides a more textured account of the limits and possibilities of the art itself.

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To explain how the British forged their identity as Europe's new world power, historians such as Linda Colley argue that they did so by defining themselves against their direct rival, France.[14] Colley construes British identity as a product of its encounter with opposites: whether Isle versus Continent, Protestantism versus Catholicism, or republican government and constitutional monarchy versus absolute monarchies.[15] But while the British focused their political efforts on the French, they were arguably more entertained and enchanted by the cultural productions of another "Other": Italy. According to scholars of Anglo-Italian relations such as Barbara Schaff, the British and Italians constructed their own national identities by "projecting counter-images onto each other" due to their perceived differences.[16] As Manfred Pfister explains, British travelers perceived Italy through sets of binary oppositions: North versus South (geographically, but also in terms of racial character), cold versus hot (both in terms of climate and temperament), Protestant versus Roman Catholic, male versus female, civic liberty versus feudal or papal despotism, political order versus arbitrary power and anarchy, modern achievement versus classical heritage, efficiency

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Views of Instrumental Music in Eighteenth-Century Germany (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981); John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Daniel Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Mark Evan Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.) For insightful discussions on the "around 1800" problem, see Nicholas Mathew, "The Tangled Woof" *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 134, no. 1 (2009): 133–147 and Emily I. Dolan, *The Orchestral Revolution: Haydn and the Technologies of Timbre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 4-7.

[13] See Tamara Levitz, "Introduction: Colloquy: Musicology Beyond Borders," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, 3 (Fall 2012): 825.

[14] See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2005).

[15] Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 2003).

[16] Barbara Schaff, "Introduction: Paradise of Exiles?" in *Exiles, Emigrés and Intermediaries: Anglo-Italian Cultural Transactions* (Amsterdam: Rodolpi, 2010), 11.

versus disorganization, reticence versus ostentation, and honesty (and therefore gullibility) versus deviousness.[17] Binary thinking, for Pfister, established the limits of thought and aesthetic experience, both conceptual and geographical.

Several scholars prefer a longer view: emphasizing population movements, commerce, travel and migrancy, writing extensively about the evolution of Anglo-Italian cultural relations from the sixteenth century through the nineteenth century.[18] Ranging across four centuries and several countries, these scholars tell the story of how the British first learned about politics and the fine arts from the Italians. At first, to these historians, the exchange was mutually-reinforcing, in that education took part through their excursions to Italy on the Grand Tour, through the arrival of several Italians who made their way to the British Isles and entertained the British through high and low cultural productions and taught the British the very meaning of "culture", and through the British "teaching" the "Italians" how to become a modern nation.[19]

According to historians of Anglo-Italian interactions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the first mention of the term "Grand Tour" appeared in Richard Lassels' posthumously published *Voyage in Italy* (1670) implied that the practice of young men traveling to Italy to round off their classical education had already become institutionalized.[20] By 1701, Joseph Addison epitomized the English appreciation of Italy for its natural beauty and classical inheritance, as well as the English disparagement of Italy's supposed political exploitation and despotism.[21] While young well-to-do aristocratic men traveled to Italy to acquire knowledge of Roman ruins, Italian Renaissance art, Palladian architecture, and Italian singers, such as the castrato Nicolino Grimaldi ("Nicolini"), began to make their way to London to perform Italian operas at the newly-established Queen's (later on King's) Theatre.[22] The British victory over France in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) proved a turning point for British travel to Italy and the British appreciation of Italian culture and of Italian politics, more generally. The emerging British dominance of trade,

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[17] Manfred Pfister, *The Fatal Gift of Beauty: The Italies of British Travellers, an Annotated Anthology* (Amsterdam: Rodolpi, 1996), 5.

[18] See, for example, Buzard, *The Beaten Track* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Brand, *Italy and the English Romantic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957); Cavaliero, *Italia Romantica* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005); Chapman and Stabler, *Unfolding the South* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour* (Manchester, NY: Manchester University Press, 1999); Hornsby, ed., *The Impact of Italy* (London: British School at Rome, 2000); Schaff, ed., *Exiles, emigres and intermediaries* (Amsterdam: Rodolpi, 2010); and Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[19] See, for example, Maura O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.)

[20] Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7.

[21] Maria Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians': Configurations of Identity in Byron, the Shelleys, and the Pisan Circle* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009), 28.

[22] See Daniel Nalbach, *The King's Theatre 1704-1867: London's First Italian Opera House* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1972), 13-15 and Thomas McGeary, *Opera and Politics in Queen Anne's Britain, 1705-1714* (Woodbridge, CT: Boydell & Brewer, 2022).

agriculture and manufacturing in Europe and the expanding British imperial dominance and slavery in the Americas provided an economic change that eased travel for the commercial and professional classes.

The onset of the Napoleonic Wars (1793) and the Napoleonic invasion of Italy (1796), however, marked a physical change in the ability to travel between Italy and Britain, as well as a change in their understanding of Italy and Italians. From the early 1790s, especially after 1796, and until 1814, travel to the Continent and to Italy was restricted because of the Napoleonic wars (save for the brief Peace of Amiens in 1802).[23] Italian lands and locations became estranged: because primary, personal experience was not possible during this time, the younger generation of English men and women learned about Italy secondhand by following third-hand accounts of Napoleon's military adventures there, and reading older travel literature, histories, Gothic novels, and novels cementing the stereotypical national characters of Italy and Britain, such as Madame de Staël's *Corinne, ou l'Italie*, a novel that, published in French, achieved two near-immediate English translations in 1807, one by D. Lawler, and the other by two anonymous writers.[24]

Maria Schoina argues that Swiss intellectual de Staël published her best-selling narrative about "Corinna" the "improvisatrix" (as both 1807 English versions call her) as a way to popularize her ideas of "national character," and especially, the oppositional views of north-south peripheries in Europe, Oswald himself, after all, being somehow both English and Scottish.[25] She was heavily influenced by Enlightenment ideas of "national character," for example, Montesquieu's disquisition in his *De l'esprit des lois* (1741), wherein the legal thinker famously contrasted northern industriousness with southern idleness:

> The Wants of the People in the South are different from those of the North. In Europe there is a kind of balance between the southern and northern nations. The first have every convenience of life, and few of its wants: the last have many wants, and few conveniences. To one nature has given much, and demands but little; to the other she has given but little, and demands a great deal.[26]

Because of "the industry and activity" naturally bestowed upon the north, as opposed to the "laziness" of the south, Montesquieu claimed that "the people of the north, then, are in a forced state, if they are not either free or barbarians. Almost all the people of the south are, in some measure, in a state of violence, if they are not slaves."[27] Preoccupied by the bondage of climate and the necessities of "national character," de Staël displays throughout *Corinne*

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[23] Frank Salmon, "The impact of the archaeology of Rome on British architects and their work c. 1750-1840," in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond,* ed. Clare Hornsby (London: British School at Rome, 2000), 222.

[24] Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians,'* 29. See Germaine de Staël, *Corinna; or Italy*, translated by D. Lawler, 5 vols. (London: Corri, 1807) and Germaine de Staël, *Corinna; or, Italy. By Mad. de Stael Holstein*, 3 vols. (London: Tipper, 1807.)

[25] Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians*,'50-51.

[26] Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, translated by Thomas Nugent (1752) (Kitchener, Ontario: Batoche Books, 2001), 362.

[27] Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, 362.

what she saw as the contrasts between the English (northern) and Italian (southern) personalities and behaviors: a strong moral conscience, conventionality, and melancholy as opposed to sensuousness, spontaneity, passion, and freedom. A synopsis of the plot makes this preoccupation clear.

The novel narrates the story of the Scottish lord, Oswald Nelvil, who visits Italy after the death of his father, and falls in love with the popular *improvvisatrice* (improvisatory poet) Corinne, whose mother was from Rome and father was an English lord. Out of respect for his father's memory, Oswald refuses to marry Corinne, who eventually reveals to him that she was originally intended to be his bride until his father changed his mind and decided that he should marry her half-sister, Lucile, instead. Upon his return to Scotland, Oswald learns that his father deemed Corinne to be too "Italian"—that is, too vivacious, passionate, and imaginative—to live peaceably in England. As a result, Oswald weds Lucile out of respect for his father, Corinne is devastated by this betrayal and subsequently falls seriously ill. Years later, Oswald and Lucile visit Florence and witness Corinne's last performance before her death. The novel ends with the implication that despite his sense of duty and morality, Oswald has been feeling guilty and unhappy for having betrayed Corinne.[28]

According to Schoina, *Corinne* not only depicts the "extended contrast between north (England) and south (Italy)," but also shows that "both elements of the polarity are interdependent and engage in a constant, though at times traumatic, dialogue" and that de Staël "attempts a reconciliation of (northern) distance and (southern) immediacy, of reflection and feeling respectively."[29] For de Staël, the north-south divide "constitutes … an essential dialectic in its contrariety," Moira argues, "an interplay that define[d] European civilization at that historical moment."[30]

Indeed, de Staël's audience did in fact recognize that *Corinne* depicted the cultural, geographic, religious, and political differences between territories, not so much in dialogue, as in opposition. In his 1807 review of the novel, Francis Jeffrey, wrote that "the difference of national character is the force that sets all in motion; and it is Great Britain and Italy, the extremes of civilized Europe, that are personified and contrasted in the hero and heroine of this romantic tale."[31] Doubting de Staël's over-estimation of the physical causes of character, and her underestimation of moral and political rule, Jeffrey wrote that:

> The climate of Italy is not probably very different now from what it was in antient [sic] times; and yet, what a difference between the antient Romans and modern Italians? We are persuaded we shall not ... be accused of any immoderate partiality in favour of our countrymen, when we say that an Englishman bears a much greater resemblance to a Roman, than an Italian of the present day. Here, therefore, the possession of liberty and laws, and above all, the superiority of a man derives from having a share in the government of

[28] See Madame (Anne-Louise-Germaine) de Staël, *Corinne; or, Italy Translated by Isabel Hill; with Metrical Versions of the Odes by L.E. Landon* (London: Richard Bentley, 1833).
[29] Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians,'* 52.
[30] Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians,'* 52.
[31] [Jeffrey, Francis], "Review of 'Corinne, ou l'Italie,' " *Edinburgh Review* 11 (1807): 183.

> his country, has, in opposition to climate and situation, produced a greater resemblance of character, than the latter was able to do, when counteracted by the former.[32]

An extraordinary synergy, for Jeffrey, connected the glories of ancient Rome with contemporary English character, the modern Italian being alienated from her imperial past. Jeffrey contrasts English presumed superiority with Italian apparent weakness, claiming that England possessed something that Italy lacks: a constitutional government and an effective political system. In comparing the British fighting Napoleon to the Romans fighting the barbarians, he looks down on modern Italians for being too weak against Napoleon. But most striking is Jeffrey's refusal of climatic determinism: his equation of English superiority, liberty, and strength with a moral spirit cultivated in defiance of "southern" natural law under the Roman Empire.

At the same time, for obvious reasons, the Italian peninsula and Sicily took on a strategic military importance for the British in this period.[33] This geopolitical reality led to increased diplomatic and military relations between the British and Southern Italy after 1797: the British military safeguarded British shipping interests in the Mediterranean and also built a British garrison at Messina in 1806 to protect the Sicilians from a possible French invasion.[34] The occupation continued until the Sicilians were granted a Constitution by the British in 1812.[35] The fall of Venice to Napoleon (and to the Austrians later) in 1797, further diminished the Italians in the eyes of the British, according to scholars such as John Eglin.[36] Before the Napoleonic wars, the British viewed Venice as the last independent Republic in Italy and London's equal as a successful city of commerce. Notwithstanding the British poor opinion of Venetian licentiousness, the city's culture served as models to the Whigs, and its carnival, as a model for the English masquerade, for its mixing and leveling of classes. But the Napoleonic invasion of the last, strong, independent Republic in Italy and Britain's growing self-image as a global power, further justified to the British the idea of their inheritance of political patrimony from this declining people.[37]

The lifting of the Continental Blockade in 1814 and the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, as James Buzard and particularly literary critics observe, ushered in a new boom for British travel, especially of the middling classes, as well as the arrival of migrant Italians in England.[38] It was fashionable for new British travelers to visit Italian sites, according to O'Connor, to compare the current realities they encountered there to the imaginary locales they read about or saw in Romantic novels and paintings, their experience being filtered through an imagined "Italy."[39] While the tendency, in the 1790s, had been to look down

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[32] [Jeffrey, Francis], "Review of 'Corinne, ou l'Italie,"194.
[33] O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy*, 19.
[34] O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy*, 19.
[35] O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy*, 19.
[36] See John Eglin, *Venice Transfigured: The Myth of Venice in British Culture, 1660-1797* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).
[37] See Eglin, *Venice Transfigured*, 47.
[38] See Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 6.
[39] O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy*, 21.

upon the "weak Italians," post-1815 British travelers developed, or rather constructed, a deep sympathy for these imagined people and their political aspirations. They still attacked native character, but these qualities as well as the degeneration of modern Italy were blamed on and attributed to the foreign tyranny they experienced by French, and later, Austrian peoples.[40] While the British nobility continued to appreciate Italy for its art and culture in greater numbers, several Italian exiles and literati such as Cesare Beccaria, Vittorio Alfieri, Giuseppe Baretti, and Ugo Foscolo, arrived in England in the 1820s and spread the idea of England as a land of freedom that should serve as a model for the dream of a unified Italy.[41]

Yet Grand Tour travelogues, as well as contemporary narratives of the rise of respectability, reinforced stereotypes of Italians as dangerous, comic, and idle back in England in the years after the Napoleonic Wars. One prominent example where Italian character served as the primary "villain" was during the Queen Caroline affair of 1820-1821. The popularity of Queen Caroline led to the scapegoating of Italians, who were assaulted (both in person and in the press) as surrogates in lieu of King George IV and his ministers. The witnesses for the trial – including Queen Caroline's servants Theodore Majocchi and Guisseppo Rastelli – were physically attacked when they landed in Dover; a mob misidentified a coach in Canterbury as a coach full of Italians, and Liverpudlians were ordered not to attack resident Italian street organ grinders.[42] While Italians in England served as antagonists in the Queen Caroline affair, Gioachino Rossini's celebrity conduct during his only visit to England in 1824, as Benjamin Walton observes, serves as yet another case that further contributed to the perception of modern Italian musicians as increasingly ridiculous, and severed from their illustrious artistic ancestry. Rossini had spent his seven months in England entertaining rather than producing his promised opera, *Ugo, re d'Italia*, for the King's Theatre. Worse when Rossini performed as a vocal soloist in England, he tended to perform buffo duets by the Neapolitan composer Cimarosa, or sing Figaro's "Largo al factotum" from *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in a squalling falsetto.[43] Rossini's volubility and easy-going nature apparently contrasted too fundamentally with the anxieties of the English middling classes. The Pesaro-born composer's performance of his cantata commemorating Lord Byron's death provided the only opportunity to see him in a more serious performance in England. Yet an *Examiner* critic found even here that "the excess of grief which [Rossini] endeavoured to express ... would have been ludicrous, had not our feelings towards the deceased got the

[40] Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics,* 202.
[41] Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians,'* 31.
[42] Thomas W. Laqueur, "The Queen Caroline Affair: Politics as Art in the Reign of George IV," (Journal of Modern History 54, No. 3 September 1982), 436. When George IV became king and Queen Caroline returned to England from Italy to assume her duty as the queen consort in 1820, the King did everything he could to keep her away from Court and eventually tried her for adultery. The ministry secretly asked the Hanoverian ambassador to Rome to hire local Italians to spy on Queen Caroline and to steal papers from her private cabinet. A secret committee of the House of Lords examined the Italians' evidence—in a green bag—which became a symbol of the corruption of the case.
[43] Benjamin Walton, "Rara avis or fozy turnip: Rossini as Celebrity in 1820s London," in *Romanticism and Celebrity Culture, 1750-1850*, ed. Tom Mole (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 92.

better of our propensity to laugh."[44] The critics' annoyance at Rossini's behavior as a "celebrity" during and after his visit provides another example of how the reception of a valuable operatic commodity reinforced damaging stereotypes about the moral and genealogical fate of modern Italians.

Maura O'Connor argues that the English middling-class desire to reform the state of prevailing Italian national character and to motivate political and economic change imposed upon them a mission, quasi-humanitarian in design, to spread the virtues of industriousness and legal governance abroad. Through their identification as inheritors of Rome's imperial mission, the British, especially the "rising" classes (so says O'Connor), yearned to return modern Italy to its former glory, which, in their minds, meant a nation resembling Britain: the pupils were to become the teachers. O'Connor cites this as a reason for affect-laden middling-class, and even laboring-class solidarity with the Risorgimento throughout the 1840s and 60s, as both men and women looked forward to an imparting British notions of a constitutional monarchy and liberalism abroad, and embraced Mazzini (and later on Cavour and Garibaldi.)[45] As British observers continued to strive to teach Italy how to act as a modern nation, they became less interested in "learning from Italy," as they had done so throughout the years of the Grand Tour and the post-Napoleonic era.[46]

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The study of shifting Anglo-Italian stereotypes, ancestries, and intimacies, fortunately, is assisted in music studies by a burgeoning disciplinary interest in transnationalism – one profoundly disaffected by the identity politics attendant to knowledge of only one language or one purportedly autochthonous study area. Musicologists of such varying research expertise such as Olivia Bloechl, Sarah Eyerly, David Irving, Yvonne Liao, and Reinhard Strohm advocate for macrohistorical approaches to the study of "Global History of Music," extolling its "repercussions of transcontinental exchanges, movement, and mixing of peoples, practices, ideas, and objects."[47] Not quite as macrohistorical in geographic

[44] Walton, "Rara avis or fozy turnip," 92.
[45] See O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy*, 40-44.
[46] O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy*, 4.
[47] See "IMS Study Group 'Global History of Music': Mission Statement," The International Musicological Society, accessed August 30, 2022, https://www.musicology.org/networks/sg/global-history-of-music#:~:text=Mission%20Statement,current%20directions%20in%20sister%20disciplines. Much of this work is in-progress within a few research networks, including the ERC project "Musical Transitions to European Colonialism in the Eastern Indian Ocean" (MusTECIO), the Balzan Prize Research Programme in Musicology's "Towards a Global Music History", the International Musicological Society's and International Council for Traditional Music's study group on the "Global History of Music", the American Musicological Society's Global Music History study group, and the musicological contributions to The Oxford Research Centre for Humanities' "Colonial Ports and Global History" project. For an overview of these projects, see Olivia Bloechl, "Editorial," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 17/2 (2020): 173-176. Key publications as a result of these projects include the essays within Reinhard Strohm, *Studies on a Global History of Music: a Balzan*

pretention, but similarly engaged of question of musical transfer is the Leverhulme Trust project "Re-imagining Italianità: Opera and Musical Culture in Transnational Perspective." Here, such scholars as Benjamin Walton, Charlotte Bentley, José Manuel Izquierdo König, Axel Körner, Paulo Kühl, Ditlev Rindom, Francesca Vella, and others have focused on the global dissemination of Italian opera, in order to trace the Italian opera industry throughout the nineteenth-century world to properly account for the mapping of ideas about music and national character.[48] At the same time, though their approaches tend to the microhistorical, scholars associated with Roger Parker's ERC project, *Music in London, 1800-1851*, including such scholars as Katherine Fry, James Grande, Jonathan Hicks, Oscar Cox Jensen, David Kennerley, Ellen Lockhart, and Susan Rutherford, have worked to remedy the extent to which early nineteenth-century London has been ignored as an engine room for the production of European musical culture.[49] As Roger Parker has explained, "London has long been a musicologically peripheral nineteenth-century place: inevitably so, perhaps, given its paucity of indigenous composers of international standing," but the recent digitization of

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Musicology Project, ed. by Reinhard Strohm (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018). Projects particularly involving East Asia include David. R. M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint : Music in Early Modern Manila* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); David R. M. Irving, "The Genevan psalter in eighteenth-century Indonesia and Sri Lanka," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 11.2 (2014): 235–55; Katherine Butler Schofield, "'Words without songs': the social history of Hindustani song collections in India's Muslim courts, c. 1770–1830," in Rachel Harris and Martin Stokes, eds. *Theory and practice in the music of the Islamic world: essays in honour of Owen Wright* (London: Routledge, 2017): 173-198; and Yvonne Liao, "Empires in Rivalry: Opera Concerts and Foreign Territoriality in Shanghai, 1930–1945," in *Operatic Geographies: The Place of Opera and the Opera House*, edited by Suzanne Aspden (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019): 148-163. For their transatlantic work, see, for example, Glenda Goodman, *Cultivated by Hand: Amateur Musicians in the Early American Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020) and Sarah Justina Eyerly, *Moravian Soundscapes A Sonic History of the Moravian Missions in Early Pennsylvania* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2020).

[48] See, for example Axel Körner and Paulo M. Kühl, *Italian Opera in Global and Transnational Perspective: Reimagining Italianità in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2022 ; the contributions of Charlotte Bentley, Yvonne Liao, and Benjamin Walton in *Operatic Geographies: The Place of Opera & the Opera House*, ed. Suzanne Aspden (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019); and Francesca Vella, *Networking Operatic Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022). Several other pieces of scholarship are still in press.

[49] The ERC project, *Music in London, 1800-1851*, led by Roger Parker, has yielded fresh and new scholarship on music in London in the early nineteenth-century, such as James Q. Davies and Ellen Lockhart, eds., *Sound Knowledge: Music and Science in London, 1789-1851* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017); Oskar Cox Jensen, David Kennerley and Ian Newman, eds., *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Roger Parker and Susan Rutherford, eds., *London Voices, 1820-1840* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019); Oskar Cox Jensen, *The Ballad-Singer in Georgian and Victorian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021); and Roger Parker," 'As a stranger give it welcome': Musical Meanings in 1830s London," in *Representation in Western Music,* ed. Joshua S. Walden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 33-46. Several other pieces of scholarship, such as James Grande's *Articulate Sounds: Music, Dissent, and Literary Culture, 1789-1840*; Jonathan Hicks's *Music on the Move in Early Victorian London*; and Roger Parker's *Brooding City: Music in London in the 1830s* are still in press.

London's periodicals has enabled researchers to study what he calls the "largest musical public in Europe."[50] My research seeks to combine the efforts of these as-yet distinct musicological subdisciplines. I argue that, to understand the global impact of "European music" and indeed the modern invention of "Europe" in the context of the European post-Napoleonic polity, requires intentional focus on musical exchanges occurring early in that century between what Francis Jeffrey, in his review of de Staël above, called the "extremes of civilized Europe."[51] England and Italy might be conceptualized as geographically at "extremes" and dialectically opposed; but in terms of musical character, too, they were intimate with each other, in a number of ways I lay out below. At a critical phase in the construction of so-called "civilized" or "European" music, I am interested in how Europe became Europe, and therefore take an intra-European approach to establish how the Anglo-Italian cultures described in this dissertation were both an exemplar of that process, as well as contributors.

On the question of what precisely qualifies as "Europe," these words written by Jacques Derrida for his 1992 book, *The Other Heading*, apply – though written nearly two centuries after the post-Napoleonic détente and "the concert of nations," here in response to the traumatic formation of the European Union:

> Europe takes itself to be a promontory, an advance – the avant-garde of geography and history. It advances and promotes itself as an advance, and it will have never ceased to make advances on the other: to induce, seduce, produce, and conduce, to spread out, to cultivate, to love or to violate, to love to violate, to colonize, and to colonize itself.[52]

For Derrida (himself "not quite European by birth … [and] a sort of over-acculturated, overcolonized European hybrid" having been born in Algeria to a family of Sephardic Jews who were granted French citizenship in 1870), in other words, Europe had to first consolidate (or in his language "colonize") itself as an exceptional entity, before expanding its power base and purview more globally.[53] To understand this process of self-colonization, and to include the musical cultures associated with this "colonization" requires the appeal to, as I will soon show, theories of Meridionism, contact zones, and cultural mobility. Similar historical processes, I contend, occurred in musical systems of exchange: in the arenas of cultural performance, generic classification, and shifting discourse. Thus, my contribution is to a new body of work which explains developments in "the invention of European music."[54]

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[50] See Roger Parker," 'As a stranger give it welcome': Musical Meanings in 1830s London," in *Representation in Western Music,* ed. Joshua S. Walden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 33.

[51][Jeffrey, Francis], "Review of 'Corinne, ou l'Italie," 183.

[52] Jacques Derrida, *The Other Heading: Reflections on Today's Europe*, translated by Pascale Anne Brault and Michael B. Naas (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992)*,* 49.

[53] Derrida, *The Other Heading*, 6-7.

[54] See David Irving, "Rethinking Early Modern 'Western Art Music': A Global History Manifesto," *IMS Musicological Brainfood* 3, no. 1 (2019): 6-10.

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But first, we have to take a step back to make explicit what has actually been left implicit in discussing "Anglo-Italian" interactions, let alone "Anglo-Italian musical cultures." Scholars of Anglo-Italian studies usually use the term "Anglo-Italian" to relate to different types of transcultural interactions between England and Italy or between the English and Italians. In their writing, "Anglo-Italian" is taken for granted, and often left undertheorized. Remarkably, an entire journal – active since 1991 – has been devoted to the study of the category: the website of the *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies* explains that they publish scholarship on the "history of cultural relations between England and Italy from 1300 to the present."[55] Furthermore, the journal's "articles focus on cultural literacy and historical studies, as well as related disciplines"; yet the website, as well as the first issue, provide no more advanced definitions.[56] For another example, in the introduction to their edited volume, *The Lustrous Trade: Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy, c. 1700-c.1860* (2000)*,* Cinzia Sicca and Alison Yarrington discuss the Anglo-Italian sculpture industry as well as "Anglo-Italian exchange" without explaining their view of "Anglo-Italian" at all.[57] This trend continues throughout the rest of their edited volume. The British Academy project *In Medias Res: British-Italian Cultural Transactions* (2004-2007), on the other hand, investigated the "historic resonance of transnational encounters and movements between Italy and Britain as two European cultures that look back on a long history of mutual cross-fertilisation."[58]

Talk of "cross-fertilization" and "cultures" "crossing," traveling, or interfusing is a feature of the multiculturalist discourse often coloring art-historical discussion of this topic. John Gash, in his article "Anglo-Italian relations before and during the long eighteenth century" (2010) describes his object of study as the "cultural interchange" and "reciprocal journeys" between England and Italy.[59] Similarly, in their introduction to their edited volume*, Enforcing or Eluding Censorship: British and Anglo-Italian Perspectives* (2014), Giuliana Iannaccaro and Giovanni Iamartino, again, fail to specify what they mean by "Anglo-Italian perspectives," but do explain that most of the essays in the volume relate to "cross-cultural phenomena," and "the exportation of a cultural item from one country to the other."[60] Finally, in an article on Anglo-Italian musical exchanges in the nineteenth century, "Constructing an English Identity in London" (2021) (for a special issue of the *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* on Italian musical migration to London), Federica Nardacci adopts

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[55] "Institute of Anglo-Italian Studies: Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies," L'Univerità ta Malta, accessed July 11, 2022, https://www.um.edu.mt/angloitalian/journal.

[56] Institute of Anglo-Italian Studies: Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies," L-Univerità ta' Malta, accessed July 11, 2022, https://www.um.edu.mt/angloitalian/journal.

[57] Cinzia Sicca and Alison Yarrington, "Introduction" in *The Lustrous Trade: Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy, c. 1700-c.1860* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 8 and 18.

[58] Schaff, "Introduction: Paradise of Exiles?," 1.

[59] John Gash, "Anglo-Italian relations before and during the long eighteenth century," Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies Vol.33 No.2 (2010): 141-144.

[60] Giuliana Iannaccaro and Giovanni Iamartino, "Introduction: The Ways of Censorship", *Enforcing or Eluding Censorship: British and Anglo-Italian Perspectives*, ix.

similar language ("Anglo-Italian cultural collaboration," and "cultural relations") again without clarifying the nature of the process or the shifting materiality of the relation.[61]

One underlying denominator that appears common to Anglo-Italian studies (particularly of the early nineteenth century) of the last fifteen years is a presiding focus on the more nebulous notion of identity, both in terms of national identities, but also a specific "Anglo-Italian" identity. Barbara Schaff explains in her introduction to the edited volume *Exiles, Emigrés, and Intermediaries: Anglo-Italian Cultural Transactions* (2010) that Britain and Italy constructed their imagined national identities by "projecting counter-images onto each other" because of their vast differences in geography, culture, religion, and politics.[62] For Schaff, the study of the English émigré or expatriate as well as the Italian emigrant in England provides deeper insight into "Anglo-Italian cultural transactions" than the evidence of British perceptions of Italy as expressed in Grand Tour travel writing.[63] Manfred Pfister concurs in his introduction to the edited volume, *Performing National Identity: Anglo-Italian Cultural Transactions* (2008), wherein he explores how intra-European national and cultural identities have been acquired through mutual "*inter*cultural performances and transactions."[64]

While frequently leveraged to refer to vague ideas of "interculturality" or "cultural transactions," specifically and with clarity, the term "Anglo-Italian" in existing literature more exactly indexes a very local circle of British literati and friends led by Mary and Percy B. Shelley, Lord Byron, Leigh Hunt, and others. Here, in such an exclusive (though politically radical) sphere, may be where the term was first derived – in ways only peripherally to do with the ideals of cross-cultural exchange or transfer. In her book *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians': Configurations of Identity in Byron, the Shelleys, and the Pisan Circle* (2009), for example, Schoina describes the "Anglo-Italian" identity as a hybrid construct Mary Shelley invented in 1826 – as I will further explore in Chapter 3 – to legitimize and distinguish herself and fellow expatriate British Romantics in the Pisan circle from her pejorative depiction of the plain English tourist. By focusing on the hyphen within "Anglo-Italian," Schoina explains that "the metaphor of the Anglo-Italian not only creates a new code of intercultural perception, but is methodically involved in the production of a version of Englishness, and one of Italianness, through their representation."[65] Schoina argues that these writer-thinkers fashioned this consolidated "hyphenated identity" in their writings based on pre-existing cultural geographies of Anglo-Italianness "in an attempt to establish a bicultural sensibility and, through this, an alternative coalition with 'foreignness,' namely, with Italian place, culture, language and community."[66] Also assuming that the term applies first to acts of self-fashioning local to this enclosed circle, Will Bowers, in his recent book, *The Italian Idea: Anglo-Italian Radical Culture, 1815-1823* (2020), builds on Schoina's notions of

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[61] Federica Nardacci, "Constructing an English identity in London: Albert Viesetti and Anglo-Italian musical exchanges at the end of the nineteenth century," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 26:1 (2021): 42, 49-51.

[62] Schaff, "Introduction: Paradise of Exiles?," 11-12.

[63] Schaff, "Introduction: Paradise of Exiles?," 11-12.

[64] Manfred Pfister, "Introduction: Performing National Identity" in *Performing National Identity: Anglo-Italian Cultural Transactions*, 9.

[65] Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians'*, 165.

[66] Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians'*, 5.

"hyphenated" hybridity to explore the emergence, crystallization, and eventual waning of what he calls "radical Anglo-Italianism" in literature and art in the context of post-Waterloo politics in Italy and London.[67] Yet, he freely uses terms such as "Anglo-Italian literary relationship", "Anglo-Italian Romanticism," "Anglo-Italian currents", "radical Anglo-Italianism," and "Anglo-Italian interactions," among others, throughout his book, without offering clear theorizations.[68]

Applying the definition of the "Anglo-Italian" to describe either a "radical circle" or "cultural exchanges between Britain and Italy" to the study of musical culture in the post-Napoleonic years, could suffice for this project. But in this dissertation, I go further than merely exploring (this time, musical) transactions between England and Italy and focusing on issues of identity (the concerns of a field derived largely from comparative literature). This dissertation is a musicological one, exploring a medium traditionally construed to involve embodied practices, time, process, and more "material" relations. "Relationality," as per the work of music sociologist Georgina Born, is disciplinarily understood to be an attribute peculiar to music or sonic practice.[69] Such relationality is certainly at the heart of the complex associations I lay out, to show how music contributed to an Anglo-Italian culture that goes beyond vague speculations about "cultural crossings" or a bounded group identity. Indeed, I have identified that particular Anglo-Italian musical cultures emerged out of defined physical and haptic musical actions, shared behaviors that contributed to the formation of European music at the time when the very concept of civilization was under reconstruction in the post-Waterloo years. At the same time, I demonstrate the contribution of a deep love for music (a music-mania cultivated musical practice and experience) to the understanding and definition of "the extremes of civilized Europe."

One less sentimental way to document the material relations I seek in this dissertation might be "to follow the actors," after Bruno Latour, though my agenda is hardly to proscribe any ontic theory of "social association." It is certainly true that this dissertation is methodologically informed by theories, recently popular in academic discourse, of networks and assemblages. However, the very nature of the Anglo-Italian musical cultures I am describing speaks to these multiple approaches, accounting for associations and interactions between English and Italian musicians, music enthusiasts, listeners, and the circulation of musical products. Here, while the actor-network theorist might allege that each of these components has their own existence, agency, and autonomy, I am interested in the cultural geography and power structures that resulted from on-the-ground acts of musical appropriation, collaboration, and emulation. In *Reassembling the Social* (2005), Bruno Latour redefines sociology, not as the "science of the social," but rather as the "tracing of associations" and "connection[s] between things," and as a "very peculiar movement of re-

[67] Will Bowers, *The Italian Idea: Anglo-Italian Radical Literary Culture, 1815-1823* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 2.
[68] Bowers, *The Italian Idea.* 3, 7, 11, 145, 173, 175, 177, and 181.
[69] See Georgina Born "For a Relational Musicology: Music and Interdisciplinarity, Beyond the Practice Turn: The 2007 Dent Medal Address" *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135, no. 2 (2010): 205–243.

association and reassembling."[70] Indeed, in Chapter 1 specifically, I describe "entanglements," collectives both human and nonhuman, mapping out the connections and associations among them. The Latourian attitude, of course, was always beholden to earlier and equally structural paeans to multiplicity, and this dissertation is also informed by theories of assemblages. Famously, in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizoprenia* (1980) Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari presented their idea that the social world as an entity formed by fluid and indeterminate assemblages.[71] To them, an assemblage is a "multiplicity which is made up of many heterogeneous terms and which establishes liaisons, relations between them."[72] Manuel DeLanda further explains that assemblage theory is "meant to apply to a wide variety of wholes constructed from heterogeneous parts."[73] While atoms, molecules, species, and ecosystems can be understood as assemblages, DeLanda clarifies, assemblage theory can also be applied to social entities and human history. Furthermore, these assemblages are "wholes characterized by *relations of exteriority*," which means that a "component part of an assemblage may be detached from it and plugged into a different assemblage in which its interactions are different," and therefore the components retain autonomy outside of their assemblages.[74] Therefore, relations of exteriority assure that "assemblages may be taken apart while at the same time allowing that the interactions between parts may result in a true synthesis."[75] Of course, a detailed analysis of an assemblage goes beyond simply counting "multiplicities." But ultimately, by tracing the movement and connections among musical products and individuals (including singers, instrumentalists, pedagogues, dilettante composers, expatriate music enthusiasts, tourists), I identify three Anglo-Italian musical cultures constituted by the assemblages of these interactions and networks: Chapter 1 discusses an Anglo-Italian musical politico-economic culture, Chapter 2, an Anglo-Italian *buffo* aesthetic, and Chapter 3, Anglo-Italian anthropologies of sound.

But while the study of the emergence of Anglo-Italian musical cultures could appear as a celebration of mutuality, adulation, and seamless intercourse, this study still grapples with the asymmetries so obvious in my opening anecdotes of Clementi's acquisition as a child in Rome, versus Lord Burghersh's remarkable success in Florence. In that vein, I heed Gavin Steingo's (himself struggling with theories of assemblage) warning to music scholars to be cautious of triumphalist and "overly optimistic … approaches" to the scholarly study of global music and mobility.[76] While Steingo focuses on contemporary South African

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[70] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 5 and 7.
[71] See Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, and Brian Massumi, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).
[72] Gilles, Deleuze and Claire Parnet, *Dialogues* (London: Athlone Press, 1987), 69.
[73] Manuel DeLanda, *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* (London & New York: Continuum, 2006), 8.
[74] DeLanda, *A New Philosophy of Society*, 13.
[75] DeLanda, *A New Philosophy of Society*, 14.
[76] See Gavin Steingo, "Sound and Circulation: Immobility and Obduracy in South African Electronic Music" *Ethnomusicology Forum* 24, no. 1 (2015): 103 and Gavin Steingo, *Kwaito's Promise: Music and the Aesthetics of Freedom in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

musical production and its sonic technologies, in which musicians are mostly immobile and musical equipment constantly breaks down, his warning can be applied earlier, especially to the Anglo-Italian musical cultures I lay out. Steingo's critique is old news, of course, Stephen Greenblatt, a proponent of cultural mobility studies, having long ago recognized these shortcomings in mobility studies, advocating instead for the study of the "productive antagonism between … border-crossing exchanges or movements."[77] In his *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (2010), Greenblatt argues that "mobility studies should be interested in the way in which seemingly fixed migration paths are disrupted by the strategic acts of individual agents and unexpected, unplanned, entirely contingent encounter between different cultures."[78] Greenblatt acknowledges the difficulties of these cultural encounters, that "mobility often is perceived as a threat – a force by which traditions, rituals, expressions, beliefs are decentered, thinned out, decontextualized, lost."[79] In line with Greenblatt, throughout the dissertation, I consider the following questions posed in his introduction to *Cultural Mobility*:

> What are the mechanisms at work when movement encounters structures of stability and control? How do local actors accommodate, resist or adjust to challenges posed by outside movement? What are the cultural mechanisms of interaction between states and mobile individuals? What happens to cultural products that travel through time or space to emerge and be enshrined in new contexts and configurations? How do they set in motion—imaginatively as well as geographically—people who encounter them and, in turn, are set loose themselves?[80]

But returning to our earlier discussion of Derrida and intra-European power relations, then, I find the literature on Meridionism far more directly applicable in explaining the forms of contact, friction, and cultural exchange encountered in my research.

The concept of Meridionism appeared first in Manfred Pfister's *The Fatal Gift of Beauty* (1996), an annotated anthology of British travel writing on Italy. Pfister – already quoted liberally in my earlier discussions of the Anglo-Italian – was the first scholar to argue that what he called intra-European "Meridionism" differed from global Orientalism, even though both concepts shared similar rhetoric.[81] Edward Said explained in his seminal study that Orientalism is a discourse that is:

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[77] Michele Marrapodi, "Introduction: Past, present, and future in Anglo-Italian renaissance studies," in *The Routledge Companion to Anglo-Italian Renaissance Literature and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 27.
[78] Stephen Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 252.
[79] Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility*, 252.
[80] Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility*, 19-20.
[81] Pfister, *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, 3.

> produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with ideas about what 'we' do and what 'they' cannot do or understand as 'we' do).[82]

Pfister agrees that applying some of the concepts of Orientalism to Anglo-Italian interactions, or that of "'Europe and the rest of the world' onto the smaller scale of intra-European relations, from the level of differences *between* Europe and non-European countries to that of differences *within* Europe" could prove fruitful.[83] Kirsten Sandrock and Owain Wright, too, have shown in their introduction to *Locating Italy: East and West in British-Italian Transactions* (2013), that Edward Said's concept of Orientalism is useful to the description of Anglo-Italian exchange, because Italy has "frequently represented something of a semi- or non-European Other" to English travelers and enthusiasts throughout the history of the interaction.[84] Luigi Cazzato also notes that, if Orientalism, to Said "was the distorting lens through which the West saw the East," so too, the "historical north-Eurocentric biased perception," (in this case, British) sees southern Europeans (Italians) as "internal Orientals" who "share the same 'oriental destiny.'"[85] However, Pfister asserts that:

> This intra-European Meridionism has not had the same far-reaching and political consequences that Orientalism brought upon mankind by legitimizing colonialism, the disempowerment, exploitation, and humiliation of almost all non-European people.[86]

Cazzato explains that Meridionism resulted from what Walter Mignolo has delineated as a binary opposition between "colonial difference" versus "imperial difference."[87] The former, according to Mignolo, simply refers to colonizers and the colonized. But the latter refers to the difference between those European countries which had successfully sustained colonies and those that had not, resulting in a European hierarchy of colonialist haves and have-nots.[88] "If Orientalism was born as a cultural tool for the implementation of European colonialism," Cazzato asserts that "Meridionism was a cultural tool for the foundation of modern European identity."[89] Indeed, Pfister explains that this Meridionism has "played an incisive role in the formation of British and European cultural self-understanding" while

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[82] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 36.
[83] Pfister, *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, 3.
[84] Kirsten Sandrock and Owain Wright, "Introduction: Locating Italy" in *Locating Italy: East and West in British Italian Transactions.* Amsterdam: BRILL, 2013, 8
[85] Luigi Cazzato, "Mediterranean: Coloniality, Migration and Decolonial Practice" *Politics. Rivista di Studi Politici* 5, no. 1 (2016) : 1-2.
[86] Pfister, *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, 3.
[87] Cazzato, "Mediterranean: Coloniality, Migration and Decolonial Practice," 4.
[88] See Walter D. Mignolo, "Delinking," *Cultural Studies* 21.2 (2007): 470-476.
[89] Cazzato, "Mediterranean: Coloniality, Migration and Decolonial Practice," 5.

"conflating distinctions of class, race, gender, nationality and religion."[90] Because the relationship between Britain and Italy was not as "unambiguous" as the colonial encounters Said examined, Schoina applies this theory of intra-European Meridionism to argue that the British and Italian cultures "'invaded' and appropriated each other's spaces in the cultural discourse of the time in an act of self-definition."[91]

Schoina, too, describes Meridionism not as a "closed system of cultural domination" but as—what Mary Louise Pratt famously termed in 1993— a "contact zone" between Britain and Italy."[92] (Pratt described "contact zones" as "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination.")[93] For Schoina, the "contact zone" between Italy and Britain is "marked by mutual vulnerability, as the cultural identities of both the 'coloniser' and the 'colonised' are influenced in this encounter."[94] Furthermore, the Italian and English appropriation of each other led to the "formation of a space between them" in which "previously set hierarchies fall and are reorganized, providing a constant renewal of the act of identification."[95] In their argument that Anglo-Italian interactions were not only influenced by ideas of North versus South, but East versus West as well, Sandrock and Wright agree that Pratt's concept is "useful for examining how the processes of British-Italian transactions were influenced by images of Eastern-ness and Western-ness" while simultaneously recognizing that Anglo-Italian interactions were "formed by a process of intercultural communication and reciprocity rather than by one-sided hegemony of power."[96]

While Schoina, Sandrock, and Wright deploy the "contact zone" concept to refine Said's concept of Orientalism for their purposes, Anna Tsing, in *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connections* (2005), focuses on what she calls "zones of awkward engagement," or "cultural friction" between global forces and pre-existing cultures.[97] This framework may work better for my music-aligned take on what Ann Laura Stoler calls "colonial intimacy," in that the British love for and embrace of Italian musical culture, was also deeply invested in the strategic production of difference.[98] Tsing, that is, still honors that old "zone thinking" explaining that "cultures are continually co-produced in the interactions" she calls "

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[90] Pfister, *The Fatal Gift of Beauty*, 3.
[91] Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians,'* 8.
[92] Schoina , *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians,'* 21.
[93] Mary Louise Pratt originally proposed the idea of the "contact zone" in her seminal book on colonialist travel writing, and suggests that "contact zones" are useful to recognize the appropriation and power dynamics in intra-European settings as well. See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2008), 4.
[94] Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians,'* 21.
[95] Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians,'* 22.
[96] Sandrock and Wright, "Introduction: Locating Italy," 10-11.
[97] Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), xi.
[98] See Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2002) and Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 121-131.

'friction': the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference."[99] Furthermore, Tsing contends that "new arrangements of culture and power" emerge from the "heterogeneous and unequal encounters" through friction.[100] At the same time, the "effects of encounters across difference can be compromising or empowering," while "hegemony is made as well as unmade with friction."[101] She reminds us that through friction, "global connections are made in fragments—although some fragments are more powerful than others."[102] Friction is a bilateral affair, even if one surface is rougher than the other. Similarly, the musical encounters between Italy and England were bilateral, even if the English viewed themselves as "smoother" than the "rough" Italians.

By charting these networks of Anglo-Italian musical interactions, I interrogate (or rather grapple with) music-historical narratives and assumptions about unidirectional Italian contributions to Britain: British actors also influenced Italian musical culture in ways that spawned hybrid Anglo-Italian musical cultures on either side of the continent. Each chapter of this dissertation corresponds with geographic contact zones between particular locations in Italy (Rome, Naples, Tuscany, and Venice) and London (and, in the case of Chapter 1, beyond), while laying out quite particular zones of contact, mutual desire, and alliance.[103] Unfortunately, due to uneven imperatives to record public memory and widening power imbalances between Britain and Italy, far more British archival evidence has survived comparatively, in ways that are necessarily reflected in this dissertation.

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My first chapter examines Anglo-Italian musical material, economic, and global relations through Clementi's circulating musical products and demonstrates how these products acted in the maintenance of global trade relationships. As English Grand Tourists increasingly held derogative opinions of imperial and modern Rome, an uneasy relationship between Britain and Rome came to the fore in the post-Napoleonic years and an Anglo-Roman polity entered the British subconscious. It was in the setting of the Grand Tour that, in 1766, Clementi was brought from Rome to England, where the pianist, composer, and pedagogue eventually co-founded his Anglo-Roman musical firm in 1798. As London's largest music business, Clementi & Co. supplied musical products throughout Britain, the Continent, and the British colonies, serving as the official supplier of musical merchandise to the East India Company. Clementi at first prioritized the procurement of Roman gut strings; I describe their manufacture—including the harvesting of the *filo* membrane from lamb entrails—to show the extent to which this transnational music industry depended on the brutish slaughter of Roman lambs, resource extraction, hard labor, and economic exploitation of the Eternal City. While Clementi's company traded these strings as quality items, Roman

[99] Tsing, *Friction*, 4.
[100] Tsing, *Friction*, 5.
[101] Tsing, *Friction*, 6.
[102] Tsing, *Friction*, 271.
[103] Here, I am influenced by the structure of Rosemary Sweet's *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

manufacturers relied on foreigners to counter the residual damaging effects of the Napoleonic Wars. Meanwhile, from 1813, the year Clementi became a shareholder of the East India Company, the Company's mercantile monopoly was increasingly threatened by free trade lobbyists and by 1833, a year after Clementi's death, the Company ceased its commercial activities but displayed characteristics of the institutions of imperial government.

As the East India Company underwent slow commercial decline and Britain inexorably expanded its Empire, the so-called *galant style*, which originated in Rome, was on the wane, too. I show how *partimenti* schemata of the *galant style* served as sonic micro-commodities in the commercial exchange between London, Rome, and beyond, in the context of Clementi's circulating sheet music and musical products. But composers were also expected to create a cognitive thread, *il filo*, to assemble the modular components of *partimenti* in a way that guides the listener through a musical work. One critic in particular recognized Clementi's use of *il filo* in his last keyboard sonatas, and I suggest that he heard an indigenized Anglo-Roman musical culture associated with Clementi's entrepreneurial business activities in London. As Britain imaginatively and physically appropriated Rome, so the Anglicized Roman Clementi deftly navigated a vast British musical enterprise and composed in a *galant style* first reputedly consolidated in Rome, and spread abroad as a commercializable musical ethno-language. I claim that the process of executive through-line assembly so characteristic of Clementi's compositional style was afforded by a complex network of economic and political relationships: an Anglo-Roman musical polity.

The second chapter engages an Anglo-Italian *buffo* aesthetic, by way of exploring the movement of singers and the status of comedy between Italy and England, ca. 1817. The presence of Italian opera singers in London had been sporadic throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, reaching one of its lowest points during the Continental Blockade (1806-1814). Most Italian artists were prevented from reaching English shores, and local singers were engaged to perform in their stead. Yet the repeal of the Continental Blockade exposed the islands to a new wave of Italian singers, among them, the *basso buffo* Giuseppe Ambrogetti, who arrived in 1817 as London's first *Don Giovanni* and was hailed as the "truest" and most "versatile" actor-singer audiences had ever witnessed. Audiences and critics were enraptured by Ambrogetti's acting—especially his talent for multi-voicedness and multi-characterization achieved through differentiated vocal colors and stylistic effects; but critics and audiences grew increasingly impatient with Giuseppe Naldi, the King's Theatre *basso buffo* since 1806, a development that arguably led to his dismissal in 1819. Why were London audiences and critics so enthusiastic about Ambrogetti, yet stopped laughing at and were so eager to dispense with Naldi, whose buffoonery was now deemed as "*no joke*"?

To understand the causes of this historical shift in comic reception, this chapter explores the status of comedy in Anglo-Italian critical and musical practice ca. 1817. My argument unfolds in two parts. First, I show how Neapolitan slapstick had long influenced English theatrical comedy: the question of Naples was a matter of concern for all comedy in London, and the *Literary Gazette* critic's comparison of Ambrogetti to a Neapolitan *buffo* and the Naldi-contra-Ambrogetti case is just one of several examples. A Bergsonian view of laughter appears *a propos* to Naldi's pre-1817 London reception – the theory that laughter has to do with social distinction, and that "we laugh at those ignorant of themselves." Indeed, it was standard for even post-Napoleonic-era English Grand Tourists in Naples to decree its

inhabitants not only ridiculous, as we have seen, but idle and dangerous. The city became a symbol of lack of restraint for some; for others, lowbrow hilarity indexed freedom from what recent historians call "the rise of respectability," though their concern generally involves sweeping arguments about the inexorable ascent of middling class moralism.

Second, to finally answer why Naldi's buffoonery was suddenly "no joke", I return to a more detailed exposé of the critical reception of Naldi throughout his tenure (1806-1819) vis-a-vis Ambrogetti's (1817-1822). I explore the importance of acting, in the critics' experience, of a new Anglo-Italian *buffo* aesthetic, and then examine three polarities: the preference of tasteful comic acting versus buffoonish acting; nuanced versatile acting for the fidelity of character versus inadaptable acting; and fidelity to the score versus infidelity to the music and composer. I conclude that the critics' newly ennobled take on humor at the King's Theatre was wedded to new value placed in musical characterization.

Yet narrative accounts of the "rise of respectability" and stereotypes of Neapolitan humor as low, dangerous, and vulgar, neither fully account for critical reception of Ambrogetti nor the failure of Naldi in 1817. In fact, some of the same critics who criticized Naldi and congratulated Ambrogetti—namely William Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt—were among the first satirists to identify and critique the new "age of seriousness." When they heard Ambrogetti, they laughed even harder. Yet my aim is less to refuse than to complicate standard "rise of respectability" narratives. Rather than arguing that Naldi was yet another victim of rising middlebrow seriousness, I focus, less on Bergsonian theorical claims, than on a distinctly Aristotelian experience of laughter cultivated by such theatergoers as Hazlitt and Hunt. Their affective response points to a political strain of comic response – a levity – that qualifies too-fatalistic accounts of the modern history of laughter.

My third chapter addresses Anglo-Italian anthropologies of sound, and how sonic knowledge contributed to Mary Shelley's political project to invent an Anglo-Italian identity. It contributes to debates in music studies over the status of sonic knowledge or "the acousteme" by offering an historical anthropology of sound within an intra-European setting—recounting the sonic and musical experiences of two very different classes of Anglo-Italians in Tuscany. On 29 May 1826, Mary Shelley debuted her pseudonym "Anglo-Italicus" in a letter to the editor of *The Examiner*, decrying their harsh treatment of the castrato Giovanni Battista ("Giambattista") Velluti. Shortly thereafter, she introduced her theory of the "Anglo-Italian," providing criteria that distinguished her imagined "race" from English tourists, including their taste, interactions with Italians, knowledge of Italian politics, culture, and language, and, especially, acoustic immersion in the Italian countryside. She based these criteria on her experiences living in Pisa, where the Shelleys hosted a circle of English expatriates and a handful of Italian intellectuals. Meanwhile in Florence, Lord Burghersh composed and produced six operas performed by Italians and Englishmen, while he served as the British Envoy to Tuscany from 1814-1830. Shelley would have never heard Velluti were it not for Burghersh's efforts to bring him to London. Ironically, though Lord Burghersh would certainly not have qualified as an Anglo-Italian according to Shelley's yardsticks, the aristocrat's reception in the Florentine press shows that Italian publics adopted the diplomat as one of their own. While Mary Shelley invented the figure of the Anglo-Italian to suit herself and without consultation from Italians, Burghersh was accepted as an Italianized Englishman by Italian critics, opera attendees, and intellectuals.

Letters and journals written by the Pisan circle between 1818 and 1823 betray an "outsider outlook" on Italian culture, recording their condescending views of the noisy "inhabitants." Yet, they also described being captivated by the sounds of the Tuscan countryside, inscribing scenes of peasants singing Rossini in the fields, accompanied by cicadas. In particular, they claimed to be infected—just like the "inhabitants" they observed—by a musical "epidemic" spread by the sounds of the duet "Ah! Nati, è ver, noi siamo" from Gioachino Rossini's *Ricciardo e Zoraide*. For radicals making such claims, these immersive "acoustemological" experiences were discursively held to have transformed the Pisan circle from cultural aliens into "Anglo-Italians." Back in London, Shelley styled herself as the authoritative voice on Italy, whereas Burghersh founded the Royal Academy of Music in 1822 as an Italian-style conservatory. The evidence suggests that Shelley and Burghersh opportunistically weaponized their rival Anglo-Italian sonic knowledge to elevate their own authority in London's musical culture.

My dissertation ends with an epilogue, in which I apply an Anglo-Italian perspective to violinist Niccolò Paganini's concert tours in London, between 1831-1834. The virtuoso violinist and Lord Burghersh had long been plotting a tour in the British capital: they had previously met when Paganini performed in Florence in 1818 and 1827. My analysis of Paganini's tours weaves together and sums up the themes of this dissertation. Paganini's economic calculations to reach London, the scathing critiques of his admission prices, and his influence on Paganini imitators as far afield as Calcutta, continue my story from Chapter 1. His status as a comedic, improvisational, and carnivalesque performer and his mixed reception in London extends themes from Chapter 2, which discusses an Anglo-Italian *buffo* aesthetic by way of Naldi's and Ambrogetti's reception in London. And to critics such as Leigh Hunt and Thomas Love Peacock, both writers involved with the Shelley circle, Paganini's music and his performances carried with it an environmental ethos, not unlike the experience of the Pisan circle in Tuscany, discussed in Chapter 3.

However, my study of Paganini's reception in London furthermore demonstrates an Anglo-Italian musical synergy. I show that most of the British reviews of Paganini's performances more closely resembled that of his Italian reception, which appealed to neoclassical precedent, rhetorical traditions, and humanist education, as opposed to his reception on the Continent as a "Romantic figure." Just as Francis Jeffrey connected the English character with the glories of ancient Rome, so too, Paganini was appropriated into an English ancestry by his British critics. Thus, I argue that an analysis of the similarities of his reception in England and in Italy versus the Continent clarifies the economic, aesthetic, and geographic nature of the relation formed between "the extremes of civilized Europe."[104]

[104] [Jeffrey, Francis], "Review of 'Corinne, ou l'Italie," 183.

CHAPTER 1

IL FILO: THE CIRCULATION OF ANGLO-ROMAN MUSICAL PRODUCTS, 1798-1830

On 28 August 1822, the *India Gazette* announced that several of Clementi & Co.'s musical parts and products had just arrived in Calcutta off the ship *The Adrian* and were ready for purchase at Davies & Co.'s Commission Rooms in Tanksquare (see *Figure 1.1*). Among them were sets of the "best" Roman violin, violoncello, and harp gut strings made from the *filo* membranes of Roman lamb entrails.[1] The advertisement sought to capture the attention of British colonists in India who desired the latest musical wares, manufactured to resist the ravages of transport, storage, and climate. Running London's largest music-publishing and instrument-manufacturing business, the Roman-born pianist and composer, Muzio Clementi, and his English partners not only exported their products to markets in Britain and to the Continent, but targeted merchants throughout the British colonies and provided military band instruments to the East India Company.[2]

THE INDIA GAZETTE.

Vol. XLII.] MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1822. [No. 2174

Advertisements.

NICHOLSON & CLEMENTI & CO.'S

PATENT COCOA AND BOX WOOD

FLUTES,

JUST LANDED FROM THE ADRIAN,

ARE this Morning exposed for Sale at Messrs. DAVIES & CO.'S Commission Rooms, Tank-square, at moderate prices,

ALSO,

Sets of Roman Gut Harp Strings, ditto Silver ditto—ditto best Roman Violoncello ditto—ditto ditto Violin ditto—ditto ditto Violin Bridges—sets of ebony Violin Pegs, mounted with pearl—ditto box-wood ditto fish eye Studs—ditto plain ebony ditto—Violin Bows—a small choice selection of the newest Music.

28th August, 1822.

Figure 1.1 One of many advertisements of Clementi & Co.'s Roman Strings in Calcutta, *India Gazette*, September 1822.[3]

This chapter examines the manufacture, marketing, and circulation of Anglo-Roman musical products and assesses the agency of such material parts, by demonstrating how they acted in the spinning-out of global trade relationships. I begin with an overview of changing

[1] "Davies & Co. Ad," *The India Gazette* (September 2, 1822). Besides Roman strings, the Clementi & Co. advertisement promoted their flutes, a repository of violin bridges, pegs, and bows, as well as "a small choice selection of the newest Music."

[2] LC ML145.C5 *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music, Printed by Clementi, Collard & Collard, Manufacturers of Grand, Cabinet, and Square Piano-Fortes, Harps, Organs, Clarinets, Flutes, Violins, Violoncellos, Guitars, Harp Lutes, Military and Every Other Description of Musical Instruments, and Music Sellers to His Majesty, the Royal Family, and the Hon. East India Company* (London: Clementi, Collard & Collard, 1823), xiv.

[3] "Davies & Co. Ad," *The India Gazette* (September 2, 1822).

perceptions in Anglo-Roman relations, providing evidence of English Grand Tourists' diminishing opinions of imperial and modern Rome. It was in this historical setting that the fourteen-year-old Clementi – "bought" by Peter Beckford in 1766 – had been brought from Rome to England.[4] Eventually, the quintessentially self-made man co-founded his Anglo-Roman musical firm and supplied musical products across the burgeoning British empire. I show that in the weeks following his acquisition of the firm, Clementi prioritized the procurement of Roman gut strings. Rome had long been Europe's principal resourcing center for fine-quality strings, in ways that require a description of the string-making process, by tracing the sourcing of Roman strings—including the procurement of the *filo* membrane from lamb entrails—from workshop production to importation and marketing. While Clementi's company traded these strings as quality items, Roman manufacturers relied on foreigners to counter the residual damaging effects of the naval blockade during the Napoleonic Wars. The study of the trade of musical materials, I show, broadens understanding of the local mechanisms necessary to a much-discussed historical process – Britain's transformation from an energetic maritime and commercial force into an imperial and colonizing power, in the context of shifting British perceptions of Rome. Finally, by thematizing the power of *il filo*, the composer's "cognitive thread" in the *partimento* tradition, I use the reception of Clementi's last keyboard sonatas to examine how the joining of the modular and collaborative components of the *galant style* acted in the assembly of an Anglo-Roman polity and musical culture. I conclude that an uneasy Anglo-Roman musical culture was developed, founded in relation to physical stigmas, inequalities, prejudices, and trade deficits. My interest is in processes and theories of assembly. I want to describe a network of cognitive and material relationships threaded together musically, by agents, both human and nonhuman, in service of the material and political construction of what I call an Anglo-Roman musical culture.

Rome in the British Imagination

Less than ten years before Clementi & Co.'s Roman strings arrived in Calcutta, the Rev. John Eustace warned his readers in his Grand Tour travelogue, *A Classical Tour Through Italy* (1813), that "Empire has hitherto rolled westward: when we contemplate the dominions of Great Britain, and its wide-extended power we may without presumption imagine that it now hovers over Great Britain; but it is still on the wing."[5] By common consent, Britain had emerged from the Napoleonic Wars as the most powerful nation in Europe, with London, its commercial center, as the global banking capital of the world.[6] As Britain purportedly inherited the legacy of the Roman Empire, so the British convinced themselves that the analogy of the rise, corruption, greed, decline, and fall of the Roman Empire—as chronicled

[4] Peter Beckford, *Familiar Letters from Italy, to a Friend in England, 1740-1811* Vol.2 (Salisbury: J. Easton, 1805), 228.
[5] John Chetwode Eustace, *A Classical Tour Through Italy*, Vol. I, 6th Ed. (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1837), 7.
[6] Anthony Webster, *The Twilight of the East India Company: The Evolution of Anglo-Asian Commerce and Politics, 1790-1860* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 64-65.

in Edward Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-1788)—applied to Napoleonic France, and not to their own commercial and maritime empire. Indeed, uncomfortable comparisons between the Roman and British Empires arose only a few decades later.[7] Gibbon's chronicle and the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire underscored the vulnerability of empire, a fate which the British, like Eustace, were hoping to avoid. Nevertheless, an uneasy relationship between Britain and Rome came to the fore in the post-Napoleonic years. At least in the travel accounts of Rev. Edward Burton, John Gwynn, John Entick, and John Owen, an Anglo-Roman polity entered the British subconscious.

As the lifting of the Continental Blockade in 1814 and the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 ushered in a new era of tourism to Italy after nearly twenty years of travel restrictions, English Grand Tourists disparaged Rome even more than their predecessors.[8] The theologian Rev. Edward Burton was none too impressed by Rome during his Grand Tour of Italy in 1818-1819:

> Nothing here is perfect. If we except the Pantheon … the ancient remains have been so mutilated and destroyed, that even the name is in many cases doubtful … No small portion of classical recollection is necessary to supply the deficiency; and he who visits Rome destitute of this, will probably form a low estimate of the interest excited by the antiquities. As a place of residence, Rome is certainly not gay or cheerful; the palaces, though splendid in their exterior, are dirty and neglected.[9]

Burton's dismissal of Rome reflects a broader change in the English visitor's sensory experience of the Eternal City in the post-Napoleonic era. According to historian Rosemary Sweet, these travelers, who voraciously read the travelogues and accounts of earlier Grand Tourists, "re-imagined" the relationship between Britain and Rome, being convinced of their nation's relative superiority.[10] The narrative claim to English distinction over imperial Rome arose even before the Napoleonic Wars.[11] Sweet has argued that this distinction appeared with renewed force as early as the mid-eighteenth century, especially after the British victory over France in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).[12]

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[7] See Virginia Hoselitz, *Imagining Roman Britain: Victorian Responses to a Roman Past* (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2015), 39-40 and Richard Hingley, *The Recovery of Roman Britain 1586-1906: A Colony So Fertile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 309-310.

[8] See James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 6.

[9] Edward Burton, *Description of the Antiquities and Other Curiosities of Rome: From Personal Observation During a Visit to Italy in the Years 1818-1819 with Illustrations from Ancient and Modern Writers* (Oxford: Joseph Parker, 1821), 15.

[10] Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 124.

[11] See Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 227-44.

[12] Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 124.

In 1766, the year Muzio Clementi was "purchased" in Rome, architect John Gwynn proclaimed, in his plan for rebuilding London, that the British were "now what the Romans were of old, distinguished like them by power and opulence, and excelling all other nations in commerce and navigation."[13] "Our wisdom is respected," he insisted, "our laws are envied, and our dominions are spread over a large part of the globe."[14] Gwynn claimed that the modern British polity was the equal of the Roman exemplar and that propertied men like him would soon achieve supremacy: "Let us, therefore, no longer neglect to enjoy our superiority."[15] Nearly ten years later, the schoolmaster and author John Entick in 1775 declared in his *Present State of the British Empire* that even "*Rome*, in all her grandeur, did not equal *Great Britain*; either in Constitution, Dominion, Commerce, Riches, or Strength."[16] While Britain's empire began as a maritime, commercial, and civilizing endeavor, "the *Romans* could not boast of the Liberty, Rights and Privileges, and of that Security of Property and Person, which an *English* Subject enjoys under the Protection of the Laws."[17] Instead, the Romans ruthlessly expanded their "Dominion over the Nations" via "Blood, Plunder and Rapine, and upon an Ambition, that could not bear an equal in Power, is much inferior to the Acquisitions, Conquests, and divers[sic] Kinds of Settlements, and Appendages of which the *British* Empire is composed."[18] In contradistinction to the ambitious and greedy Romans, "every Quarter of the Globe…[was] brought under the Crown of Great Britain" based on "*sound Policy*, and not *Ambition*."[19] After complaining of the "barbarous neglect of the modern Romans," John Owen in the 1790s pitied what had become of the Eternal City and declared that "Rome had her reign; and fate allows no perpetuity to the superiority of states. Britain, once her vassal, looks down with proud contempt upon her ruins."[20]

The perceptions of post-Napoleonic Grand Tourists were heavily affected by these earlier critical attitudes towards Rome, in ways that charged their experience, not only of imperial Rome, but of modern Rome as well. In particular, Sweet argues, these travelers identified the dirt and squalor in modern Rome as a symbol for its political and economic decline.[21] During her visit to Rome in 1817-1818, for example, Charlotte Eaton described

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[13] John Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved, Illustrated by Plans: Which is Prefixed, a Discourse on Publick Magnificence; With Observations on the State of Arts and Artists in this Kingdom, Wherein the Study of the Polite Arts is Recommended as Necessary to a Liberal Education: Concluded by Some Proposals Relative to Places not Laid down in the Plans* (London: Mr. Dodsley, and at Mr. Dalton, 1766), xv.

[14] Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved*, xv.

[15] Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved*, xv.

[16] John Entick, *The Present State of the British Empire: Containing a Description of the Kingdoms, Principalities, Islands, Colonies, Conquests, and of the Military and Commercial Establishments, Under the British Crown, in Europe, Asia, Africa and America,* I (London: B. Law, 1775), 1.

[17] Entick, *The Present State of the British Empire*, 1.

[18] Entick, *The Present State of the British Empire*, 1.

[19] Entick, *The Present State of the British Empire*, 1.

[20] John Owen, *Travels into Different Parts of Europe, in the Years 1791 and 1792. With Familiar Remarks on Places, Men, and Manners,* II (London: T. Cadell, Jr. and W. Davies, 1796), 5 and 32.

[21] See Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 143.

the Farnese gardens with contempt. The dirt and decay made for a "curious picture of ancient grandeur and existing wretchedness":

> The casinos of popes mouldering upon the palaces of Roman emperors—pigs and peasants inhabiting a corner of these splendid ruins—cabbages and artichokes flourishing above them—fragments of precious marbles and granites, of carved cornices and broken alabaster, scattered amongst the mould,--while the eye wanders over a confused array of long corridors, nameless arcades, unknown vaults, forgotten chambers, and broken arches.[22]

The Piazza Rotonda, and the city district around the Pantheon—as we shall see, the historic center for the manufacture of gut strings—was encountered with particular revulsion in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars. Charlotte Eaton exclaimed that the English imagination could not have conceived of such a "combination of such disgusting dirt, such filthy odours and foul puddles, as that which fills the vegetable market in the Piazza della Rotonda at Rome."[23] The novelist Lady Sydney Morgan, too, lamented the state of the Piazza during her visit to Rome in 1819, protesting that:

> The senses are everywhere assailed; and the pavement, sprinkled with blood and filth, exhibits the entrails of pigs, or piles of stale fish, sold almost within the pale of that miracle of art.… Over the cornice of the portico still stands the original inscription, which Roman Emperors have paused to gaze on; and close beside it glares that reiterated inscription of modern Rome and of modern times—*Immondezzaio* [dunghill]. For Rome herself seems now the *immondezzaio* of that world, of which she was once the mistress.[24]

Notwithstanding its associations with the Pantheon and gut-string manufacture, the Piazza was not so much a place of picturesque scenes, nobility, and music; it was a place of animal waste and decay.

The Grand Tourists' constant penchant for negative comparison notwithstanding, Britain's relationship with Rome loomed over Britain, politically, imaginatively, and materially. It goes without saying that, at home, the English nobility proudly displayed their collections of Roman antiquities and the paintings, cameos, and other souvenirs they purchased; the pillage; they usually claimed, was accessory to the support of modern Rome's

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[22] Charlotte A. Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century; Containing a Complete Account of the Ruins of the Ancient City, the Remains of the Middle Ages, and the Monuments of Modern Times. With Remarks on the Fine Arts, the Museums of Sculpture and Painting, the Manners, Customs, and Religious Ceremonies of the Modern Romans*, *in a Series of Letters Written during a Residence at Rome in the Years 1817 and 1818*, I (New York: J.&J. Harper, 1827), 252.

[23] Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, 220.

[24] Lady Sydney Morgan, *Italy*, *by Lady Morgan; Being the Substance of Journal of her Residence in that Country; Exhibiting a View of the Present State of Society and Manners, Arts, Literature, and Public Institutions; Interspersed with Anecdotes of the Most Eminent Literary and Political Characters*, II (New York: J. Seymour, 1821), 119-120.

failing economy.[25] Equally, neoclassical architecture as well as surviving Roman roads and walls in Britain bore physical reminders of Caesarean presence in the landscape. The "ruins" of the Eternal City had become the legacy of proud British sovereignty. Frank Salmon, in his book chapter, "The impact of the archaeology of Rome on British architects and their work c. 1750-1840," notes the ubiquity of the practice of importing and naturalizing imperial antiquities for the renovation of both town and country.[26] The practice of capital accumulation, arguably, even explained the long-standing presence, in this foggy climate, of Rome's celebrated musical son, Muzio Clementi.

An Anglo-Roman Musical Firm

By 1822, the year his advertisement appeared in Calcutta, Muzio Clementi had long established himself as a leading figure of musical culture in London. Born in Rome in 1752, the Italian began his musical studies at a young age and, by 1766, secured a permanent position as the organist of his home church of San Lorenzo in Damaso.[27] That year, British landowner and foxhunter Peter Beckford, arrived in Rome during his Grand Tour and, in the course of collecting Roman antiquities for his estate, encountered the 14-year old musician. According to David Hunter, the Beckford family had accrued their wealth from their plantations in Jamaica, where slave laborers processed sugar cane into sugar, molasses, and rum: Peter Beckford had inherited 662 slaves in 1764 upon his father's death, just two years before he met Clementi.[28] Beckford subsequently "bought [Clementi] of his father" [29] —providing Nicolo Clementi quarterly payments from September 1766 through January 1773—and thereafter whisked Clementi off to his estate in Stepleton, Dorset, for the next seven years as an indentured servant.[30] Like so many art-objects, Beckford, at least in the account of Hunter, imported Clementi as yet another saleable Roman commodity for his collection.

Following the completion of his contract with Beckford, Clementi moved from "servitude" on Beckford's Dorset estate to London, where he reinvented himself as a keen mercantilist, establishing himself as a "free" pianist, composer, and respected pedagogue. On 1 November 1798, Clementi and other Englishmen purchased the bankrupt music firm of

[25] Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 146.
[26] See Frank Salmon, "The impact of the archaeology of Rome on British architects and their work c. 1750-1840," in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond,* ed. Clare Hornsby (London: British School at Rome, 2000), 219-244.
[27] Leon Plantinga, *Clementi: His Life and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 2.
[28] David Hunter, "The Beckfords in England and Italy: A Case Study in the Musical Uses of the Profits of Slavery," *Early music* 46, no. 2 (2018): 285 and 290.
[29] Peter Beckford, *Familiar Letters from Italy, to a Friend in England, 1740-1811* Vol.2 (Salisbury: J. Easton, 1805), 228.
[30] Plantinga, *Clementi: His Life and Music*, 3. According to an 1820 biographical sketch of the musician in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine & Review*, Nicolo Clementi—a silversmith—agreed to the arrangement, not for Muzio's musical education, but because the "declining riches of the Roman Church, at this period" did not "giv[e] much encouragement to the talents of his father." See "Mr. Clementi," *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review,* II (1820), 309.

Longman & Broderip. The company had prospered in the 1780s through the early 1790s, publishing and importing scores, and manufacturing and selling instruments and accessories across a transnational trade network, throughout Europe and to the British colonies, and, according to their 1786 catalogue, provided military instruments to the East India Company, in ways that will become important to the unfolding argument of this chapter.[31] But, when the partners filed for bankruptcy in 1795, Clementi became one of the assignees in the bankruptcy case. On 1 November 1798, the firm was sold to a new partnership consisting of Clementi, William Collard, music publisher Frederick Augustus Hyde, organ builder David Davis, John Longman (James Longman's brother), and Josiah Banger.[32] While Davis, Collard, and Hyde had previously worked for Longman & Broderip, Clementi's partners recruited Beckford's plaything for his experience as a well-travelled and respected composer, pedagogue, and musician.[33]

In its marketing materials, the firm highlighted Clementi's commitment to quality and innovation, as well as his leading role in a company that was one of the largest and most significant music firms in the world at the time. [34] His hands-on approach was indeed evident throughout his tenure, and by 1800, an announcement in the *London Gazette* stated that the five-partnered firm from then on, would be called "Clementi & Co." [35] By the time Clementi attained the status of a naturalized British citizen (on 24 March 1801), the British company was a winning concern.[36] Clementi remained its figurehead from 1798 until he resigned on 24 June 1831, less than a year before his death. Clementi & Co. developed in similar ways as Longman & Broderip, but, unlike its previous incarnation, it thrived as an explicitly Anglo-Roman brand throughout Clementi's tenure as senior partner. [37]

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[31] Wyn Jones, "Some Aspects of Clementi's Career as a Publisher," 4.

[32] Plantinga, *Clementi: His Life and Music*, 155.

[33] David Rowland, "Clementi's Music Business" in *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (London: Routledge, 2011), 126.

[34] See "Longman, Clementi, and Company," *The Times (*November 15, 1798), 1. On the firm's commitment to quality and innovation: "LONGMAN, CLEMENTI, and the Company beg leave to declare, that they are now employing, in the manufacture of Piano Fortes and other Musical Instruments, workmen they have selected of the first rate genius and abilities, and are resolved to give generous encouragement to every new Invention that can be produced for improving Musical Instruments." On Clementi's hands-on-approach: "Mr. Clementi intends to devote a considerable portion of his time for superintending and directing the finishing of grand and small Piano Fortes with additional keys, &c… [The company] may, without hazard to their reputation, be reasonable allowed to assert, that from his known skill, experience, and judgments, their instruments for richness, evenness and brilliancy of tone, and pleasantness of touch, will equal if not superior to any before offered to the Public."

[35] As quoted in Rowland, "Clementi's Music Business" in *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, 126.

[36] "An Act for Naturalizing Muzio Clementi," Private Act, 41 George III, c. 6; HL/PO/PB/1/1801/41G3n28, Parliamentary Archives.

[37] "Mr. Clementi," *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review,* II (1820), 309. As Collard enthused, Clementi "declined taking more pupils. The hours which he did not thenceforward employ in his professional studies, he dedicated to the mechanical and philosophical improvement of piano fortes, and the originality and justness of his conceptions were crowned with complete success."

Connecting Strands: Roman Strings, Dirt, and Decay

The first item of business for Clementi, upon acquisition of the firm, was to re-establish Longman & Broderip's trade agreements. On 21 December 1798, therefore, Clementi wrote to the Viennese music publisher Artaria & Co. to propose a partnership.[38] The Italian was eager, not only to forge links with Artaria for music publications, but also to import and circulate quality musical parts. On the same day, Clementi informed his brother, Gaetano, who still lived in Rome, about his involvement in the new enterprise:

> I have just begun a new job in the field of music commerce, making all sorts of instruments, and acting as publisher for all sorts of printed music at Longman, Hyde, Collard & Co. But I have nothing to do with Broderip who went bankrupt a short while ago.[39]

The musician realized that his company was sorely lacking in fine-quality strings and, while he already wrote to string firms in Rome, he hoped to use his familial connections to procure the optimum in gut strings. In the same letter, he wrote to Gaetano that

> We are very much in need at the moment of gut strings called strings for Violin, Bass, and Harp, and we have written to Messrs Pica, Tofani and company requesting a large quantity, and seeing as these strings are to become my property on behalf of the Company, I beg you to use your eloquence with the aforementioned Messr Pica & Co so that they might send our strings as soon as possible; and I ask you at the same time to check that they are <u>good merchandise</u>, seeing as they are, as you would say, for your blood brother.[40]

Clementi-the-musician not only hoped to use his brother to ensure that he was receiving the finest quality strings, but Clementi-the-businessman hoped to procure a discount. "And seeing as we will pay in cash," the writer urged, "my associates hope that the aforementioned Merchants will be so good as to give us a discount in proportion with the order, which is considerable."[41] Before moving on to family and personal matters, Clementi once again

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[38] David Rowland, "Clementi's Music Business" in *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (London: Routledge, 2011), 134. In his letter to Artaria, Clementi asked if they could "send us your catalogue, and we will send you ours as soon as it is ready. We have a range of excellent new works, and I hope that if we do enter into trading business with each other, both of us will find it mutually beneficial." According to David Rowland, the companies exchanged catalogue music on a page-for-page basis. See David Rowland, "Clementi as Publisher" in *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (London: Routledge, 2011), 189, as well.

[39] David Rowland, *La corrispondenza di Muzio Clementi* (Bologna, Ut Orpheus), 29.

[40] David Rowland, *La corrispondenza di Muzio Clementi* (Bologna, Ut Orpheus), 29. For more on Pica, Toffani, & Co., see Remo Giazotto *Muzio Clementi: Epistolario 1781-1831* (Rome: Academia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Fondazione, 2002), 35-39.

[41] Rowland, *La corrispondenza di Muzio Clementi*, 29.

begged his brother "to make sure that [the Roman gut strings] are excellent" and to please reply as soon as possible, since the company was "really in need of the strings."[42]

Muzio's "blood brother," evidence suggests, later annotated the letter, indicating that he indeed talked to Pica. Although Pica and his associates would gladly have accommodated Clementi, they were not well positioned to meet commitments, orders, and commissions in Italy and abroad until the Spring.[43] One possible reason for the delay is that lambs in Rome were slaughtered only between Easter and the feast of St. John (24 June).[44] But the political and economic situation in Rome proved difficult for foreign trade, for Clementi wrote to his brother just ten months after Rome fell to Napoleon and after Pope Pius VI was exiled from Rome on 20 February 1798. Clementi's preferred string-manufacturing firm, Pica & Tofani, was eager to trade with foreigners: as early as 1795, the firm had already suffered a drop in sales from abroad, due to the wars. The blocked borders and material devastation in Rome in 1798-1799 made foreign trade all but impossible. [45] Gaetano Clementi's efforts, however, proved successful. On 18 April 1800, the company posted an advertisement in *The Oracle, and the Daily Advertiser*, with the title "Real Roman Violin and Harp Strings":

> John Longman, Clementi, & Co. beg leave to acquaint the musical profession, and the public in general, that they have just imported a quantity of excellent ROMAN STRINGS, which are now ready for sale at their music warehouse, No. 26, Cheapside.[46]

We can assume that Clementi & Co. continued to trade with Pica & Tofani, but that they continued to have difficulties throughout the Napoleonic wars. Felice Tofani, however, was optimistic that English trade—which we can assume involved Clementi—would flourish after the wars. In his will, drawn up in 1815, Tofani explained that he had invested in the company "several thousands of *scudi* ... which capital, when trade and particularly English trade resumes, may bear interest once more and increase."[47] Tofani was right, for by the early 1820s Clementi & Co. became the only music company to advertise proudly that they were selling Roman strings as far afield as Calcutta.[48] Furthermore, Clementi & Co.'s 1823

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[42] Rowland, *La corrispondenza di Muzio Clementi*, 29.

[43] Gaetano Clementi's full annotation: « Ho parlato con Pica. Essi no possono servirvi fino alla ventura Primavera per [?] la mancanza di corde come per quella di Vitture, attese le presenti circostanze. Essi anno [sic] tutta la premura di servirvi, e lo faranno appena la circostanza glielo permetterà, come ne sentirete a suo tempo da mè.» See Remo Giazotto *Muzio Clementi: Epistolario 1781-1831* (Rome: Academia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Fondazione, 2002), 35-39.

[44] Patrizio Barbieri, "Roman and Neapolitan Gut Strings 1550-1950," *The Galpin Society Journal* 59 (May 2006): 149.

[45] Patrizio Barbieri, "The Roman Gut String Makers, 1550-2005," *Studi Musicali* No. 1 (2006): 33. It is curious, though, that in his letters, Clementi seemed oblivious to the declining conditions of his hometown's economy and appeared to be more concerned about his business more than the state of his family.

[46] "Advertisements and Notices," *The Oracle, and the Daily Advertiser* (April 18, 1800).

[47] As quoted in Barbieri, "The Roman Gut String Makers," 33.

[48] Based on surviving documentary material.

catalogue makes clear that Clementi & Co. were importers of "real Roman strings," suggesting that other London firms sold fake derivatives.[49] In the post-Napoleonic years, however, most of the Roman string makers gradually moved their operations to Naples, because of the declining availability of lamb entrails in Rome and increasing rates of consumption in Naples.[50]

To understand the extent of both the market attachment to Roman strings, as well as Clementi's efficacy as a "brother" in the trade of these materials, requires a recounting of the industry and establishment of Rome as Europe's principal center for fine-quality gut. Roman strings had long been considered the highest-grade strings in the world, at least in the 150 years before Clementi wrote his letter to his brother. Rome (and later Naples) hosted the most prominent centers for string manufacture, as demand for lamb in Rome was high compared with other European cities and because fresh gut could not be exported.[51] As early as 1735, according to Patrizio Barbieri, there were as many as twenty workshops in Rome, but the decline of sheep-farming, the drop in the consumption of lamb-meat, and the disappearance of viol consorts drove down the demand and the manufacturers had to begin relying on foreign trade. These firms gradually merged, resulting in a monopoly of two firms: the Ruffini family and Pica & C.—Clementi's preferred firm.[52] In 1760, Donato Pica had established his string trade near the same Piazza Rotonda that later inspired Charlotte Eaton's and Lady Morgan's disgust, between the Pantheon and Piazza Argentina.[53] Pica founded the company with G.B. Frezza and, within a few years, became well known abroad. By 1778, the latter left the partnership and Carlo Tofani joined.[54]

Transforming lamb entrails into finished strings was an arduous process, as described by Patrizio Barbieri. Sheep of several different ages were involved in the process of string-making, though my focus is on the *agnello*, or lamb, for their guts produced highly stressed strings, such as the violin and harp strings that Clementi circulated.[55] The process of string-making involved six categories of employees: the *mazziere, lavorante, capatore, torcitore, strisciatore,* and the *mastro*. First, the *mazziere* would collect the guts from the butchers, which were washed by all the workers upon his return to the workshop. This process had to take place immediately so that the strings would not be permanently stained and their quality tarnished.[56] Then, the *lavorante* would separate the very thin, strong, usable membrane—the

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[49] LC ML145.C5, *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music* (London, Clementi, Collard & Collard, 1823), xxvii.

[50] Barbieri, "The Roman Gut String Makers," 37-38. The Pica & Tofani firm remained in Rome. Giuseppe Pica and Pietro Alessandrini ("a Roman man of property") succeeded the Pica brothers and Felice Tofani. Pica, Alessandrini, & C. were active from 1829 through at least 1841.

[51] Barbieri, "Roman and Neapolitan Gut Strings 1550-1950," 149.

[52] Barbieri, "Roman and Neapolitan Gut Strings 1550-1950,"148.

[53] Giazotto, *Muzio Clementi: Epistolario*, 35.

[54] Giazotto, *Muzio Clementi: Epistolario*, 35.

[55] See Barbieri, "Roman and Neapolitan Gut Strings 1550-1950," 149. The lambs sacrificed for the strings were typically raised up to almost one year old. Because they could only be slaughtered between Easter and mid-June, the lambs were usually born between 1 August and the end of September (*primaticci*) and between 1 October and the end of January (*mezzarecci*.)

[56] See Barbieri, "Roman and Neapolitan Gut Strings 1550-1950," 150-151.

filo (thread)—from the other two membranes of the gut, before adding an alkaline solution to decompose the leftover fatty membranes. The bowls would be stored for eight days, upon which the waste would be discharged into the Tiber, further contributing to the Eternal City's filth.[57] Next, the *capatore* would sort the *filo* membranes by thickness to determine whether they would be used for harps, violins, or cellos.[58] Then, the *torcitore* would manufacture the strings by twisting the guts on a frame that rotated.[59] Finally, the *strisciatore* would polish the strings with horsehair and oil for better preservation. The *mastro* oversaw the entire operation.[60]

I recount the gory details of this history and these violent processes not merely to stress the extent to which, as Rachel Mundy, in her *Animal Musicalities* (2018), writes for a later context, "modern sonic culture is unthinkable without the lives of animals."[61] My aim, rather, is to show, after work in the musical animalities and eco-sonic media by Mundy and Jacob Smith respectively, the extent to which this music industry – beholden to what Francis Jeffrey called the "extremes of civilized Europe" – depended on hard labor with so-called "raw materials," harvested in Rome.[62] This situation recalls my discussion of intra-European "Meridionism" in the introduction to this dissertation.[63] The clean circulation of musical parts across the British empire depended as much on the slaughter of Roman lambs as on the conversion of the Eternal City from a sovereign artistic capital into a "primitive" site for economic exploitation and resource extraction.

Building Clementi's Musical Empire

This is not to imply that Clementi & Co.'s musical empire did not stretch beyond London and Rome. Shortly after acquiring the firm, Clementi reestablished contact with publishers and composers on the Continent, including Artaria in Vienna, Breitkopf & Hartel in Leipzig, Pleyel, the Erards and Naderman in Paris, Nagel, in Zurich, and Ricordi, in Milan. He also established a network with businessmen in Dublin as well as Berlin and St. Petersburg.[64] Furthermore, Clementi & Co. fostered relationships with such brand-name composers as Haydn, Beethoven, Berger, Cramer, Dussek, Field, Gyrowetz, Hummel, Janiewicz,

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[57] Barbieri, "Roman and Neapolitan Gut Strings 1550-1950," 152.
[58] Barbieri, "Roman and Neapolitan Gut Strings 1550-1950," 153.
[59] Barbieri, "Roman and Neapolitan Gut Strings 1550-1950," 154.
[60] Barbieri, "Roman and Neapolitan Gut Strings 1550-1950," 155.
[61] Rachel Mundy, *Animal Musicalities: Birds, Beasts, and Evolutionary Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2018), 3.
[62] See Jacob Smith, *Eco-Sonic Media* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), which provides an eco-centric approach to the history of sound media technologies. Following the work of Jonathan Sterne to engage with "stuff" of sound materiality, Smith traces how these technologies and their circulation depend on natural systems and raw materials. On the "extremes of civilized Europe," see [Jeffrey, Francis], "Review of 'Corinne, ou l'Italie," *Edinburgh Review* 11 (1807): 183.
[63] Manfred Pfister, *The Fatal Gift of Beauty: The Italies of British Travellers, an Annotated Anthology* (Amsterdam: Rodolpi, 1996), 3.
[64] See David Rowland, "Clementi & Co. in International Markets," in *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution* ed. Roberto Iliano and Luca Levi Sala (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2010), 526-528.

Kalkbrenner, Klengel, Pleyel, Romberg, and Viotti.[65] He frequently travelled to the Continent on business trips, primarily to sell his firm's pianos.[66] Despite the trade restrictions due to the Napoleonic Wars and the Continental Blockade, the manufacture of British pianos represented a significant export. As David Rowland notes, Clementi's personal approach led to fruitful cooperation with Europe's leading music businesses.[67] Besides piano-making, the firm continued Longman & Broderip's practice of sub-contracting much of their instrument manufacture: Clementi & Co. sold wind instruments and organs manufactured by Prowse (according to Nicholson's design), the Davis brothers (David Davis was one of the Clementi & Co. partners), and Bishop. Moreover, Clementi & Co.'s brass instruments were produced in Ireland but remarketed in London under the company's branding.[68] Although these products were not manufactured specifically by Clementi & Co., the process of rebranding these products for resale by an Anglo-Roman firm added materially to their appeal and value.

Clementi & Co.'s musical purview expanded beyond the Continent in direct proportion to the expansion of the circulation of his patented musical products. According to a letter in 1809 from Daniel Stewart in New York to James Broadwood, Clementi & Co. had "sold a good many instruments to people" in the United States."[69] In addition, Clementi pianos were resold as far afield as the Caribbean, South Africa, and South America for several more decades.[70]

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[65] Rowland, "Clementi & Co. in International Markets," 537.

[66] Simon McVeigh, "Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music: Markets, Efficiency, Demand," in *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution* ed. Roberto Iliano and Luca Levi Sala (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2010), 10-11.

[67] Rowland, "Clementi & Co. in International Markets," 536. Clementi's first trip to the Continent as a businessman extended from 1802 to 1810 as part of a marketing campaign to sell his pianos. Further visits continued from 1816 to 1818, from 1821 to 1822, and from 1826 to 1827. By the time Clementi arrived in Paris in late 1802, the political situation between England and France worsened, and he was forced to move on to Austria, Germany and Russia. While Clementi succeeded at first, Napoleon's activities endangered Clementi's piano exports to Europe, and he was forced to return to England in 1810. Once the wars ended in 1815, Clementi attempted to continue exporting to the Continent. By that time, however, the European piano trade had changed significantly Pleyel, who had imported Clementi's pianos in the first years of the century had, since 1807 been making his own instruments, and the pianos of Pleyel and Erard were becoming more popular. In Germany, Clementi's pianos proved to be too expensive, despite his efforts to sell them through Breitkopf & Hartel.

[68] Rowland, "Clementi & Co. in International Markets," 531-532.

[69] As quoted in Rowland, "Clementi & Co. in International Markets,"526. David Rowland speculates that the good sales were due to the efforts of an Adam Stewart, an employee of Clementi & Co. who emigrated to Baltimore, Maryland to set up a piano-making business.

[70] For example, in the Caribbean, see "For Sale, a New Pianoforte," *Grenada Free Press; and Weekly Gazette* (December 5, 1832), 10; "Par Vente Privee," *Port of Spain Gazette* (January 10, 1834), 4; "Public Sale," *St. George's Chronicle, and Grenada Gazette* (March 5, 1836), 1; "For Sale, the Following Articles, Belonging to Gentlemen of H.M. 30th Regt. About to leave these Islands," *Royal Gazette, Bermuda Commercial and General Advertiser and Recorder* (September 22, 1841), 1; "Venta de Alhajas, Muebles," *Diario de la Marina* (Havana, Cuba) (June 25, 1846), 4; "Auction Sale," *Antigua Herald and*

The firm served as the official provider of musical merchandise to the East India Company, in ways that expose the extent to which British commercial power facilitated the consolidation of Anglo-Roman musical standards. Little evidence remains of this partnership, because the East India Company discarded records of private trade, and because several Clementi & Co. business records were destroyed by fire in 1807.[71] Yet the company's Grand Catalogue of 1823, a substantial volume numbering nearly 200 pages, provides key evidence of the company's vast enterprise beyond Europe. Its involvement with the East India Company, in addition, evinces the degree to which the Anglo-Roman firm was a leading global supplier of musical imperial-military parts. As seen in *Figure 1.2*, the title-piece of the catalogue itself uses the firm's involvement with the East India Company as a marketing tool, indicating that they are "Musical Sellers to His Majesty, the Royal Family, and the Hon. East India Company."[72]

Furthermore, Clementi & Co. targeted merchants in the East and West Indies and South America, selling products such as scores, musical parts, instruments, and pianofortes that could withstand tropical climates. Following a lengthy article discussing Clementi & Co's new imperial patent for piano-fortes with a harmonic swell and bridge of reverberation, the catalogue features a notice "to Families residing in the East and West Indies, South America, &c." on the "Effects of Climate on Piano-Fortes" (see *Figure 1.3*)[73] The notice extolls the resilience of Clementi & Co's pianos:

> By the mode of construction invented by J. Donnithorne, Esq. a scientific gentleman resident in Hindoostan, in conjunction with the Patent lately obtained by Clementi and Co. the caution observed in hot climates of keeping instruments considerably below the proper pitch, need no longer be resorted to. The case is effectually prevented from warping, the instrument stands more permanently in tune, and will maintain its original brilliancy of tone, long after those which are manufactured on the common plan have, from the destructive effects of climate, become utterly useless.[74]

Donnithorne notwithstanding, Clementi's musical products were of course vulnerable to in-transit damage: while piano-fortes were clamped down into their cases, they could still shatter in stormy seas or warp due to humidity and extreme fluctuations in temperature. If

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Gazette (June 21, 1851), 4. In South Africa, see "Just Received Per Duke of Clarence," *De Zuid-Afrikaan* (September 23, 1836), 8. In South America, see *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, August 8, 1837), 4; "Aviso," *Mercurio de Valparaiso* (Chile) (September 7, 1837), 3. In Mexico, see "Venduta Publica," *Siglo Diez y Nueve* (April 26, 1843), 4.

[71] January 2017 discussion with Margaret Makepeace, curator of the British Library's India Office and as David Rowland explains in Rowland, "Clementi & Co. in International Markets," 525, very little evidence remains of Clementi's international business, for company records were destroyed by fire.

[72] LC ML145.C5, *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music* (London, Clementi, Collard & Collard, 1823).

[73] LC ML145.C5, *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music*, xiv.

[74] LC ML145.C5, *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music*, xiv.

the instruments survived the voyage, they were prone to damage in the heat and humidity of the East and West Indies, as Clementi's note suggests.[75] In fact, in his 1810 guidebook *East India Vade-Mecum,* Captain Thomas Williamson recommended that "the pianos most appropriate for hot climates are made by Clementi, Kirkman, and Tomkinson."[76]

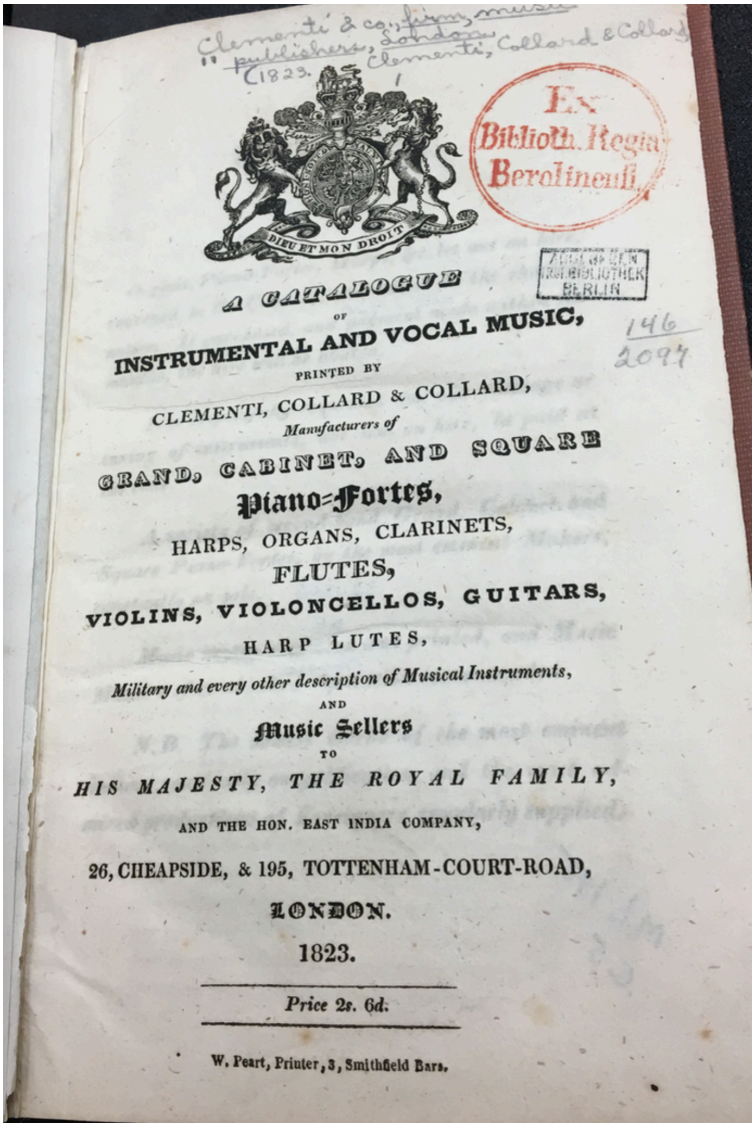
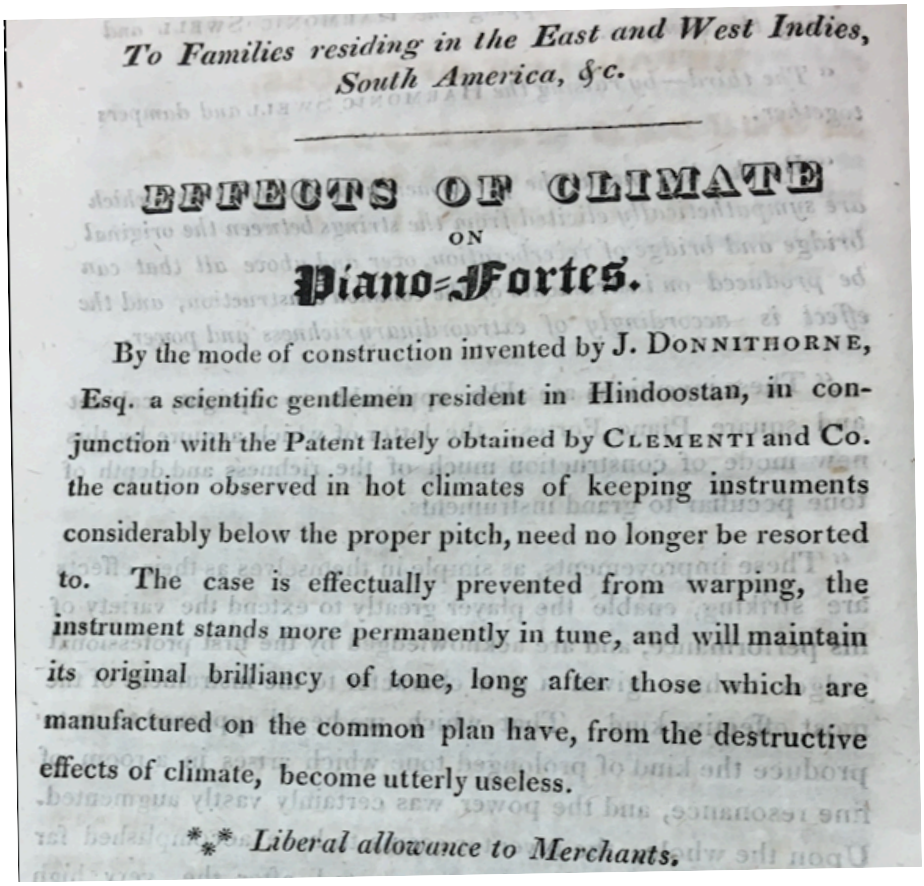


Figure 1.2 Titlepiece of Clementi & Co.'s 1823 Catalogue. Photographed by author at the Library of Congress, Music Division.[77]

[75] Ian Woodfield, "The Calcutta Piano Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honor of Cyril Ehrlich* ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 4-5.
[76] T. G. Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum; Or; Complete Guide to Gentlemen Intended for the Civil, Military, or Naval Service of the Hon. East India Company*, Vol. I (London: Black, Parry & Kingsbury, 1810), 47.
[77] LC ML145.C5, *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music.*



To Families residing in the East and West Indies, South America, &c.

EFFECTS OF CLIMATE
ON
Piano-Fortes.

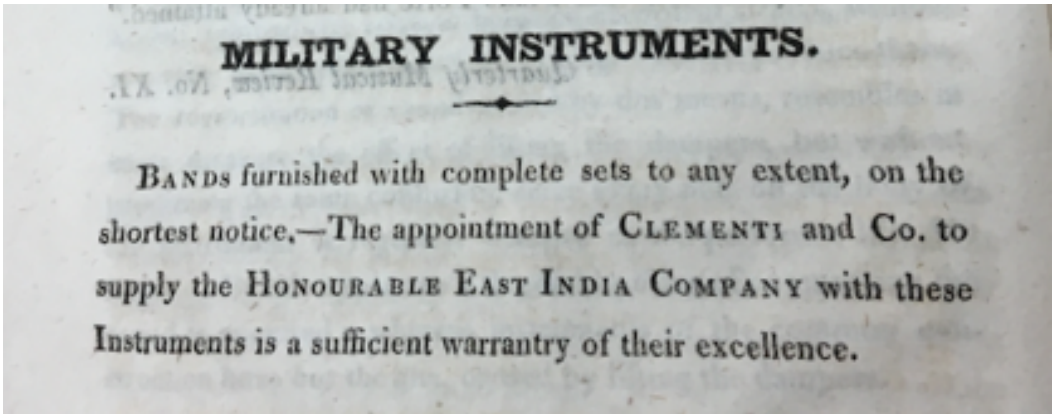
By the mode of construction invented by J. DONNITHORNE, Esq. a scientific gentlemen resident in Hindoostan, in conjunction with the Patent lately obtained by CLEMENTI and Co. the caution observed in hot climates of keeping instruments considerably below the proper pitch, need no longer be resorted to. The case is effectually prevented from warping, the instrument stands more permanently in tune, and will maintain its original brilliancy of tone, long after those which are manufactured on the common plan have, from the destructive effects of climate, become utterly useless.

*** *Liberal allowance to Merchants.*

Figure 1.3 Clementi & Co. targeting British colonists, in *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music* (London, Clementi, Collard & Collard, 1823), xiv. Photographed by author at the Library of Congress, Music Division.[78]

Back in the catalogue, a fuller advertisement for the firm's military instruments—providing complete sets of instruments for bands "on the shortest notice"—appears directly below the notice to the merchants and families (see *Figure 1.4*.)[79] The advertisement continues by capitalizing on the connection to the East India Company: "the appointment of Clementi and Co. to supply the Honourable East India Company with these Instruments is a sufficient warranty of their excellence" (see *Figure 1.4*.)[80]

[78] LC ML145.C5, *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music,* xiv.
[79] LC ML145.C5, *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music*, xiv.
[80] LC ML145.C5, *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music*, xiv.


MILITARY INSTRUMENTS.

BANDS furnished with complete sets to any extent, on the shortest notice,—The appointment of CLEMENTI and Co. to supply the HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY with these Instruments is a sufficient warrantry of their excellence.

Figure 1.4 Clementi & Co. capitalizing on their involvement with the East India Company, in *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music,* xiv. Photographed by author at the Library of Congress, Music Division.[81]

Nine pages worth of a retail list of prices for Clementi & Co.'s musical instruments follow, dedicated to patrons in the far reaches of the British empire. The lower half of the last page yet again highlights the firm's military investments:

> MILITARY BANDS, Supplied with the best instruments, but as they are finished in the most superior style, the prices are proportionably [sic] higher than those marked in the foregoing List. (See *Figure 1.5*)[82]

The catalogue betrays, in other words, the degree to which this Anglo-Roman firm led in the global supply of musical imperial-military parts.[83] Intriguingly, the catalogue's final entry on military bands is immediately followed by a note that Clementi & Co. are "REAL IMPORTERS OF ROMAN STRINGS"(See *Figure 1.5.*) [84] The implication was that Clementi's involvement with the firm made the strings authentic. But this juxtaposition of military bands with Roman strings might be more than a mere coincidence.

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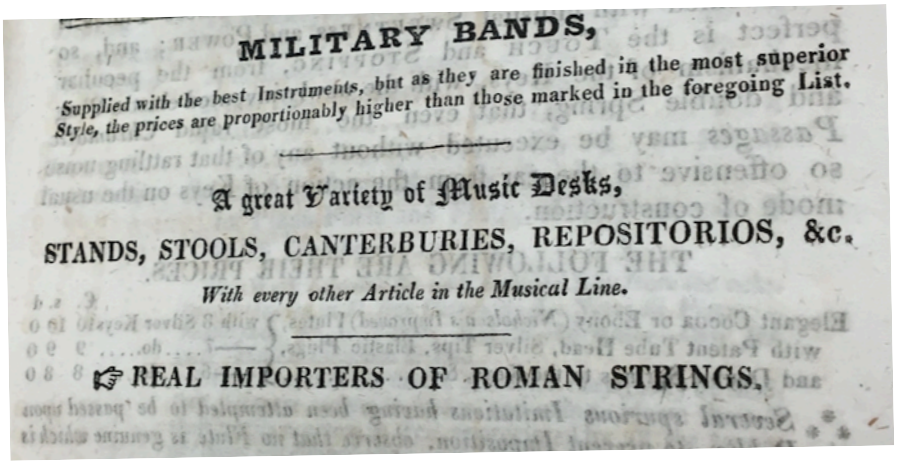
[81] LC ML145.C5, *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music,* xiv.
[82] LC ML145.C5, *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music*, xxvii.
[83] The military instruments were not only sent to colonies in the far East, but used locally in London as well. In Margaret Makepeace, *The East India Company's London Workers: Management of the Warehouse Labourers, 1800-1858* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 128, she explains that the band of the Royal East India Volunteers consisted of twenty-five musicians led by the German musician Christopher Frederick Eley, who brought in some of his talented pupils as bandsmen, creating a sort of practical school for young musicians. For example, the trumpet player Thomas Harper studied under Eley in London and belonged to the Company's Volunteer band for 17 or 18 years, while moonlighting for theatres in the evenings. Harper was further employed for many years by the Company to examine musical instruments shipped to military stores in India. The band provided entertainment at gala events, such as the opening of the London Docks in January 1805 and of the East India Docks in August 1806, and at the visit of the Persian ambassador to East India House in December 1809 when the Volunteer soldiers lined the passages in salute.
[84] LC ML145.C5, *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music,* xxvii.


MILITARY BANDS,

Supplied with the best Instruments, but as they are finished in the most superior Style, the prices are proportionably higher than those marked in the foregoing List.

A great Variety of Music Desks,

STANDS, STOOLS, CANTERBURIES, REPOSITORIOS, &c.

With every other Article in the Musical Line.

☞ REAL IMPORTERS OF ROMAN STRINGS.

Figure 1.5 Last page of Clementi & Co's instrument retail list, highlighting Military Bands and Roman Strings, in Clementi & Co.'s 1823 *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music,* xxvii. Photographed by author at the Library of Congress in 2016.[85]

That Clementi's products appeared in Calcutta at all can only be explained by the activities of the East India Company.[86] In the 1790s, wealthy gentlemen heavily invested in East India Company stock in the City of London. To that end, several MPs in the House of Commons defended the East India Company's interests, enabling the Company's directors to influence policies on trade and empire. When the Napoleonic wars began, according to Anthony Webster, the East India Company had become the agent of British territorial and imperial expansion in southeast Asia. [87] According to Margaret Makepeace, the East India Company's trading activities were closely tied to its imperial commitments, because territorial expansion generated surplus revenues.[88]

But, by the time Clementi began to supply the East India Company, its mercantile monopoly was increasingly threatened by the efforts of free trade lobbyists in Parliament.[89]

[85] LC ML145.C5, *A Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music,* xxvii.

[86] It is unclear when exactly Clementi & Co. began supplying the East India Company with musical products. The firm may have continued to supply the East India Company as soon as they purchased the firm from Longman & Broderip in 1798. Longman & Broderip's 1786 catalogues indicates that they provided military instruments to the East India Company See David Wyn Jones, "Some Aspects of Clementi's Career as a Publisher" in *Muzio Clementi: Compositore, (Forte)pianista, Editore* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2006), 4.

[87] Webster, *The Twilight of the East India Company*, 1-2.

[88] See Margaret Makepeace, *The East India Company's London Workers: Management of the Warehouse Labourers, 1800-1858* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 3-4.

[89] See Makepeace, *The East India Company's London Workers*, 3 and Tirthankar Roy, *The East India Company: The World's Most Powerful Corporation* (New Delhi: Allan Lane, 2012), 194. The free trade lobby pressured Parliament to curb the East India Company's monopoly. The Charter Act of 1793 made a small concession to the provincial merchants by obliging the company to export and import of 3000 tons of goods by private traders—how Clementi's musical products likely arrived in India, every year. Yet the private merchants complained of the high freight rates and did not want to be tied to the Company's warehouses. Although the Napoleonic wars consolidated the power of the

Indeed, in 1813, the same year Clementi became a shareholder of the East India Company himself and founded the Philharmonic Society with other leading musicians of London, a Charter Act removed its monopoly of trade to India. [90] Unwittingly, Margaret Makepeace argues, this charter merely strengthened the Company's evolution from a maritime commercial organization into a powerful imperial agency, which exercised military and administrative control over the Raj.[91] That same year, which coincided with the publication of Eustace's Grand Tour travelogue which warned of Britain's tendency towards empire, Joseph Hume, a former medical officer for the East India Company and a radical MP, declared to the assembled stockholders in 1813 (perhaps with Clementi in attendance), that the directors of the East India Company now "act[ed] as the ministers of a state, or as monarchs of an empire, greater in extent and population, if he excepted China, than any other in the world."[92] In 1833, a year after Clementi's death, a second Charter Act ended the Company's trade to China and ordered the cessation of all commercial activity. While the Company lost its trading privileges, it continued to exert control over the Indian subcontinent.[93] H.V. Bowen notes, in this regard, that the East India Company ceased to be a trade organization in pursuit of commercial profit, but displayed characteristics of the institutions of imperial government.[94]

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gentlemanly capitalists in 1813, the City of London lost interest in commodity trade. The interests of the manufacturers and petty traders, therefore, affected the Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833.

[90] On Clementi as shareholder, see *A List of the Names of the Members of the United Company of Merchants of England, Trading to the East-Indies, Qualified as Voters on the Company's Books, 13th April 1813* (London: Cox and Sons Printers, 1813), 17. Clementi remained a shareholder until his death on 10 March 1832: in his will, he bequeathed his shares to his surviving wife. See See Rowland, "Clementi's Music Business,"139. On 6 February 6 1813, thirty musicians signed a manifesto officially founding The Philharmonic Society, a new concert society in London. Clementi was one of the seven members chosen as the first directors of the society. See Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 3-5. Clementi's naturalization in 1801 and his investing in the East India Company and leadership role with the Philharmonic Society in 1813 may show his desire to become an upstanding Anglicized Roman. According to Anthony Webster, company stockholders were diverse, but tended to be wealthy, influential individuals with political clout. See Webster, *The Twilight of the East India Company*, 1-2. It is significant that the correspondence between Clementi and the violinist Giovanni Battista Viotti suggests that there was a marked difference between the Philharmonic Society founders' treatment of Clementi, who had been naturalized in 1801, and Viotti, who had spent a significant amount of his adult life in France, and had been previously exiled from England on suspicion of Jacobin activity. Letters between Viotti and Clementi are reproduced in David Rowland, "Viotti and Clementi: Friendship, Publishing, the Philharmonic Society, and the Royal Academy of Music" in *Giovanni Battista Viotti: A Composer Between the Two Revolutions* (Bologna: Ad Parnassum Studies, 2006), 383. On the Charter Act, see Makepeace, *The East India Company's London Workers*, 3.

[91] See Makepeace, *The East India Company's London Workers*, 3.

[92] *The Speech of Joseph Hume at the East India House on the 6th October 1813* (London, 1813), 10.

[93] Makepeace, *The East India Company's London Workers*, 3.

[94] See H.V. Bowen, " 'No Longer Mere Traders: Continuities and Change in the Metropolitan Development of the East India Company, 1600-1834," in *The Worlds of the East India Company*, ed. H.V. Bowen, Margarette Lincoln, and Nigel Rigby (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 20.

Backed by a powerful army, the East India Company invented governance structures for the administrative exploitation of new territories and people. Long after they lost their commercial privileges, the Company by the 1850s had effectively become an office of state in all but name.[95] As Nick Robins suggests, the Company was a "profit-making company that generated great wealth, but one that also contributed to immense suffering."[96] After the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the British Crown finally transferred the East India Company's imperial authority to the India Office, with the Government of India Act of 1858. The Company, at long last, dissolved on 1 June 1874.[97]

Il filo

As the East India Company underwent its commercial decline, so English Grand Tourists reevaluated their views on imperial and modern Rome. Echoing the narrative of the decline of so-called free trade, music historians of this period claim that the so-called *galant style*, which had originated in Rome, was on the wane, too. The style, which had dominated the eighteenth century and was associated with court conduct founded on ancient systems of trade, patronage, and artisanal collaboration, was giving way (so the standard account goes) to a new style that occluded the process of assembly and exuded executive "mastery." "Commerce," famously, was a word increasingly dissociated, in discursive terms, from the pursuit of an increasingly serious nineteenth-century music, and its increasingly serious culture of listening. While the scores and products that Clementi & Co. circulated throughout the world served in the dissemination and consolidation of the *galant style*, my focus for what remains of this article is not the material strings, but the "cognitive thread," or *filo*, in one of Clementi's last compositions.

On October 1822, just weeks after Clementi's Roman strings arrived in Calcutta, a critic for the *Quarterly Musical Magazine* (most likely Richard Mackenzie Bacon) published a review and thorough description of Clementi's final three piano sonatas. After a composing hiatus due to his heavy involvement in running Clementi & Co., Clementi published his Op. 50, Nos 1-3, a year earlier, in 1821. The critic wrote effusively that the pieces are works of "genius" and "consummate art" that show Clementi's "profound scientific knowledge."[98] More significantly, the writer recognized Clementi's use of stock gestures and parts, praising his ability to thread together and "trace the admirable adaptation of its parts, its exact proportions, and its beautiful combinations, and to ruminate on the vast mental resources, the fine imagination, and perfect judgment which have generated and carried the whole into effect."[99] The critic described the sonatas as if in "real time," expecting the reader to follow along in the score, providing page and bar numbers. He pursued an Allanbrook-ian surface-

[95] Bowen, "No Longer Mere Traders," 20.
[96] Nick Robins, *The Corporation that Changed the World: How the East India Company Shaped the Modern Multinational*, 2nd Ed. (London: Pluto Press, 2012), 16.
[97] Makepeace, *The East India Company's London Workers*, 3.
[98] "Three Sonatas by Clementi, Dedicated to Cherubini, Op. 50," *The Quarterly Musical Magazine & Review* (October 1822), 483.
[99] "Three Sonatas by Clementi," *QMMR,* 500.

level analysis that clearly shows his perception of Clementi's use of stock gestures and parts.[100] The author's interest, crucially, was not in the individual components but "the whole": on Clementi's executive mastery of *il filo*.

By using *il filo*, I borrow the terminology applied to the assembly of so-called *partimenti* schemata in the taxonomy developed by Robert Gjerdingen.[101] According to Gjerdingen, musicians were expected to master more than the schemata and realizations of *partimenti*. In search of the long line, Gjerdingen quotes Leopold Mozart, who, on 13 August 1778, wrote to his son that:

> The small is great, when it is natural—fluent and lightly scored and solid in its compositions. To compose like that is more difficult than to write all the artificial harmonic progressions *incomprehensible to most people*, and melodies *difficult to perform*. Did [J.C.] Bach lower himself by this? Never! Good writing and the ordering of things, *il filo*—this distinguishes the master from the bungler, even in trifles.[102]

Gjerdingen reads this letter as Mozart suggesting that placing *partimenti* in an appropriate order creates the cognitive thread (*il filo*) that guides the listener through a musical work. For Gjerdingen, the term *il filo* was an accepted category among musicians of that time generally: the concept most likely disseminated through Italian musicians working elsewhere in Europe and non-Italian musicians studying in Italy. [103] Students practiced how to order schemata into larger musical forms, by the use of *il filo*.[104]

That thread, any analysis of "mastery" in Op. 50 would need to admit, was intrinsic to the Italianate workings and international success of the so-called *galant style*. As Gjerdingen and Daniel Heartz have both argued, the *galant style* had long since changed the way music was both produced and consumed that increased the amount of music scores in circulation and the ways in which people could interact within a musical economy.[105] At least a century earlier, Italian conservatories, especially in Naples, institutionalized the use of *partimenti*—exercises for contrapuntal improvisation at the keyboard—and *solfeggi* exercise books, providing the institutional continuity that allowed for successive generations of composers to be taught with the same methods. According to Gjerdingen and Giorgio Sanguinetti, their success created a European-wide Neapolitan musical diaspora that facilitated the transmission both of the teaching practices they used and of the musical style these practices fostered. As mentioned, Sanguinetti argues that *galant* traditions in fact originated in Rome,

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[100] See Allanbrook's discussion of "surface" vs. "deep" listening and analysis in "The Comic Surface" in Wye Jamison Allanbrook, *Secular Commedia: Comic Mimesis in Late Eighteenth-Century Music* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014), 84-127.
[101] Robert O. Gjerdingen *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[102] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 263.
[103] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 369.
[104] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 370.
[105] See Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003) and Robert O. Gjerdingen *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Clementi's native city, before flourishing in Naples (as if to mimic trends in gut-string manufacture).[106] Arcangelo Corelli, Bernardo Pasquini, the Arcardian Academy tout court, Alessandro Scarlatti, Francesco Durante: Sanguinetti shows that the *partimento* tradition thrived first in Clementi's backyard, surviving most among church organists.[107] Clementi's own compositions, it goes without saying, had their foundations in the practice of *partimenti*.

As contemporary music theorists describe it, the *galant style* used a particular repertory of stock musical phrase employed in conventional sequences, allowing for the production of a large quantity of music for immediate consumption. This *style*, they say, quickly became a musical lingua franca across Europe, and, by the late eighteenth century, spread beyond the Continent to Chinese lands, South America, and beyond.[108] Sanguinetti argues that, "perhaps it is not an exaggeration to say that every European composer in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries was exposed, directly or indirectly, to the influence of the Neapolitan masters."[109] Roman-derived methods of stringing music together eventually dominated every musical centre in Italy until the 1820s, at the peak of Clementi & Co.'s involvement with the East India Company, while Neapolitan teachers and their teaching methods circulated all over Europe. One might say that all the published music that Clementi & Co. disseminated around the world, whether instrumental or vocal music, was embedded with the *galant style*, Clementi's published music being emblematic of its essential commerciality.[110]

Recent scholarship has emphasized the extent to which processes of exchange, trade, and collaboration were endemic to *galant* practices. Roger Moseley, in *Keys to Play* (2016) for one, claims that the cramped conditions of the Neapolitan *conservatori* forced the students to

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[106] See Giorgio Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice in Naples* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 20.

[107] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 20-23. Sanguinetti shows how the *partimento* tradition was incubated in Rome in the years 1690-1730, when Arcangelo Corelli and Bernardo Pasquini founded the Arcadian Academy, which influenced the next generation of composers such as Alessandro Scarlatti and Francesco Durante. Sanguinetti demonstrates that the earliest surviving collection of *partimenti* suggests that it was written in Rome in 1696, and that Pasquini wrote the first non-anonymous *partimenti* in 1703-1708. Alessandro Scarlatti further developed the *partimento* tradition in Rome before founding the so-called Neapolitan School. By the time Scarlatti moved to Naples from Rome in 1715, his surviving *zibaldon*i (*partimento* exercise books) suggest that the *partimento* began to serve as both a form of art and as a pedagogical tool for improvisation. Francesco Durante, too, studied in Rome and became a great *partimento* master in his own right. Girolamo Chiti's biography of the Roman composer and theorist, Ottavio Pitoni, also reinforces the idea of a Roman origin to *partimenti*. The *partimento* tradition then moved from Rome to Naples, where the four *conservatori* served as ideal institutions for its development.

[108] Alejandro Vera, "The Circulation of Instrumental Music Between Old and New Worlds: New Evidence from Sources Preserved in Mexico City and Lima" (*Eighteenth Century Music* 12.2, 2015), 183-196.

[109] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento,* 7.

[110] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 415-416. As Gjerdingen notes, later historians and theorists saw *galant* music as the "childhood of Romantic music," for its supposed simplicity and lack of "higher" form. Gjerdingen suggests that, due to this mentality, Clementi's compositions have been relegated for the sole use of teaching beginning piano students.

acquire their musical expertise through "(in)voluntary collaboration with their peers": they honed their craft by improvising *partimenti* in exchange with each other.[111] These schemata also formed an aural medium of exchange between musical artisans and their aristocratic patrons.[112] The modular components of *partimenti* could therefore be thought of as receptacles of exchange in their pedagogical and improvisational traditions. Nicholas Mathew, in his recent book, *The Haydn Economy* (2022), suggests that the "stockness" of these musical formulas could be conceived as a shared means of a form of aural and economic exchange, circulating between patrons, composers, performers, publishers, and consumers of published music.[113] Taken further, the modular components of *partimenti* served as sonic micro-commodities that manifested wider processes of musical assembly and manufacture, as in the commercial exchange between London and Rome (and beyond) in the context of Clementi's circulating sheet music, musical parts, and products.

An analysis of the first movement of Clementi's Op. 50 No. 2 in D minor, as heard through the ears of the critic cited four paragraphs back, may prove useful to understanding how value was circulated – indeed how such processes of component-making and circulation related to Clementi's commercial collaborations and business practices. Clementi-the-musician and Clementi-the-businessman, in my analysis, though not wholly one and the same, were also never entirely at odds. Our *Quarterly Musical Magazine & Review* critic focuses on the larger structure and other stock gestures that can be understood as character, topoi, and how the subjects undergo key changes. The critic first and foremost states that the "general character of the first allegro is energy, passion, and tenderness."[114] He writes that the subject is announced "boldly" in the opening bars, followed by an "impassioned and tender strain." In between outlining modulations, the critic alludes to the assemblage of other topoi, such as a new "cantabile strain, full of sentiment", which, after a modulation, we arrive at a "rich and expressive passage" which is then repeated in "double counterpoint" (learned style) followed by the description of several other "expressive" and "brilliant turns."[115]

But one must account for the fact that these sonatas are assembled by diverse *partimenti*, and here again I return to the terminology invented by Gjerdingen.[116] The movement begins with what Gjerdingen would call a *do-re-mi* schema over a tonic pedal point in bars 1-3 (see *Example 1.1*) followed by another *do-re-mi* over a tonic pedal point in bars 3-5 resolving with a converging *indugio* cadence. Another *do-re-mi* over a tonic pedal point from bar 5 leads to a grand cadence in bars 7-8, with yet another *do-re-mi* over a tonic pedal point in bar 9 leading into a converging *indugio* cadence in bars 11-12. The piece suddenly modulates into F Major, the relative key, with a pivot chord in bar 13. A *fenaroli* in bar 13

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[111] Roger Moseley, *Keys to Play: Music as a Ludic Medium from Apollo to Nintendo* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 143-144.
[112] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 3-8.
[113] See Nicholas Mathew, *The Haydn Economy: Music, Aesthetics, and Commerce in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022): 20-54.
[114] "Three Sonatas by Clementi, Dedicated to Cherubini, Op. 50," *The Quarterly Musical Magazine & Review* (October 1822), 485.
[115] "Three Sonatas by Clementi,"486.
[116] See Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*.

resolves into a grand cadence in bars 16-17. Bars17-25 (see *Examples 1.1* and *1.2*) consist of several series of *fenaroli,* with a *ponte* in bars 22-24 over a dominant pedal point. Then, two *do-re-mi*'s appear in bars 25-26, before finally resolving into a cadence in measures 27-28. Two more *fenaroli* follow in bars 29-31, along with a brilliant section with F-minor inflections. The *fenaroli* lead to an evaded cadence in bars 32-34. The exposition ends with a *cadenza* beginning in bar 35 which resolves with a *do-si-do* in measures 39-40.

Even if the combination of *partimenti* schemata in this movement might not be as impressive as in other *galant* compositions, any listener would be struck by the movement's highly variegated surface, which simultaneously obscures the *partimenti* and threads them together. The listener might also perceive that the piece is deftly constructed by combinations of *topoi*, as alluded by the critic.[117] The movement begins with a stormy, tempestuous, *sturm und drang*-like topic over a tonic pedal point, already pointing to a topical surface that is connected throughout the movement by contrapuntal lines. This stormy section ends with brilliant filigree, immediately followed by a *cantabile* section, accompanied with a stormy accompaniment over more pedal points. The *cantabile* melody then repeats with more ornamentation, followed by a modulation that leads to a *fantasia* section. Shortly thereafter, a learned style section appears immediately followed by a brilliant and virtuosic section, before the exposition finally closes with repetitive flourishes. Clementi deftly assembles multiple parts and reconciles opposites, both through the dynamic surface and through this deeper "networked" thread.

Indeed, our critic recognized Clementi's use of *il filo* in one form or another. The writer suggests that the sonata provides the "student a practical lesson of more value than the perusal of a treatise." He enthuses that the sonata displays a:

> web of such inimitable texture as to render delicacy compatible with strength, variety with simplicity, and splendor with purity—in which, parts that are the most remote from each other are *connected* with such art as almost to *escape detection*, and yet in their very minuteness serve the more strongly to work out the *masterly design* of a great *whole*.[118] (emphasis added)

The views of this critic, indeed, the very fact of the review's existence and its focus on form, represents a shift in how the *galant* style was perceived and experienced in the 1820s.

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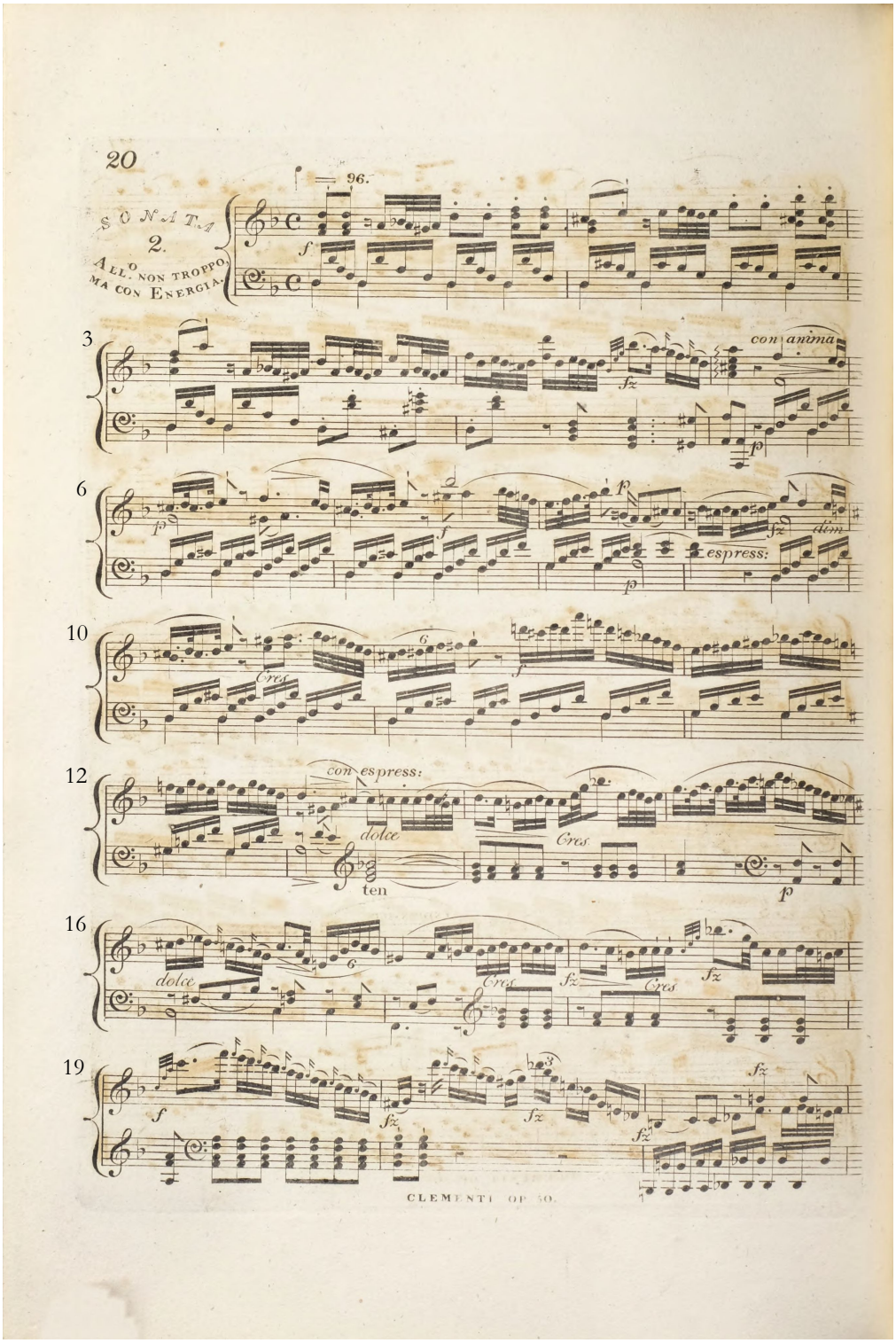
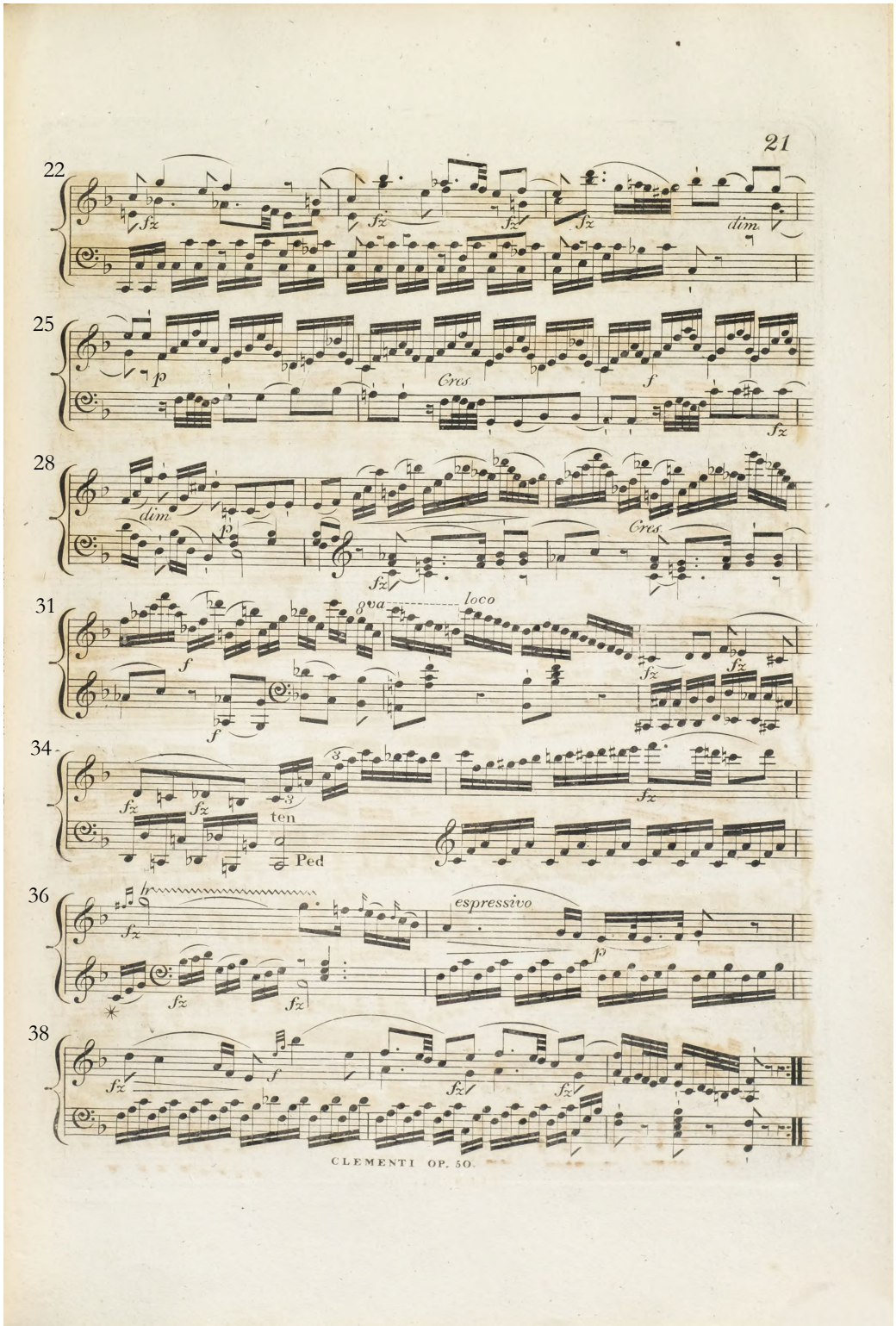
[117] Here, I use Leonard Ratner's taxonomy for his topic theory, or Wendy Allanbrook's, *topoi.* See Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music:* Expression*, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980) and Wye Jamison Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) and Allanbrook, *The Secular Commedia: Comic Mimesis in Late Eighteenth-Century Music* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014).

[118] Three Sonatas by Clementi," 483.



Example 1.1 First half of the exposition of the first movement of Clementi's Op. 50 No. 2 in D Minor, from the original edition published by Clementi & Co., 1821. The annotated measure numbers are my own. Image downloaded from British Library.[119]

[119] *Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte Composed by Muzio Clementi Op. 50* (London: Clementi & Co., 1821), 20.



Example 1.2 Second half exposition of the first movement of Clementi's Op. 50 No. 2 in D Minor, from the original edition published by Clementi & Co., 1821. The annotated measure numbers are my own. Image downloaded from British Library.[120]

[120] *Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte*, 21.

One might conclude that the critic's words, in which he hailed the occlusion of the artisanal aspects of composing, represent a move away from "the material" towards "the cognitive," from artisanal assembly to "executive" control. I refer as much to the threads or strings themselves, as "the music itself"—a new idealism traditionally associated with such claggy concepts as the rise of Romanticism, or rather, the newly philosophical, cerebral, and immaterial sense that replaced the *galant style*. The critic's use of words such as "strength," "simplicity," and "purity" further contribute to the understanding of a complex operation like Clementi's business was made to seem seamless, manifesting in a "masterly design" and "a great whole."

It may be that the so-called *il filo* of the *partimento* tradition relates to our story in ways that go beyond the fact that it shares its name with the usable membranes of the lamb guts serving as the cores of Clementi's Roman strings. The joining-together of the modular and collaborative components of *partimenti* by *il filo* represents the processes of assembly, via a set of economic and power relationships that made the existence of Clementi's commodities possible. Arguably, it served Clementi & Co.'s transnational enterprise with the East India Company, in which musical products and, as our critic wrote, "parts that are the most remote from each other" were "connected with such art as almost to escape detection." [121]

I am not arguing that the critic's recognition of Clementi's executive mastery or his experience of "the music itself" was an analogy for British imperialism—or that any hearing stands in for masterful processes of colonial or anthropocentric domination. To make such an argument would be to freight too much weight on the evidence presented here. Rather, I suggest a more local and speculative point: that this critic heard an indigenized Anglo-Roman polity and musical culture associated with Clementi's entrepreneurial business activities in London. In other words, Clementi's score bore the traces of an uneasy and commercially imbalanced Anglo-Roman musical culture, founded in relation to trade deficits and inequalities. As Britain imaginatively, physically, and materially appropriated Rome, so the Anglicized Roman Clementi deftly navigated a vast British musical enterprise and composed in the *galant style* which originated in Rome. I have argued, in short, that Clementi's process of executive musical assembly was afforded by a complex network of economic and political relationships that were constructive of the contested imaginary of a distinctive Anglo-Roman musical culture.

[121] "Three Sonatas by Clementi," 483.

CHAPTER 2

"THE SITUATION IS *NO JOKE*": ANGLO-ITALIAN COMEDY, CA. 1817

On 15 March 1817, the *Literary Gazette* critic proclaimed that a "proper *Buffo*" had finally graced the stage of the King's Theatre:

> We have the pleasing task to state that the performance of La Molinara has been the means of introducing once more on the stage of the King's Theatre a proper *Buffo*, a character, which, however essential in comic Operas, had, for many years past, been scarcely known on those boards … We allude to Signor Ambrogetti. [1]

Giuseppe Ambrogetti revived the *buffo* role of Don Rospolone in Paisiello's *La Molinara,* a month after his debut in London as Count Almaviva in *Le nozze di Figaro*, by which he had "firmly established himself in the favour of the audience."[2] Ambrogetti, uniquely, received praise from critics for his "vocal acting": Thomas Massa Alsager, writer for *The Times*, observed that Ambrogetti "is indisputably one of the best actors we have seen"; Thomas Kenrick later proclaimed that "the best actors on the English Stage would find it a difficult task to excel or even equal" Ambrogetti's talents; while the *Theatrical Inquisitor* critic opined that "we cannot help thinking [Ambrogetti] the most versatile and complete actor we ever saw."[3] For the *Literary Gazette* critic, Ambrogetti's performance in *La Molinara* not only "equalled the best performers the British stage can boast of," but "more than once he strongly reminded us of the famous Neapolitan Buffo, Casaciello" (referring to Carlo Casaccia, a member of the Casaccia family of buffo singers, who had dominated Neapolitan musical comedy since the mid-eighteenth century.)[4]

Ambrogetti's rise to prominence in England was only possible due to the lifting of the Continental Blockade (1806-1814). Indeed, besides a few singers such as Angelica Catalani, most Italian artists were prevented from reaching England during this time period:

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[1] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon], "The Drama. The Italian Opera, King's Theatre," *The Literary Gazette* (March 15, 1817), 121.

[2] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Italian Opera. King's Theatre," *The Literary Gazette* (February 8, 1817), 45. A year later, the *Theatrical Inquisitor* hailed Ambrogetti's success with the audience, commenting that he "was welcomed in a manner that we have seldom witnessed in this or any other Theatre." See [Anonymous,] "Theatrical Inquisition. King's Theatre—Le Nozze di Figaro," *The Theatrical Inquisitor* (January 1818), 49.

[3] [Thomas Massa Alsager,] "King's Theatre," *The Times* (April 16, 1817), 3; [Thomas Kenrick,] "King's Theatre. Il Barbiere di Siviglia," *The British Stage* (April 1818), 52. [Anonymous,] "Theatrical Inquisition. King's Theatre—New Opera," *The Theatrical Inquisitor* (January 1819), 67.

[4] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon],"The Drama. The Italian Opera, King's Theatre" *The Literary Gazette* (March 15, 1817), 121 and Colin Timms, "Casaccia family," *Grove Music Online* 2002, accessed 17 Aug. 2022 https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000003830.

local singers such as Elizabeth Billington and John Braham, who had gained considerable professional experience through Italian pedagogues at home and abroad around the turn of the century, performed in their stead.[5] After the borders opened, King's Theatre's musical director William Ayrton (a director of the Philharmonic Society and later a music critic and founder of *The Harmonicon* music journal, associated with the critical institutions of serious music in London) traveled to Paris the previous season specifically to engage new singers for London, foremost among them, Ambrogetti, to premiere the city's first full-staged performance of Mozart's *dramma giocoso, Don Giovanni* in 1817, almost thirty years after the opera premiered in Prague.[6] The repeal of the Blockade exposed England to a new wave of Italian singers, not only in order to introduce Mozart to London audiences, but also to supplement and revitalize the King's Theatre company of singers.[7]

Naldi contra Ambrogetti

Ambrogetti was hailed for his excellence in semi-serious *buffo* roles, in ways that distinguished him from his rival, the *buffo* Giuseppe Naldi, doyen of the King's Theatre, who arrived prior to the Continental Blockade in 1806. Naldi, now forty-seven years old, portrayed Ambrogetti's comic sidekicks, such as Leporello to Ambrogetti's Don Giovanni and the comic servant Don Pasquale to Uberto in *L'Agnese*.[8] However, Ambrogetti, still in his thirties, initiated a series of premiered *buffo* roles in the premieres of Rossini's operas in London: Bartolo in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in 1818, Taddeo in *L'italiana in Algeri* in 1819*,* and Don Magnifico in *La Cenerentola* in 1820.[9] Meanwhile, Naldi, who premiered the more buffoonish role of Leporello in London, portrayed Figaro in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* rather than the seemingly more appropriate Bartolo, in Ambrogetti's place. Ambrogetti proved suitable, not only to the tastes of Mozart aficionados like Ayrton, but to the newly-imported Rossinian fare.

One of the reasons why Ambrogetti switched over to highly buffoonish Rossini roles is that the King's Theatre operated a tenure system in assigning parts. Take the example of

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[5] See Theodore Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press 1785-1830* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 518-28 and 542-3 and Claudio Vellutini, "Interpreting the Italian Voice in London (and Elsewhere)," in *London Voices, 1820-1840: Performers, Practices, Histories* ed. Roger Parker and Susan Rutherford (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019**)**, 53.

[6] Fenner, *Opera in London*, 16. Ayrton was not only the musical director of the King's Theatre, but in 1823 he later founded and edited one of the first musical journals in London: *The Harmonicon.* London audiences had been previously exposed to *Don Giovanni* by hearing numbers from the opera as interpolation pieces in the 1790s, and in a non-staged production of the opera in 1809. For more information, see Alec Hyatt King, "The Quest for Sterland—3. Don Giovanni in London before 1817," *Musical Times* 127 (1986): 487-493.

[7] While his origins in Italy are unknown, Ambrogetti debuted at the King's Theatre as Count Almaviva in a revival of Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* in February 1817 before bringing his signature role of Don Giovanni from the continent to the King's Theatre in April. Fenner, *Opera in London*, 177.

[8] [Thomas Kenrick,] "King's Theatre. Signor Romero," *The British Stage* (April 1819), 111.

[9] Fenner, *Opera in London*, 177-181.

the premiere of Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* in 1812, produced for Naldi's benefit.[10] By convention, the role of Figaro belonged to Naldi, which is why, when Ambrogetti arrived in 1817, Ambrogetti filled the part of Almaviva, Joseph Fischer having rendered the position vacant.[11] Ambrogetti continued to portray Almaviva throughout his tenure at the King's; it made little sense for him to play Figaro when Naldi left London in 1819. Meanwhile, the house tenure system adapted according to roles previously sung on the Continent. For example, Ayrton engaged Ambrogetti with the King's Theatre precisely because of his success as Don Giovanni in Italy and in Paris, which is why he replayed the role locally, opposite Naldi's Leporello.[12]

Yet, as audiences and critics grew evermore enraptured by Ambrogetti, these same critics grew increasingly impatient with Naldi in the years 1817-1818. In *La Molinara,* the *Literary Gazette* critic explained that "Mr. Naldi did his best … but neither his comic humour, quaint and formal as it is, nor his voice, if such it may be called, were of a description to stand comparison with the above-mentioned formidable rival."[13] When Naldi failed to take the Commendatore scene in *Don Giovanni* seriously, the newly-founded *Quarterly Musical Magazine* was perplexed. "The situation of his master and himself, at that moment, is *no joke*," Richard Mackenzie Bacon cried.[14] Naldi was adjudged to have grown "careless" in his singing and acting, and even "a little too ludicrous" in the tastes of critics.[15] Naldi was viewed so unfavorably by the time he premiered the role of Figaro in Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* that Thomas Kenrick was surprised "by a display of liveliness and activity which we have long been unaccustomed to in [Naldi]." Yet Kenrick attributed Naldi's performance to Ambrogetti's success, for "his emulation appears to have been awakened by the applauses bestowed on Ambrogetti's acting; and he has shewn that when he thinks fit to exert himself he has few superiors."[16] Even Naldi's performance as Figaro could not salvage his reputation, and he was dismissed from the King's Theatre before the following season, in 1819.[17]

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Why were London audiences and critics so enthusiastic about Ambrogetti, yet stopped laughing at and were so eager to dispense with Naldi, whose buffoonery was now deemed as "*no joke*"?[18] To understand the causes of this shift in comic reception, this chapter explores

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[10] Fenner, *Opera in London*, 173.
[11] [Henry Robertson,] "The Opera," *The Examiner* (July 12, 1812), 444.
[12] [Thomas Kenrick,] "King's Theatre. Il Don Giovanni," *The British Stage* (May 1817), 103.
[13] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon],"The Drama. The Italian Opera, King's Theatre" *The Literary Gazette* (March 15, 1817), 121.
[14] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Drama. King's Theatre—Don Giovanni," *The Literary Gazette* (April 19, 1817), 200.
[15] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Drama. King's Theatre—Don Giovanni," *The Literary Gazette* (April 19, 1817), 200.
[16] [Thomas Kenrick,] "King's Theatre. Il Barbiere di Siviglia," *The British Stage* (April 1818), 82.
[17] [Thomas Kenrick,] "King's Theatre. Signor Romero," *The British Stage* (April 1819), 111.
[18] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Drama. King's Theatre—Don Giovanni," *The Literary Gazette* (April 19, 1817), 200.

the status of comedy in Anglo-Italian critical and musical practice ca. 1817. My argument unfolds in two parts. First, I show how Neapolitan slapstick had long influenced English theatrical comedy: the question of Naples was a matter of concern for all comedy in London, and the *Literary Gazette* critic's comparison of Ambrogetti to a Neapolitan *buffo* and the Naldi-contra-Ambrogetti case is just one of several examples. A Bergsonian view of laughter appears *a propos* to Naldi's pre-1817 London reception – the theory that laughter has to do with social distinction, and that "we laugh at those ignorant of themselves." Indeed, it was standard for even post-Napoleonic-era English Grand Tourists in Naples to decree its inhabitants not only ridiculous, but idle and dangerous. The city became a symbol of lack of restraint for some; for others, lowbrow hilarity indexed freedom from what recent historians call "the rise of respectability," though their concern generally involves sweeping arguments about emerging middling class moralism.

Conversely, narrative accounts of the "rise of respectability" and stereotypes of Neapolitan humor as low, dangerous, and vulgar, do not account for the critical reception of Ambrogetti and the failure of Naldi in 1817. In fact, some of the same critics who criticized Naldi and appreciated Ambrogetti—namely William Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt—were among the first satirists to critique the "age of seriousness." When they heard Ambrogetti, they laughed even harder. The aim, in what follows, is less to refuse than to complicate standard "rise of respectability" narratives. Rather than arguing that Naldi was yet another victim of rising middlebrow seriousness, I focus, less on Bergsonian theories, than on a distinctly Aristotelian vein of laughter cultivated by such theatergoers as Hazlitt and Hunt. Their experience points to a political strain of laughter – a levity – that qualifies too-fatalistic modern accounts of the history of laughter.

Second, to finally answer why Naldi's buffoonery was suddenly "no joke", I return to a more detailed exposé of the critical reception of Naldi throughout his tenure (1806-1819) vis-a-vis Ambrogetti's (1817-1822). I explore the importance of acting, in the critics' experience, of a new Anglo-Italian *buffo* aesthetic, and then examine three polarities: the preference of tasteful comic acting versus buffoonish acting; nuanced versatile acting for the fidelity of character versus inadaptable acting; and fidelity to the score versus infidelity to the music and composer. I conclude that the critics' newly ennobled take on humor at the King's Theatre was wedded to a new value in musical characterization.

Anglo-Neapolitan Comedy

But first, a foray into the English association of comedy with Naples. After the evacuation of Corsica in December 1796, diplomat and politician Sir Gilbert Elliot, the Earl of Minto, arrived in Naples and subsequently attended performances of Lady Emma Hamilton's (wife of Sir William Hamilton, British Envoy) "Attitudes," in which she combined classical poses, dance, and acting to bring to life the sculptures and paintings of Greco-Roman mythology. English Grand Tourists often laughed at and mocked Hamilton: she was originally a traveler, who later transformed herself into a spectacle, which eventually became one of the main tourist attractions of Naples. Sir Gilbert, along with other Grand Tourists, contended that Hamilton resembled the women of the city:

> She is the most extraordinary compound I ever beheld. Her person is nothing short of monstrous for its enormity, and is growing every day…. Her face is beautiful; she is all Nature, and yet all Art; that is to say, her manners are perfectly unpolished, of course very easy, though not with the ease of good breeding, but of a barmaid; excessively good-humoured and wishing to please and be admired by all ages and sorts of persons that come in her way…. With men her language and conversation are exaggerations of anything I ever heard anywhere; and I was wonderfully struck with these inveterate remains of her origin, though the impression was very much weakened by seeing the other ladies of Naples.[19]

Hamilton's "exaggerations," in terms of behavior and size, could have been encountered as a source of good humor for expatriate art-lovers. As Chloe Chard suggests, exaggeration here fits into Henri Bergson's category of naivety, in which one is unaware of the limits of social behavior.[20] In *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic,* Bergson argues that we laugh at people who fail to adapt to social expectation and that "a comic character is generally comic in proportion to his ignorance of himself."[21] This naivety reverberated with the kind that was attributed to Neapolitans by Grand Tourists.

Moreover, Hamilton's English admirers were fascinated by the ease in which she quickly changed poses and expression. While Hamilton did not intend to perform comedy, tourists may have recognized a resemblance between her quick changes in pose, and the disjunctions and fragmentations of the comic style in music, which evolved from what they recognized as a peculiarly Neapolitan *buffa* aesthetic.

Bergson's theory of laughter – that we laugh at those "ignorant of themselves" – applies usefully, not only to that which had induced Hamilton's naive "attitudes," but to the long-established English assessments of the humoral degradation of Naples and the Neapolitans. Even the *Literary Gazette* critic, who commended Ambrogetti's Don Rospolone up-front in this chapter, ascribed the spirit of cheer to a peculiarly local naivety:

> The incidents and dramatic situations which form the slight plot of this Opera, are strung together in a natural way, a spirit of cheerful *naïveté*, richly tinged by comic humour, commands the attention of the audience from beginning to end, and the easy and frequently droll language, truly Neapolitan, is eminently calculated to augment this favorable impression.[22]

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[19] The Countess of Minto (ed.), *Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot, First Earl of Minto, from 1751-1806*, II (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1874), 364-5.

[20] Chloe Chard, "Comedy, Antiquity, The Feminine, and the Foreign: Emma Hamilton and Corinne," in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond*, ed. by Clare Hornsby (London: British School of Rome, 2000), 147-169.

[21] Henri Bergson, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic,* translated by C. Brereton and F. Rothwell (London: Macmillan, 1911), 16.

[22] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon],"The Drama. The Italian Opera, King's Theatre" *The Literary Gazette* (March 15, 1817), 120.

English patrons of comedy and English Grand Tourists alike, that is, associated the Italian influence on comedy with a fixed regional identity.[23]

Though this is not the venue to make a full historical account of Anglo-Neapolitan comic practice, the stock characters, plot outlines, and slapstick of the Italian *commedia dell'arte* had spread from Italy to Europe and to England, from as early as the sixteenth century. These stock-figures, in other words, had been embedded for centuries at all levels of London's hierarchical system of theatrical management. By the post-Napoleonic years, Anglo-Neapolitan humor, long characteristic of "low" English comedy and entertainment, was perhaps most visible in the forms of English harlequinades, pantomime, and *Punch and Judy* puppet shows.[24] It was evident in higher spheres too. Minor playhouses, such as the Adelphi, Surrey, and Sadler's Well theatres, and illegitimate theatres presented comedies, circuses, pantomimes, and burlesques. Patent theatres, such as the Covent Garden, Drury Lane, Haymarket and Lyceum theatres, featured a higher class of mirth including approved comedies, pantomimes, ballad operas, and adaptations of Italian opera.[25] While audiences were aware of the Italianness of English "low" comedy, they viewed the *opere buffe*—a genre which was also influenced by *commedia dell'arte* stock characters and plots—performed at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket (the only theatre patented to produce Italian opera) as the most "elevated" form of comedy available in London.[26]

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[23] Of course, other Italian comedic traditions, especially from Venice, influenced English masques, carnival, and even Whig politics. See John Eglin*, Venice Transfigured: The Myth of Venice in British Culture, 1660-1797* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 47.

[24] On the history of *commedia dell'arte* and its spread throughout Europe and in England, in particular, see, for example, Domenico Pietropaolo, ed., *The Science of Buffoonery: Theory and History of the Commedia dell'Arte* (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1989); Kenneth Richards and Laura Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte: A Documentary History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Antonio Fava, *The Comic Mask in the Commedia dell'arte* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2007); Kathleen Marguerite Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy: A Study in the Commedia Dell'arte, 1560-1620: With Special Reference to the English Stage* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962); and Michele Marrapodi, ed. *The Routledge Companion to Anglo-Italian Renaissance Literature and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

[25] On the divisions between theatrical institutions at the time, see Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-10; Moody, "The Theatrical Revolution, 1776-1843," in *The Cambridge History of British Theatre, Volume 2:1660 to 1895*, ed. Joseph Donohue (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 199-218; G.F. Cruchley, *Cruchley's Picture of London,* 2nd ed. (London: G. F. Cruchley, 1834), 86-100. On English adaptations of Italian opera: The professional and lower-class audience members were often suspicious of foreign opera and preferred to attend an opera in their native tongue with spoken dialogue as opposed to recitative. By producing English adaptations of Italian opera on English opera stages in Covent Garden, managers spoke to the lower-class audience's desire to experience the music of Italian opera they so yearned to hear, but within a context that they could understand and afford. See Fenner, *Opera in London*, 345 and 358.

[26] Daniel Nalbach, *The King's Theatre 1704-1867: London's First Italian Opera House* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1972), 128. The King's Theatre season—typically running from December to July—featured a standing company of mostly Italian performers. Operas took several years to reach London from the Continent because of distance, constant financial difficulties, and, between 1806-1814, the Continental blockade. Londoners, therefore, had peculiar opportunities to

English patrons of comedy in the 1810s-1820s made frequent observations on the metropolitan presence of Neapolitan comedy, beyond *opera buffa*. For example, in an 1817 *Examiner* essay on the English harlequinade, the editor Leigh Hunt describes the characters and their origins from the *commedia dell'arte* tradition and compares the English and Italian versions of the character.[27] In particular, Hunt focuses on the character of *The Clown*, (a descendent of *Scaramouche*), then played to great acclaim by the Anglo-Italian Joseph Grimaldi.[28] Considered the funniest actor on stage during his lifetime (as *Joey the Clown*), Grimaldi was born in London to a family of Anglo-Italian comic performers: his great-grandfather moved from Italy to England to portray Pantaloon with John Rich as Harlequin and his father also made his way to London to perform the role of Pantaloon under David Garrick's management, while his mother, Rebecca Brooker, was a comic dancer at Drury Lane.[29] Richard Findlater, Grimaldi's biographer, surmised back in the 1950s:

> From his mother Joe inherited, one may suppose, the native common sense and humour of a line of City tradesmen and shopkeepers; on his father's side he stemmed from a cosmopolitan family of dancers, acrobats and mimes, with a tradition of all-round theatrical skill. In Joe the Brooker and Grimaldi strains combined to create a living caricature of John Bullishness, whose native comedy was expressed by a most un-English capacity for mime.[30]

He was a truly hybrid and yet quintessentially British type.

Another example of the English recognition of Italian comic miscegenation is John Payne Collier's and the caricaturist George Cruikshank's 1828 chronicle of *Punch and Judy*, which traces Punch's origins in Italy, in particular, as the Neapolitan *commedia dell'arte* character, *Pulcinello*, before providing a history of the English puppet show. In their description of Punch's performances, Collier and Cruikshank lamented that, although *Punch and Judy* originated from *commedia dell'arte*, the direct influence of continental comedy was lost: "as the performances of Punch in this country very much resemble the impromptu comedies of the Italians, no record exists of the dialogue, and, in few instances, of the course and series of the scenery."[31]

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compare old and relatively new operas—especially *opere buffe*—across short spans of time. We can see this phenomenon with the case of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*'s arrival in 1817, thirty years after its premiere in Prague, while Gioachino Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* premiered in Rome in 1816, and arrived in London by 1818. See Rachel Elizabeth Cowgill, "Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829: Aspects of Reception and Canonicity" (PhD diss., King's College London, 2000), 16.

[27] [Leigh Hunt,] "The Theatrical Examiner," *The Examiner* (January 5, 1817), 7.

[28] [Leigh Hunt,] "The Theatrical Examiner," *The Examiner* (January 5, 1817), 7. See Richard Findlater, *Joe Grimaldi: His Life and Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 9.

[29] Jane Moody, "Grimaldi, Joseph" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

[30] Findlater, *Joe Grimaldi,* 16.

[31] George Cruikshank, *Punch and Judy, with Twenty-Four Illustrations, Designed and Engraved by George Cruikshank and Other Plates. Accompanied by the Dialogue of the Puppet-Show, and Account of its Origin, and of Puppet Plays in England*, 6th Ed. (London: George Belle & Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, 1881),

So too, Grand Tourists visiting Italy during and after the Napoleonic Wars cultivated a fascination for the primitive European roots of English comedy. In particular, as we have seen, they associated uncontrolled laughter with the *Città del Sole*, and like Collier and Cruikshank after them, they framed the Neapolitan *commedia dell'arte* stock character, Pulcinella, as the ancestor of Punch. Joseph Forsyth, in his *Remarks on Antiquities* (1816), pointed out the prominence of "Punch" in his experience of the hustle and bustle of the piers of Naples:

> The mole seems on holidays an epitome of the town, and exhibits most of its humours. Here stands a methodistical friar preaching to one row of *lazaroni*: there, Punch, the representative of the nation, holds forth to a crowd.… Opposite to him stand two jocund old men, in the centres of an oval group, singing alternately to their crazy guitars. Further on is a motley audience seated on planks, and listening to a tragic-comic *filosofo*, who reads, sings, and gesticulates old Gothic tales.[32]

For Forsyth, the crowded, lively, and noisy streets of Naples were more theatrical than any opera staged at the *Teatro San Carlo*. Forsyth described the Neapolitan street as:

> a theatre where any stranger may study for nothing the manners of the people. At the theatre of San Carlo the mind, as well as the man, seems parted off from its fellows in an elbow-chair…. There the drama—but what is a drama in Naples without Punch? Or what is Punch out of Naples? Here, in his native tongue, and among his own countrymen, Punch is a person of real power; he dresses up and retails all the drolleries of the day; he is the channel and sometimes the source of the passing opinions; he can inflict ridicule, he could gain a mob, or keep the whole kingdom in good humour.[33]

He even provided a brief history of *Pulcinella*, and eventually, the English Punch, to reinforce his claim.[34]

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47. Furthermore, the book includes a script of *The Tragical Comedy, or Comical Tragedy of Punch and Judy* (along with Cruikshank's illustrations), and Collier explains the Italian origins of several of the jokes. See Cruikshank, *Punch and Judy*, 65-94.

[32] Joseph Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters, During an Excursion in Italy, in the Years 1802 and 1808 by Joseph Forsyth, Esq.*, 4th ed. (London: John Murray, Albemarle-Street, 1835), 272-273.

[33] Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 273-274.

[34] Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities,* 273-274. "Capponi and others consider Punch as a lineal representation of the Atellan farcers. They find a convincing resemblance between his mask and a little chicken-nosed figure in bronze, which was discovered at Rome; and from his nose they derive his name, 'a pulliceno pullicinella!' Admitting this descent, we might push the origin of Punch back to very remote antiquity. Punch is a native of Atella, and therefore an Oscan. Now, the Oscan farces were anterior to any stage. They intruded on the stage only in its barbarous state, and were dismissed on the first appearance of a regular drama. They then appeared as *Exodia* on trestles; their mummers spoke broad Volcan; whatever they spoke they grimaced, like Datus; they retailed all the scandal that

Forsyth was hardly the only Grand Tourist to write of his experiences of Punch in Naples. In his *Picture of Italy* (1815), Henry Coxe informed his readers not to overlook the puppet theatre, *Teatro de'Burattini*, which was "numerously attended by all classes of the Neapolitans" because "*Pulcinello,* or *Punch*, is with them a person of such importance, that it is impossible to dispense with his services."[35] Jane Waldie recounted that, during her sojourn in 1816-1817, that she, too, was struck by the "stir and bustle" of the Neapolitan streets, and above all, "the temporary stages on which the wit of the illustrious native of Naples, Punch, is displayed."[36] Lady Morgan, on the other hand, was disappointed that when she attended the "theatre of *Pulchinello*" during Lent, instead of experiencing the "broad grins" of the show, she was instead subjected to a play about Elijah: she assumed that because Pulcinella was "decidedly the most powerful personage in Naples," the show would continue, despite Lent.[37]

Just as Grand Tourists documented their encounters with low comedy and Pulcinella, so they ascribed the evolution of the *opera buffa* genre to Neapolitan music. Writers such as Lady Morgan and Henry Matthews, in his *Diary of an Invalid* (1820), complained that the masters of *opera buffa*, "Cimarosa, Paisiello, and others of equally recent date, are already become antiquated," and that Neapolitan audiences only wanted to listen to the contemporaneous Rossini.[38]

Partly because of Punch's prominence there and its *opera buffa* associations, tourists, in ways that mixed admiration with chauvinism, understood the city to be a melting pot organized politically according to "good humor," humor understood to govern the city's presiding social affect.[39] In all of her travel guides to Italy, Mariana Starke described the

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passed, as poor Mallonia's wrongs; their parts were frequently interwoven with other dramas "consertaque fabellis says Livy 'potissimum Atellanis sunt, Quod genus ludorum ab Oscic acceptum;' and in all these respects the Exodiarius corresponds with the Punch of Naples. Yet if we return from analogy to fact, we shall find that master Punch is only a caricature of the Apulian peasant, a character invented, as some suppose, by the Captain Mattamoros, improved by Ciuccio the tailor, and performing the same part as the Fool or the Vice in our old English plays and moralities."

[35] Henry Coxe, *Picture of Italy: Being a Guide to the Antiquities and Curiosities of that Classical and Interesting Country: Containing Sketches of Manners, Society, and Customs; and an Itinerary of Distances in Posts and English Miles, Best Inns, Etc. with A Minute Description of Rome, Florence, Naples, & Venice, and their Environs, to Which are Prefixed, Directions to Travelers; and Dialogues in English, French, & Italian* (London: Sherwood Neely & Jones, 1815), 316.

[36] Jane Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy in the Years 1816 and 1817 with a Brief Account of Travels in Various Parts of France and Switzerland in the Same Years in Four Volumes*, Vol. III (London: John Murray, 1820), 55.

[37] Lady Morgan Sydney, *Italy, by Lady Morgan in Two Volumes,* Vol. II (New York: J. Seymour, 1821), 362-363.

[38] Henry Matthews, *The Diary of an Invalid: Being the Journal of a Tour in Pursuit of Health, in Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, and France, in the Years 1817, 1818, and* 1819, 5th Ed. (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1836), 159. See, too, Morgan, *Italy*, 360-361, as well.

[39] Here I think of Rancière's "distribution of the sensible": the idea that affect organizes life. See Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*," ed. and trans. Gabriel Rockhill (London: Bloomsbury, 2004).

character of Neapolitans as "good-humoured buffoonery."[40] Coxe claimed that they had a natural "aversion" to tragedies; he explained that the *Teatro de Fiorentini* featured "musical pieces … four days in the week, and on the other two, the Comedies of Goldoni; but tragedies, to which the Neapolitans have an aversion are performed in Lent only."[41] Matthews, similarly, described the *lazzaroni*—the poorest class, who roamed the streets—as "a merry joyous race, with a keen relish for drollery, and endued with a power of feature that is shown in the richest exhibition of comic grimace."[42] "Swinburne says well," wrote Matthews, echoing what Henry Swinburne had previously published back in 1783 "that [the satirist] Hogarth ought to have visited Naples to have beheld the '*sublime of caricature*.'"[43]

This association of the city with comedy worked to re-enforce long-standing stereotypes about native humor: idle, droll, and yet amusing. In her travel writings, Marianna Starke described the denizens as "good-humoured, open-hearted, and though passionate, so fond of drollery, that a Man in the greatest rage will suffer himself to be calmed by a joke."[44] In his *Travels After the Peace of Amiens* (1806), John Gustavus Lemaistre explained that the reason he wrote so much about the "amusement of the Neapolitans," was that:

> as more than halve their time is consumed in this manner, to describe their entertainments appears to me the best mode of making you acquainted with this merry people; who seem to consider life as a game of romps. In which he is the most skillful who can laugh and play the most.[45]

Jane Waldie also commented on a propensity for "trifling amusements," and explained that "the Neapolitans pass through life with the hilarity and carelessness of children."[46]

Yet, while English tourists often found that the humoral character of these streets accounted for a peaceable and carefree civic existence, they also felt threatened by the purportedly ubiquitous social presence of indolence, and danger. Henry Coxe described the "Neapolitan" as "a rude, uncivilized bawler," while John Milford suggested that idleness led to subjects becoming "addicted to chicane and artifice … to dupe strangers."[47] He explained that "neglect of education, and laxity of morals, are more general at Naples than in any other

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[40] Seen, for example, in Marianna Starke, *Letters from Italy, Between the Years 1792 and 1798*, *In Two Volumes*, Vol. II (London: R. Phillips, 1800), 59.
[41] Coxe, *Picture of Italy*, 315-316.
[42] Matthews, *The Diary of an Invalid*, 157.
[43] Matthews, *The Diary of an Invalid*, 157.
[44] Starke, *Letters from Italy*, 93-95.
[45] J. G. Lemaistre, *Travels After the Peace of Amiens, Through Parts of France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, in Three Volumes,* Vol. I (London: J. Johnson, 1806), 425.
[46] Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy in the Years 1816 and 1817*, 208-209.
[47] Coxe, *Picture of Italy*, 526 and John Milford, *Observations, Moral, Literary, and Antiquaraian, Made During a Tour Through the Pyrennees, South of France, Switzerland, the Whole of Italy, and the Netherlands, in the Years 1814 and 1815 in Two Volumes*, Vol. II (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and J. Hatchard, 1828), 73.

parts of Italy."[48] Lady Morgan, too, declared that "the miserable offspring of the Lazzaroni are the victims of this idleness and these vices."[49]

Grand Tourists frequently rationalized that the climate of the region accounted for its "humoral state," influenced as they were by long-standing Galenic assumptions about the social body and local medical topography. "The mildness of their climate inspires" the Neapolitans, explained Robert Semple, "with cheerfulness, and they give themselves up with ardour to every pleasure, even the most trifling."[50] Milford described a "very idle race of people, arising, in a great degree, from the luxuriant soil and the heat of the climate."[51] The Neapolitans had no need to work, because the soil was so fertile, and due to the mild climate. Travel writers such as Semple and Milford echoed Montesqieu's (and later on Madame de Staël's) analysis of the relationship between climate and national character to reinforce deep-rooted stereotypes of Neapolitans as sensual and indolent.[52] As the lesson of Emma Hamilton made clear, English tourists were hardly inured to the city's threatening humoral effects, at once attractive and fatal. In a description of carnival in the streets of Naples, Lemaistre moaned that the English "soon forgot their national gravity," to partake in the festivities.[53]

Naples was alluring and dangerous on two fronts: geographically speaking, the city's proximity and vulnerability to Mount Vesuvius loomed large in the English imagination; as did, medically speaking, its moral excess. Tourists made sure to visit Vesuvius, even prolonging their visit after experiencing an earthquake in the hope of witnessing an eruption. "To leave Naples without seeing Vesuvius ," Matthews contended, "would be worse than to die at Naples after seeing Vesuvius."[54] Forsyth described the fatal irresistibility of the city and her surroundings in similar terms:

> there is no residence in Europe so tempting as Naples and its environs.—What variety of attractions!—a climate where heaven's breath smells sweet and wooingly—the most beautiful interchange of sea and land— … a vigorous and luxuriant nature, unparalleled in its productions and processes—all the wonders of volcanic power spent or in action— … a coast which was once the fairyland of poets.[55]

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[48] Milford, *Observations, Moral, Literary, and Antiquarian,* 74-75.
[49] Morgan, *Italy,* 344.
[50] Robert Semple, *Observations on a Journey Through Spain and Italy to Naples; and Thence to Smyrna and Constantinople: Comprising a Description oft he Principal Places in that Route, and Remarks on the Present Natural and Political State of those Countries,* Vol. II (London: C. and R. Baldwin, 1807), 101-102.
[51] Milford, *Observations, Moral, Literary, and Antiquarian*, 73.
[52] See Charles de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, II (1794) and Madame de Staël, *Corrine, or Italy,* trans. Isabel Hill (London: Richard Bentley, 1833). For more on the influence of climate on moral health, see Jan Golinski, *British Weather and the Climate of Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 173–91 and Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 83–126.
[53] Lemaistre, *Travels After the Peace of Amiens*, 423.
[54] Matthews, *The Diary of an Invalid*, 155.
[55] Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 279.

Yet, while awe-inspiring nature "has subdued all its conquerors," it "continues to subvert the two great sexual virtues, guardians of every other virtue, — the courage of men and the modesty of women."[56] Though travel writers had long disapproved of cicisbeism in the city, it was tourists of the post-Napoleonic-era rush who cultivated the strongest sense of prudishness. John Semple explained that "no people can be more lax" than the Neapolitan adherence to marital fidelity, while Jane Waldie bemoaned that "every thing here is vitiated and corrupt—religion—morals—manners—taste."[57] Matthews complained of a populace "devoted to play, and they pursue it with a fatal energy that hurries many of them to the last stage of the road to ruin. The relaxation of morals, as you advance towards the south, is very striking."[58] Ludomusicologists such as Roger Moseley would argue that such a "devot[ion] to play" might have been displayed musically through the modular, *commedia dell'arte*-based, and ludic components of the Neapolitan *galant style* (as demonstrated in Chapter 1) and comic style.[59] But that "devot[ion] to play" also tested British moral frameworks. As Rosemary Sweet argues, the Neapolitan lifestyle in the post-Napoleonic years even more so represented an irresistible danger—both in terms of physical and moral safety—for some British travelers, while for others, it represented freedom from what historians describe as the so-called "rise of respectability" in English middling class society.[60]

The "Rise of Respectability"

One way to understand the English perception of Neapolitan comedy and why Naldi was suddenly deemed "no joke," as indicated earlier, is to appeal to the so-called "rise of respectability," a narrative purporting to explain a widely-discussed social decline in laugher. Historians such as Vic Gatrell and Boyd Hilton have argued that the early decades of the nineteenth century marked a change in British manners, from the lewd and satirical taste of the late Georgian period to the well-mannered and more genteel style that would

[56] Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 279.
[57] Semple, *Observations on a Journey Through Spain and Italy to Naples*, 103 and Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy in the Years 1816 and 1817*, 56.
[58] Matthews, *The Diary of an Invalid*, 147.
[59] See for example, Roger Moseley, "Mozart's Harlequinade: Improvising Music alla commedia dell'arte," *Common Knowledge* (17/2 (2011): 335-47; Roger Moseley, *Keys to Play: Music as a Ludic Medium from Apollo to Nintendo* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 141-151; and Robert O. Gjerdingen *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 8-13. While Chapter 1 of this dissertation presented the *galant style* in an economic analysis, Moseley and Gjerdingen have demonstrated the relationship between *commedia dell'arte* and the *galant style*. So too, Wendy Allanbrook has argued for the underlying components of *opera buffa* (and hence *commedia dell'arte*) in the instrumental music of the eighteenth century in Wye Jamison Allanbrook, *The Secular Commedia: Comic Mimesis in Late Eighteenth-Century-Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).
[60] Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 197.

characterize the Victorian age.[61] Woodruff Smith, relatedly, shows how "respectability" gained prominence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by tracking the "rise" of the very word. According to Smith, understanding respectability becomes clearer by comparing the terms derived from "respect" (e.g. respectable, respectability) with terms derived from "gentle" (e.g. gentleman, gentlewoman, gentry, genteel, gentility). While a gentleman was expected to dress properly and to protect his honor, his gentle birth constituted his status as a gentleman, not his behavior. This is to say that, if a gentleman behaved in an ill-mannered way, he would yet remain a gentleman, albeit possibly disgraced. While a gentleman was measured by lineage and inherited status, a "respectable" man was measured by his actions: if he failed to act in a respectable manner, they would no longer be considered respectable. Thus the new moral code, Smith might say, bound explicitly to action and acting out. A few more scholarly moves and he might blame this "rise" for the taming or pacification of comedy *tout court*.[62] It is a grim narrative.

Contemporaneous writers complained about these changes too. Take, for example, a *Literary Gazette* journalist in 1824, who griped that the English:

> have become more decorous, in language and outward appearance.… We cannot help wondering to see the wits and beauties of what is called the Augustan period of our literature, using expressions and making allusions, which would almost shock the delicacy of Billingsgate, and certainly offend the moral sentiments of St Giles's.[63]

Such griping was hardly unusual. Lord Byron wrote in 1821:

> The truth is, the grand '*primum mobile*' of England is *cant*; cant political, cant poetical, cant religious; but always cant, multiplied through all the varieties of life. It is the fashion, and while it lasts will be too powerful for those who can only exist by taking the tone of the time.[64]

Byron famously dubbed this age of public decorum as the age of *cant*, a time full of hypocrisy and sanctimonious talk.

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[61] See, for example, Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2006), Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?:England, 1783-1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), and Woodruff R. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002).

[62] See Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability,* 189, 204-206. The word "respectability" is of relatively late coinage, appearing in the *Oxford English Dictionary* for the first time in 1785, meaning "The state, quality, or condition of being respectable in point of character and social standing." The *OED* documents that the word "respectable" was in use since the late sixteenth century, yet the word fails to appear in Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* from 1755.

[63] As quoted in Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, 4.

[64] See Ben Wilson, *Decency & Disorder: The Age of Cant 1789-1837* (London: Faber & Faber, 2008), xvii.

So too, in his 1823 essay "On the Artificial Comedy of the Last Century," Charles Lamb complained that comedy declined during what he labeled as "the age of seriousness" which he associated with literal-minded people who were overly concerned with morality.[65] Lamb argued that older, Restoration comedy had been better and smuttier than the legitimate comedy of his day. As Misty Anderson explains, there was a discursive sense that comedy was becoming puritanical, and especially geared towards the middling classes, while Ben Wilson and Gary Dyer claim that the sardonic wit of earlier satirists made way for a more escapist and tame humor in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[66] Not long after George Cruikshank and William Hone published their 1819 political satire *The Political House that Jack Built,* both writers retreated from satire; the former published his much tamer *Tom and Jerry* illustrations, the latter, entirely unobjectionable calendars.[67] The English harlequinade and pantomime also changed: in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, audiences acclaimed the aforementioned Anglo-Italian Grimaldi's portrayal of the Clown (1806-1824) as a figure of satire, anarchy, slapstick, and criminality.[68] But once Grimaldi retired in 1824, the pantomime devolved into a family-friendly spectacle.[69] Grimaldi's biographer, David Mayer, attributes the "taming" of the pantomime not only to Grimaldi's retirement, but to the increasing moral concerns of the pantomime audience.[70]

There were abiding Italian connections, besides the fact that Grimaldi's retirement sounded the death-knell for true pantomime, to Charles Lamb's, Lord Byron's, and others' criticism of the "age of seriousness." Lamb was associated with the Cockney School: a circle of writers and intellectuals (John Keats, sometime-opera critic William Hazlitt, John Hamilton Reynolds, Percy Bysshe and Mary Shelley, Horace Smith, and Benjamin Robert Haydon) formed by the editor (and sometime-opera critic) of the *Examiner*, Leigh Hunt, to mobilize political and cultural reform in London.[71] It was *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* who labeled this group in 1818 as "the Cockney school of versification, morality, and politics."[72] As recounted in the next chapter of this dissertation, the Shelleys moved to Italy in 1818, where they eventually formed a Pisan circle with other English expatriates and select Italian intellectuals, including Byron. The Shelleys remained in close contact with Hunt, and he eventually joined them in 1822 to found *The Liberal: Verse and Prose from the South*. Critics recognized that the ideas and members of the Cockney and Pisan circle overlapped, and

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[65] Charles Lamb, *Charles Lamb: Five Volumes in Three* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1882), 244.
[66] Misty Anderson, "Genealogies of Comedy," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre, 1737-1832,* ed. Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 347, 367, Dyer, *British Satire and the Politics of Style,*146 and Wilson, *Decency and Disorder,* 358.
[67] Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?,* 635.
[68] David Mayer, *Harlequin in his Element: The English Pantomime, 1806-1836* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 3.
[69] John O'Brien, "Pantomime" in *The Cambridge Companion to British Theatre, 1730-1830,* ed. Jane Moody and Daniel O'Quinn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 113.
[70] Mayer, *Harlequin in his Element*, 309.
[71] Maria Schoina, "The Pisan Circle and the Cockney School", in *Byron in Context,* ed. Clara Tuite (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 215.
[72] "On the Cockney School of Poetry", *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 3 (August 1818), 521.

disparaged the *Liberal* as the "Italianized Cockney Magazine."[73] Several members in both circles were Italophiles, some of whom eventually moved to Italy and later identified themselves as Anglo-Italians.[74] And by the time Byron dubbed the British change in behavior as the age of "*cant,*" he had been living in Italy for several years.

Laughing Otherwise

So far, in order to address the question of why Naldi was suddenly "no joke," we have appealed to Bergsonian theories of laughter – that scoffers laugh at those lower than them. We have cited epic narrative accounts of the "rise of respectability" and gestured to stereotypes of Neapolitan "humor" as low, dangerous, and vulgar. And yet, none of these explanations adequately account for the critical reception of Ambrogetti and the failure of Naldi in 1817. To chronicle this historical moment in full detail, we need to be more specific and invest in narrative complication.

Take the fact that many of the same critics who criticized Naldi and appreciated Ambrogetti—namely William Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt—were part of the Cockney school, which also critiqued the "age of cant." William Hazlitt regularly attended the opera, wrote several reviews of Italian and English opera for English periodicals, and complained of Naldi's portrayal of characters. "Coarse and boisterous" is how he described Naldi's humor in *Don Giovanni*, his Leporello being "more that of a buffoon than of a comic actor."[75] This is not to say that Hazlitt was not an aficionado of comedy. Quite the opposite. In his *Lectures on the English Comic Writers* (1819), Hazlitt claimed that "there is nothing more powerfully humorous than what is called *keeping in comic character*," which applies not only to the plots of *opera buffa*, but to the acting of the singers.[76] Earlier, we attended to a Bergsonian theory of laughter, involving a chauvinism that Hazlitt eschewed. In general, the writer-critic held a highly self-conscious Aristotelian view of laughter, explaining that:

> Man is the only animal that laughs and weeps; for he is the only animal that is struck with the difference between what things are, and what they ought to be. We weep at what thwarts or exceeds our desires in serious matters: we laugh at what only disappoints our expectations in trifles. We shed tears from sympathy with real and necessary distress; as we burst into laughter from want of sympathy with that which is unreasonable and unnecessary, the absurdity of which provokes our spleen or mirth, rather than any serious reflections it.[77]

For Hazlitt, then, laughter had a self-critical, and perhaps even revolutionary or reformist potential, opening a space between "what things are and what they out to be"—as thought

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[73] Schoina, "The Pisan Circle and the Cockney School", 216.
[74] Jeffrey Cox, *Poetry and Politics in the Cockney School: Keats, Shelley, Hunt and their Circle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 217.
[75] [William Hazlitt,] "Theatrical Examiner—King's Theatre," *The Examiner*, (April 20, 1817), 253.
[76] William Hazlitt, *Lectures on the English Comic Writers* (London: Taylor and Hessy, 1819), 8.
[77] Hazlitt, *Lectures on the English Comic Writers*, 2.

turned against thought. Additionally, in his discussion of laughter versus tears in babies, Hazlitt describes laughter as a thwarting of desire, and as existentially emotive as crying:

> The alternation of tears and laughter, in this little episode in common life, depends almost entirely on the greater or less degree of interest attached to the different changes of appearance. The mere suddenness of the transition, the mere baulking our expectations, and turning them abruptly into another channel, seems to give additional liveliness and gaiety to the animal spirits; but the instant the change is not only sudden, but threatens serious consequences, or calls up the shape of danger, terror supersedes our disposition to mirth, and laughter gives place to tears.[78]

Hazlitt's "serious" theorization of laughter as that which humanizes the human, and his reference to "animal spirits" raises pre-modern conceptions of psychology, humoral medicine, and fluids coursing down nerves. [79] The doctrine of animal spirits, in particular, referred to the basest, lowest form of psychological response, thought to be the agents responsible for movement and sensation. Hazlitt's words implicate the very history of the term humor, which I have only gestured to so far, for its origins as the four bodily humours credited to Hippocrates, Galen's predecessor. By the post-Napoleonic years, advances in neuroscience (by way of experiments by scientists including Jan Swammerdam and Luigi Galvani) already began to debunk the theory of animal spirits: the term, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, rather connoted a nervous vivacity and natural liveliness of disposition.[80]

Hunt deployed the phrase "animal spirits" frequently and ambiguously in his reviews of Rossini operas, comic acting, and English pantomime. In particular, he enjoyed damning Rossini with the label, in that the opera composer "strikes us as having less originality than animal spirit" throughout *Il barbiere*.[81] Yet he used the phrase more favorably in his reviews of Ambrogetti. In his first review of Ambrogetti as *Don Giovanni*, Hunt claimed that the singer was "excellent" in the title role, "as far animal spirits as well as powerful singing are concerned."[82] Hunt explained that Ambrogetti's vivacity were "seen to much more advantage" in Don Giovanni than as the Count in *Le nozze di Figaro*:

> In *Don Giovanni* he contrives to be at once gentlemanly and vehement, and makes us lose sight of the redundancy of his size in the youthful fire of his vivacity. He is always ready and energetic; and perhaps, considering he is so active, makes even his robustness contribute to a certain air of the imposing,

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[78] Hazlitt, *Lectures on the English Comic Writers*, 3-4.
[79] Matthew Cobb, "Exorcizing the animal spirits: Jan Swammerdam on nerve function", *Neuroscience* Vol. 3 (May 2002): 395-400.
[80] Cobb, "Exorcizing the animal spirits", 395-400 and *Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), s.v. "Animal Spirit."
[81] [Leigh Hunt], "Theatrical Examiner. No. 360," *The Examiner* (April 25, 1819), 269.
[82] Hunt, "Theatrical Examiner No. 291", *The Examiner* (August 3, 1817), 470.

> defying, and sensual. We do not think he succeeds in the serenade, *Del vieni alla finestra*, but then he succeeds as much perhaps as *Don Giovanni* should…. Ambrogetti is very happy in his mixture of acting with singing…. His *Finch'han dal vino* is also a complete thing, full of animal ardour and a sort of remorseless enjoyment.[83]

"Remorseless enjoyment": Hunt, it seemed, was attracted to the "defiant" and "imposing" potential of laughter, as the sign of highly self-critical forms of pleasure. Hunt also often used the same term to laud pantomime. In the same 5 January 1817 *Examiner* essay in which he traced the origins of the English harlequinade back to the *commedia dell'arte* tradition, Hunt praised the English harlequinade as "there is something *real* in Pantomime: there is animal spirit in it."[84] As Jeffrey N. Cox explains in his *Poetry and Politics in the Cockney School*, English masques—influenced by the Venetian masquerade—and the harlequinade, as we have seen, based on Italian comic traditions, held a special role for Hunt and the Cockney school writers as vehicles for their radical politics.[85] According to Cox, Hunt probably referred to the fact that there was potential for political commentary in these pantomimes because they were not regulated. But Hunt's distinction of the term "*real*" from "animal spirits" indicate that he recognized that there was radical or transgressive potential in Italian-influenced comedy. To be sure, many critical responses to Naldi and Ambrogetti fell in line with the standard "rise of respectability" narrative, but the opera reviewers of the Cockney school instead saw in Ambrogetti, a realness, honesty, and nobility in his acting: they found value in laughter that the new moralism of the post-Napoleonic years disqualified and found dangerous.

On Acting, Taste, and Fidelity

We have seen how complicated the scene of criticism was; and a detailed survey of the discourse suggests a newly ennobled or serious take on humor wedded to new values: fealty to the composer and extramusical components such as acting and characterization. To return to our central question: why was Naldi no more a laughing matter, when Ambrogetti suddenly took on Naldi's more buffoonish roles?[86]

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[83] Hunt, "Theatrical Examiner No. 291", *The Examiner* (August 3, 1817), 470.
[84] Hunt, "Theatrical Examiner No. 266", *The Examiner* (January 5, 1817), 7.
[85] Cox, *Poetry and Politics*, 143
[86] Besides the "rise of respectability," another grand narrative which bears mentioning is what opera scholars see as the decline of the *opera buffa* genre in general. As Rachel Cowgill notes, while *opera buffa* flourished in the second half of the eighteenth century, operas such as *Don Giovanni* marked a new trend in Italian opera, blending *buffo* and *seria* elements, eventually leading to the new *semiseria* genre (see Cowgill, "Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829," 162.) Charles S. Brauner, too, notes, that Rossini himself largely abandoned the *opera buffa* genre after composing *La Cenerentola* in 1817, in favor of *seria* and *semiseria* genres, even if *buffo* elements crept into his later works. Several critics, in fact, complained of Rossini's inappropriate use of the comic style in his *opere serie* and his music's apparent detachment from meaning of the libretto (see Charles S. Brauner, " 'No, no, Ninetta': Observations on Rossini and the Eighteenth-Century Vocabulary of Opera Buffa," 25-47.)

Furthermore, scholars such as Francesco Izzo explain that the increased interest in presenting tragedies throughout the 1820s and 30s contributed to the decline of comedies in the operatic repertory. Izzo has highlighted the further decline of *opera buffa* in the 1830s: nine out of Pacini's 38 pre-1830 operas were *opere buffe*, while he composed only one comic opera out of the twenty-five operas composed after 1830; seven out of Mercadante's 31 pre-1830 works were *opere buffe*, as opposed to none after 1830. Bellini never composed a comic opera, while Verdi composed only one *opera buffa*—*Un giorno di regno* in 1840—and a failure at that. Of the important opera composers in the 1830s-40s, only Gaetano Donizetti showed minimal interest in *opera buffa,* composing *L'elisir d'amore* in 1832 and *Don Pasquale* in 1843. Izzo nevertheless demonstrates that the composition of new *opere buffe* in Italy still flourished in the 1830s and 1840s. Yet these new *opere buffe* did not enter the operatic repertory outside of Italy and therefore did not affect London operatic life (see Francesco Izzo, *Laughter Between Two Revolutions: Opera Buffa in Italy, 1831-1848* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 7.) Back in London, the performances at the King's Theatre reflect these shifts in the fortunes of *opera buffa*, from 1817, the year that Ambrogetti arrived to premiere Mozart's *Don Giovanni* to 1830, by which time de Begnis moved on from London. In 1817, comedy dominated: Mozart's *Don Giovanni*—billed as an *opera buffa* despite later investments in its dark and serious elements—premiered with 26 performances: almost half the season, and a triumphant success for an opera at the King's Theatre. Contemporary Continental opera house managers understood *Don Giovanni* as a precursor to the *semiseria* genre, yet the King's Theatre still divided its performances in terms of *buffa* and *seria* (see 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), 44.) Revivals at the King's Theatre included *Le nozze di Figaro* with 11 performances, *Così fan tutte,* Paisiello's *La molinara*, and Mayr's *Il fanatico per la musica.* The season featured six *opere buffe* in a total of 45 performances, while serious operas numbered only four, with a total of 19 performances. The remainder of this time period saw a plateau in interest in *opera buffa* at the King's Theatre, followed by gradual decline. As Theodore Fenner has shown, several more *opere buffe* than *opere serie* were performed at the King's Theatre in the years 1817-1819 thanks to the success of Mozart and Rossini. However, a renewed interest in *opera seria* emerged in 1820, due to the success of Rossini's *Tancredi*, while comic works by Rossini and Mozart continued to receive several revivals. More operas from the *semiseria* genre emerged at the King's Theatre in 1821 and 1822, such as Rossini's *La gazza ladra* and Pacini's *Il barone di Dolsheim*, even if *opere buffe* still dominated numerically. By 1823, the appetite for Rossini's new *opere serie* and *semiserie* led to more performances of those genres than of *opere buffe*. No *opere buffe* premiered in 1823, but *Matilde di Shabran*, a *melodrama giocoso* with many *buffo* elements premiered with four performances, while *Figaro* was the only official comic opera revived that year. The trend continued in the years 1824 through 1828, for only a handful of *opere buffe* premiered, while several serious operas appeared for the first time. Revivals of *opere buffe* continued, albeit with far fewer performances than of *opere serie.* By 1829 and 1830, no *opere buffe* premiered at the King's Theatre, but for the Italian version of Rossini's French comic *opéra Le comte Ory* (as *Il conte Ori*), but it failed, with only one performance. Continued revivals in fact led to slightly more *opere buffe* performances than *opere serie* in these last years, but the premiere of Bellini's *Il Pirata* signaled the beginning of a new era for serious Italian opera in London (see Fenner, *Opera in London,* 294-307). Besides reflecting the decline in the interest of new *opere buffe*, these numbers demonstrate the popularity of Mozart's and Rossini's operas in London. Yet London failed to succumb completely to Rossini fever as in Vienna and Paris, and this failure can be explained by the proximity of the premieres to, and by the popularity of, Mozart's operas. Later famously pitted against Beethoven

Richard Mackenzie Bacon, in an 1820 *The Quarterly Musical Magazine & Review* article, provides a clue, through his lament of the lack of newly composed English operas and the need to adapt Italian opera to the London stage.[87] He blamed this phenomenon on the essential nature of the English language and culture, which so differed from the Italian:

> The comic opera of the Italian stage is conducted upon principles, which though not unknown to the English theatre, are in many instances of a kind our language, actions, and habits are not susceptible of; light, lively, and strictly comic, there is yet a superiority, and elegance which our comic opera has seldom if ever sustained.[88]

This passage reveals common English perceptions of Italian opera at the time: Italians excelled at producing light entertainment due to their proverbially sunny disposition and language. But for all the clichés, the following sentence provides us with a sense of *how* London audiences experienced *opere buffe* at the King's Theatre:

> The Italians depend almost wholly on the effect of the music; we blend the other and not seldom more prominent attractions of intricate plot, dialogue, scenery, and show, with the music.[89]

Here, Bacon refers to the *creation* of opera from a metropolitan perspective and presents another common perception: Italian composers "depend … on the music" as opposed to

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(first by Kiesewetter, and later by Carl Dahlhaus), Rossini in the 1820s was most often compared on the continent with Weber. In London, however, it was Mozart who provided the main point of reference, despite the fact that he already had been dead for more than twenty years, when his most famous operas reached London. For more, see Roger Parker, "Two styles in 1830s London: 'The Form and order of a perspicuous unity," in *The Invention of Beethoven and Rossini: Historiography, Analysis, Criticism*, ed. Nicholas Mathew and Benjamin Walton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 125. Rachel Cowgill has suggested that the popularity of Mozart's works were related to the rising numbers of the so-called professional class at the King's associating themselves with serious music (Mozart) as opposed to the aristocracy, who sought entertainment and pleasure (Rossini). For more, see Cowgill, "Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829," 143. By viewing Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and *Figaro* as the ideal, most genteel *opere buffe* at the King's Theatre, audience's perception of the humor and buffoonery of the *buffo* singers could have been affected accordingly. The professional and lower-class audience members were often suspicious of foreign opera and preferred to attend an opera in their native tongue with spoken dialogue as opposed to recitative, frequenting play-houses such as Covent Garden and Drury Lane for vernacular musical entertainment. By producing English adaptations of Italian opera on English opera stages—usually in Covent Garden—managers spoke to the lower-class audience's desire to experience the music of Italian opera they so yearned to hear, but within a context that they could understand and afford. See Fenner, *Opera in London*, 345 and 358.

[88] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," *The Quarterly Musical Magazine* Vol. 2 No. 5 (January 1820), 67.

[89] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," *The Quarterly Musical Magazine* Vol. 2 No. 5 (January 1820), 67.

the English equivalents, who consider all the various aspects of opera production. And by taking Bacon's statement to reflect the English critic's *perception* of opera at the time, we glean an understanding of how London critics not only perceived the merits of humor in extramusical components of *opere buffe,* but also expected a combined fealty to the composer and extramusical components such as acting and characterization.

A *buffo*'s success was measured by his acting skill and style rather than his voice, in contrast to those singers cast, for example, in the role of romantic lovers, who were judged for their "musical science," that is, for technique, musicality, and beautiful voices.[90] In fact, Ambrogetti and his successor, Giuseppe de Begnis possessed infamously mediocre voices. The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, for example, lambasted Ambrogetti's "want of voice" and his "deficiency as a singer," while a *Literary Gazette* critic of 1821 explained that like Ambrogetti, de Begnis "compensates by comic talent for a voice of no prominent quality."[91] Bacon, however, disagreed, and thought that de Begnis was "a far better singer than Ambrogetti" but "though a good and promising actor, is below the admirable performer in genuine play of fancy and comic expression."[92] The *QMMR* critic, at least, preferred a *buffo* with better acting skills than an idiot with good pipes.

Because critics neglected to write opera reviews in detail before the rise of music and theatre journals around 1817, there is little evidence of the critical reception of Naldi's acting prior to that year. However, we have enough to paint a picture of Naldi's acting prior to Ambrogetti's arrival. The best evidence we have is the set of reviews of his portrayal of the music fanatic Don Febeo in Mayr's *Il fanatico per la musica*, a role that both *buffe* portrayed on the King's Theatre stage. The *Morning Chronicle* critic proclaimed that Naldi's acting "produced convulsive bursts of laughter" by his "drollery and humour" as the lunatic.[93] In fact, Naldi's buffoonish humor not only "merely enraptured the spectators" but also "distracted the orchestra, and the whole theatre (audiences and performers) joined in a general roar."[94] As a testament to his excellent acting, Naldi appeared oblivious to the commotion, for he apparently seemed "unconscious of the effects he produced."[95] When the opera was revived in 1810, Henry Robertson wrote similarly, that "Signor Naldi's talents

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[90] [Thomas Kenrick,] "King's Theatre. Il Don Giovanni," *The British Stage* (May 1817), 104.
[91] [Richard], Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, *Musical Reminiscences*, 4th ed. (London: John Andrews, 1834), 135. [Anonymous,] "The Drama. King's Theatre. Il Turco in Italia," *The Literary Gazette* (May 26, 1821), 334.
[92] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "Report of Music. No. XVI," *The London Magazine* (June 1821), 676. The comparison of new performers in Ambrogetti's roles provide further evidence of the primacy of acting over the voice. In his comparison of later *Don Giovanni* performances to Ambrogetti's, John Ebers explained that "the spirited and inimitable performance of Ambrogetti in this character was still too recent in the minds of the audience to be forgotten" and overshadowed "the superiority of Zucchelli, as a first-rate singer." Furthermore, Garcia's performance "failed to produce the effect that had accompanied Ambrogetti's" although he was "infinitely superior … in voice and musical science." See John Ebers, *Seven Years of the King's Theatre* (London: n.p., 1828), 167 and 222-223.
[93] [Anonymous,] "The Mirror of Fashion," *The Morning Chronicle* (June 20, 1806).
[94] [Anonymous,] "The Mirror of Fashion," *The Morning Chronicle* (June 20, 1806).
[95] [Anonymous,] "The Mirror of Fashion," *The Morning Chronicle* (June 20, 1806).

is exactly suited to the character of *Don Febeo*" due to his "excellence of acting."[96] What we see here, then, is that these earlier critics appreciated the ways in which Naldi induced "convulsive bursts."

In contrast, later critics grew impatient with Naldi's comic portrayals for his buffoonery and carelessness. Thomas Massa Alsager found Naldi's portrayal as Figaro distasteful:

> There is nothing of the buffoon about [Figaro]; he is a wily knave, who has got the length of his master's foot, and absolutely overawes him by the superiority of his intellect, qualifying and concealing all under the humility of his exterior. There is a rude familiarity about Naldi's manner which is extremely repulsive.[97]

By the term *buffoon*, Alsager and other critics seem to be referring to the slapstick, physical humor promoted by the best *commedia dell'arte* and earlier *opera buffo* performers, for Bacon complained that Naldi ran "to and fro, kicking down chairs" in the Commendatore scene in *Don Giovanni*.[98]

Ambrogetti apparently portrayed his comic characters in a more tasteful, reflexive, and "human" manner. Alluding to English perceptions of Rossini's *opere buffe* as vulgar, Alsager damned Rossini's *La Cenerentola* by explaining that Ambrogetti elevated the role of Don Magnifico, for his "talents can make any thing appear respectable."[99] And more evidence of the shift in humoral taste comes from the *Theatrical Inquisitor*'s review of *Il fanatico per la musica*: "we never saw an actor making something out of nothing … no performer that ever was seen in this country, imparted to the flatness of the Italian comedy so much spirit and vivacity."[100] This statement not only comes as a slight to Naldi's earlier successes in the part of Don Febeo, but to the opera, itself, for the critic deemed the Italian comedy inherent in the opera as "flat." In other words, Alsager found the opera itself distasteful for its low humor, while Ambrogetti possessed the talent to elevate it and to render it more sophisticated and respectable. Yet some other critics deemed that Rossini's *buffo* roles rendered sophisticated acting impossible. Ayrton himself complained that with the role of Don Magnifico, Ambrogetti "could not, with all his undoubted talent, make anything entertaining; in his effort to succeed, he approached, upon one or two occasions, very near

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[96] [Henry Robertson,] "The Opera," *The Examiner* (March 11, 1810), 157.
[97] [Thomas Massa Alsager,] "King's Theatre," *The Times* (January 19, 1818), 2.
[98] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Drama. King's Theatre—Don Giovanni," *The Literary Gazette* (April 19, 1817), 200. Similarly, Thomas Alsager found Naldi's portrayal as Figaro distasteful, for he claims that "there is nothing of the buffoon about [Figaro]; he is a wily knave, who has got the length of his master's foot, and absolutely overawes him by the superiority of his intellect, qualifying and concealing all under the humility of his exterior. There is a rude familiarity about Naldi's manner which is extremely repulsive." See [Thomas Massa Alsager,] "King's Theatre," *The Times* (January 19, 1818), 2.
[99] [Thomas Massa Alsager,] "King's Theatre," *The Times* (January 10, 1820), 2.
[100] [Anonymous,] "Theatrical Inquisition. King's Theatre—Il Fanatico per la Musica," *The Theatrical Inquisitor* (July 1819), 57.

to the confines of buffoonery."[101] As we see, Ayrton shows his distaste for the buffoonery in Rossini's operas after being spoiled by the elevated humor of Mozart's *opere buffe* such as *Don Giovanni*.

If critics found Italian comedy in general and Rossini's roles too buffoonish to begin with, we may conclude that Ambrogetti premiered Rossini's *buffo* roles precisely because he would render the roles less buffoonish and more tasteful than Naldi. If Naldi was considered the vulgar predecessor to Ambrogetti's sophisticated humor, and Rossini's *opere buffe* were considered Mozart's vulgar successors, then surely Ambrogetti was called on to play Rossini's more buffoonish roles because he "fully possessed the power of making something out of nothing. [102]

A closer reading of these reviews suggests that Ambrogetti's sophisticated acting was related to his fidelity to character, while Naldi, on the other hand, seemed to portray every character in the same manner and could not adapt his talents to match the characterization of his other roles. In his review of *Don Giovanni*, Hazlitt explains that Naldi misinterpreted the character of Leporello by repeating his previous antics onstage:

> He treats the audience with the same easy cavalier airs that an impudent waiter at a French table-d'hôte does the guests as they arrive. The gross familiarity of his behavior to *Donna Elvira,* in the song where he makes out the list of his master's mistresses, was certainly not in character; nor is there any thing in the words or the music to justify it.[103]

Similarly, when Alsager complained that there should be "nothing of the buffoon" about the character of Figaro, he also referred to the fact that "Naldi does not … understand the character of *Figaro*."[104] Naldi's performances, in other words, lacked versatility, nuance and understanding of character, for "there is a rude familiarity about Naldi's manner which is extremely repulsive."[105] Critics, however, found that Naldi's one-dimensional style of acting did work well when it matched the character he was portraying. Thomas Kenrick owed the success of Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* to "the excellent acting it presents," especially when Ambrogetti and Naldi "in a shaving scene, convulse the house with laughter."[106]

Yet critics seemed to focus on Naldi's lack of nuance not only in his physical characterization, but to his fidelity to the music and composer, as well.[107] Bacon criticized

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[101] [William Ayrton,] "The Mirror of Fashion," *The Morning Chronicle* (January 10, 1820).
[102] [Anonymous,] "Theatrical Inquisition. King's Theatre—Il Fanatico per la Musica," *The Theatrical Inquisitor* (July 1819), 57; [Thomas Massa Alsager,] "King's Theatre," *The Times* (May 21, 1821), 3.
[103] [William Hazlitt,] "Theatrical Examiner—King's Theatre," *The Examiner*, (April 20, 1817), 253.
[104] [Thomas Massa Alsager,] "King's Theatre," *The Times* (January 19, 1818), 2.
[105] [Thomas Massa Alsager,] "King's Theatre," *The Times* (January 19, 1818), 2.
[106] [Thomas Kenrick,] "King's Theatre. Il Barbiere di Siviglia," *The British Stage* (April 1818), 82.
[107] As Lydia Goehr argues, the concept of the *Werktreue* aesthetic was not entirely new around the year 1800, yet the rise of the professional classes contributed to its momentum in the early decades of the nineteenth century. See Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992). According to Rachel Cowgill, *Don Giovanni* was pivotal in the fundamental swing towards this aesthetic from 1817 throughout the 1820s in London. As Mozart was becoming a

Naldi's performance of Figaro in *Le nozze*, indicating that "we think he fell short of the life and vigour of Beaumarchais' delineation of the character" Figaro "both in his acting and singing."[108] While Naldi sang 'Non piu andrai' "with a rich colouring of mimic humour," it "was sung in too formal and slow a manner."[109] A year later, Alsager also complained of Naldi's insensitivity to Mozart's musical details for the character of Figaro, for Naldi

> appears to labour under a flutter and indecision, which makes him not exact in the time, too soon or too late for the orchestra, to the great distress of all who know the opera, that is, all who pretend to study music. We are at a loss to account for this in so experienced a performer.[110]

Critiques of Naldi's musical characterization and disregard for Mozart's musical details were not limited to his Figaro. Bacon explained that Naldi physically acted Leporello's 'Madamina, il catalogo è questo' "with infinite humour," yet the musical humor was lost, for he sang the patter in "the allegro in too slow a tempo."[111] While these criticisms of Naldi allude to

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"classic composer," his operas, in particular, became sacrosanct works of art rather than recipes for performances. It is precisely for this reason that Ayrton traveled to Italy to handpick accomplished singers—especially Ambrogetti—for the premiere of *Don Giovanni* at the King's Theatre. However, this new text-oriented approach clashed with the well-established event-oriented approach to opera at the King's Theatre; the tensions between the old order and the new *Werktreue* aesthetic was evident in 1817 when *Don Giovanni* arrived at the King's Theatre and even led to a court case between the musical director William Ayrton and the manager, Edmund Waters. Ayrton sued Waters for a higher salary because of the pains he took to produce a perfect production of *Don Giovanni* by engaging foreign singers from the Continent already familiar with the work, and by educating the public about Mozart and the opera in pamphlets he published, yet Waters contended that Ayrton took over too many responsibilities unnecessarily. Additionally, some of Ayrton's singers sided with Waters because Ayrton did not allow them to substitute some of Mozart's arias. This court case demonstrates Ayrton's commitment to Mozart's artistic vision, which is a hallmark of the *Werktreue* aesthetic. The critics sided with this new aesthetic of fidelity by championing Ambrogetti over Naldi, for performers were expected to acquiesce to the composer's wishes. Further, the critics' new expectation of the *Werktreue* aesthetic in London was not limited to the expectation of fealty to the music and composer as we know it, but *buffo* singers were expected to display fidelity not only to the music, but to their characters as well. See Cowgill, "Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829," 225-241.

[108] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Italian Opera. King's Theatre," *The Literary Gazette* (February 8, 1817), 46.

[109] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Italian Opera. King's Theatre," *The Literary Gazette* (February 8, 1817), 46.

[110] [Thomas Massa Alsager,] "King's Theatre," *The Times* (January 19, 1818), 2.

[111] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Drama. King's Theatre—Don Giovanni," *The Literary Gazette* (April 19, 1817), 200. Furthermore, Bacon complained that in the ensembles, Naldi too often "took liberties with Mozart which prevented his falling in at the prescribed moment; and on other occasions he, from mere *nonchalance* and whim, dragged in his time."[111] The musical humor, then, was lost when he did not sing in time, and especially when his patter lacked "distinct articulation and intonation," as in the Act II sextet.[111]

Londoners' growing reverence for Mozart, critics did not reserve their critiques of Naldi's musicality to his Mozartian roles. For example, Alsager noted that Naldi performed the comic role of Don Pasquale in Paer's *L'Agnese* "with some humour," yet "we thought him occasionally a little inattentive to the musical effect."[112] "In the musical efforts of Mr. Naldi," the *Literary Gazette* critic commented on his portrayal as the notary Pistofolo in Paisiello's *La Molinara*, "we observe more and more an unpardonable *nonchalance*. He oftener speaks than sings, and in his Recitativos we seldom known in what key he means to be, till Mr. Dragonetti's chord on the double bass conveys to us the desired information."[113] For these critics, Naldi's problems were two-fold: not only did he treat the score too carelessly, he also failed to remain true to character.

On the other hand, Ambrogetti was praised for his fidelity to "character" in their musicality and vocal acting. In the same review in which Bacon complained that Naldi "fell short of … Beaumarchais' delineation of the character" Figaro, Bacon praised Ambrogetti's London debut as the Count, for "his taste and skill were particularly conspicuous in the recitativo and aria '*Hai gia vinto la causa*.'"[114] A year later, when Alsager complained that Naldi "does not … understand the character of Figaro" and sings indecisively, he, too, was also drawn to Ambrogetti's recitative: "Ambrogetti deserves great praise for the spirit and correctness, referring to the drama as well as the music, with which he performs the Count Almaviva; his recitative is the best we have ever heard."[115] And in a slight to Naldi, Alsager noted that "our operas would go off with infinitely greater effect if [Ambrogetti's] example were generally imitated."[116] (Striking here is the demand to be true not so much to Mozart's imagined intentions, as to the truth of the characters he had deployed.) Furthermore, Leigh Hunt attributed the success of the sneezing scene in Rossini's *L'italiana in Algeri* to Ambrogetti's vocal effects as Taddeo, in a rare English description of Rossini's musical humor. He describes his delight with the "pappataci" scene in Act II, especially with Taddeo's agitated repetition and patter while ignoring Mustafà's sneezes to leave, exclaiming that "Ambrogetti's pertinacious repetition of *Crepa* and 'Ch'ei starnuti finché scoppia', is very ludicrous" and provides an "equal specimen of the humour of the author and the performer" (see *Examples 2.1* and *2.2*.)[117]

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[112] [Thomas Massa Alsager,] "King's Theatre," *The Times* (May 19, 1817), 3.

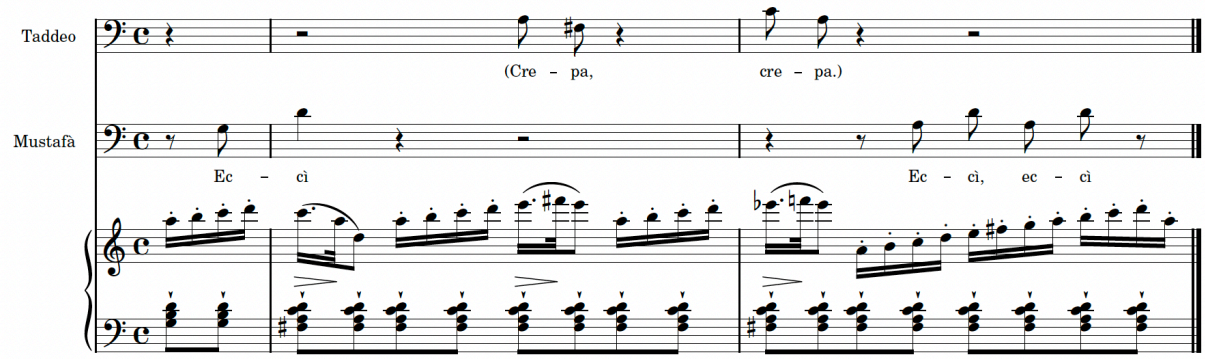
[113] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon],"The Drama. The Italian Opera, King's Theatre" *The Literary Gazette* (March 15, 1817), 121.

[114] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Italian Opera. King's Theatre," *The Literary Gazette* (February 8, 1817), 45.

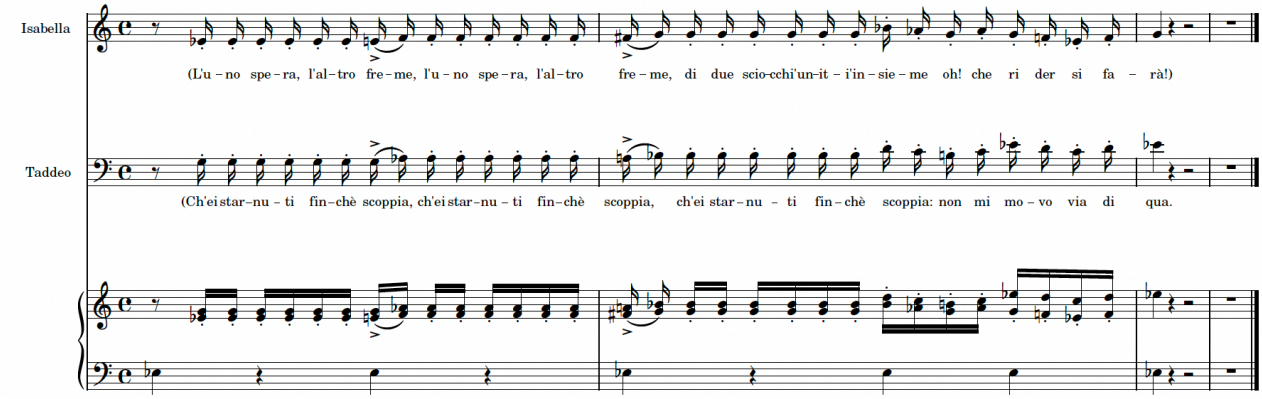
[115] [Thomas Massa Alsager,] "King's Theatre," *The Times* (January 19, 1818), 2.

[116] [Thomas Massa Alsager,] "King's Theatre," *The Times* (January 19, 1818), 2. Leigh Hunt also praised Ambrogetti's portrayal of the Count in terms of his declamation, musical effect, and vocal acting. Describing Ambrogetti's performance of the duet 'Crudel, perché finora,' Hunt explained that Ambrogetti "renders what it ought to be, and what Mozart made it" as not only a "beautiful composition" but a "lively dialogue as well." [Leigh Hunt,] "Theatrical Examiner—Opera," *The Examiner* (January 25, 1818), 58.

[117] [Leigh Hunt,] "Theatrical Examiner—Italian Opera," *The Examiner* (January 31, 1819), 78. De Begnis, too, was praised for musical acting in comparison to Naldi. Alsager exclaimed that unlike Naldi, "de Begnis was a pleasant and vivacious *Figaro*" and he performed "*Non piu andrai* with much



Example 2.1 Taddeo's repetitions of "Crepa" in Rossini, *L'italiana in Algeri*, Act II, "Ti presento di mia man"



Example 2.2 Taddeo's repetitions of "Ch'ei starnuti finché scoppia" in Rossini, *L'italiana in Algeri*, Act II, "Ti presento di mia man"

The reviews of Ambrogetti in *Don Giovanni*, grant us an even fuller sense of his obedience to musical effect and vocal acting. Bacon first praised Ambrogetti for his "musical execution" and that his "most distinct articulation and harmonic abilities … gave effect to every piece he had assigned to him singly, or in which he bore a share."[118] Bacon explains that the duet 'La ci darem la mano' was encored because Ambrogetti sang "with an amorous warmth of the highest colouring" offering a "rich dramatic treat to the audience."[119] Ambrogetti also received an encore after successfully singing in a completely different manner in "the jovial and animated air *Finche dal vino* [sic]."[120] Kenrick concurred that Ambrogetti's "musical powers and skill" render "every possible justice to the songs

humour, and great musical effect." See [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Drama. King's Theatre—Don Giovanni," *The Literary Gazette* (April 19, 1817), 199.

[118] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Drama. King's Theatre—Don Giovanni," *The Literary Gazette* (April 19, 1817), 199.

[119] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Drama. King's Theatre—Don Giovanni," *The Literary Gazette* (April 19, 1817), 199.

[120] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Drama. King's Theatre—Don Giovanni," *The Literary Gazette* (April 19, 1817), 199.

pertaining to the part" of Don Giovanni.[121] He explained that "the gaiety, the exultation, and voluptuous feeling which pervade" 'Finch'han dal vino' "are expressed with a fidelity which is felt and acknowledged by every auditor."[122] Yet Ambrogetti's performance of the serenade 'Deh, vienni alla finestra' which "is of a totally different character—tender, soft, and insinuating," was similarly successful for he performed "with a similar correctness of taste and felicity of execution."[123]

Ambrogetti's sensation in *Don Giovanni* attests not only to his multi-voicedness, and multi-characterization by acting through different vocal colors and effects, but to his fidelity. His success also confirms the interpretations of musicologists such as Wye Jamison Allanbrook who have suggested that the music of Don Giovanni is "chameleonlike" and lacks identity to seduce his interlocutors of different social ranks.[124] Ambrogetti, then, used his talents for versatility and multi-voicedness to remain true to the complex role of Don Giovanni.

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The serious tone of Ambrogetti's critiques, in the end, in no way implies that he was not funny. Our critics assure us that Ambrogetti's portrayals drew bursts of laughter from the audience, just as Naldi did in 1806 and 1807. Bacon explains that in the Act II Terzetto of *Don Giovanni*, in which Don Giovanni and Leporello switch identities, Ambrogetti "gave free scope to his great comic talent, and his action with the arm of Leporello drew reiterated bursts of laugher."[125] Similarly, the King's Theatre manager John Ebers remarked that Ambrogetti merely "awaken[ed] laughter with a look."[126]

Ambrogetti's obvious comic guile in view, it makes sense to conclude with the same *Literary Gazette*'s review with which this chapter began:

> [His] representation of the Old Governor, *Don Rospolone*, in La Molinara was so unique, that neither the imperfect knowledge of the language with a great part of the audience, nor the etiquette of the house, proved a bar to the unrestrained exercise of the risible faculties of the audience.[127]

What I have shown, here, is that Ambrogetti's success and Naldi's failure is not as straightforward as historical narratives might suggest. Throughout the chapter, I have

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[121] [Thomas Kenrick,] "King's Theatre. Il Don Giovanni," *The British Stage* (May 1817), 103.
[122] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Drama. King's Theatre—Don Giovanni," *The Literary Gazette* (April 19, 1817), 199.
[123] [Thomas Kenrick,] "King's Theatre. Il Don Giovanni," *The British Stage* (May 1817), 104.
[124] See Wye Jamison Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 208 and 219; and her polyp theory in Allanbrook, *Secular Commedia*, 21-65.
[125] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon,] "The Drama. King's Theatre—Don Giovanni," *The Literary Gazette* (April 19, 1817), 199.
[126] Ebers, *Seven Years of the King's Theatre*, 56-57.
[127] [Richard Mackenzie Bacon],"The Drama. The Italian Opera, King's Theatre" *The Literary Gazette* (March 15, 1817), 121.

complicated English stereotypes of Italians as low and vulgar, and questioned "rise of respectability" narratives. The Ambrogetti vs. Naldi story is not a simple one of growing English xenophobia, although it was certainly a part of it. It is also not a linear story about the historical shift from freedom to respectability, nor that critics suddenly stopped laughing under the influence of emergent serious music ideologies. Nor does it have anything to do with what scholars sometimes call the decline of comic opera.

Instead, as the *Literary Gazette's* account of "the unrestrained exercise of the risible faculties of the audience" suggests, several prominent critics, who would later identify as Anglo-Italians through their connections to the Cockney school and Pisan circle, held an Aristotelian view of laughter that had a self-critical and reformist potential, at the same time as they found a new interest in musical characterization. Rather than silencing their risible faculties, they laughed, and they laughed for a variety of different reasons. Stirred by the amusement, a new Anglo-Italian, or even Anglo-Neapolitan, comic aesthetic emerged, as these critics saw the potential of laughter fulfilled in the nobility of Ambrogetti's portrayals, in a way that Naldi simply could not convey.

CHAPTER 3

CICADAS, ROSSINI'S EPIDEMIC AIRS, AND THE ANGLO-ITALIAN: ANTHROPOLOGIES OF SOUND IN TUSCANY, 1814-1830

In a letter to the editor of *The Examiner*, dated 29 May 1826, the anonymous ANGLO-ITALICUS chided the newspaper for their music critic's treatment of the castrato Giovanni Battista Velluti: "When Velluti first appeared, you came forward in your accustomed regard of champion of the oppressed; now that he is established you regard him with a less favourable eye: this change I think unjust.[1]" The writer insinuated that Velluti's reviewers lacked the taste and aesthetic appreciation that would allow them to judge the singer beyond his vocal deficiencies, by comparing them to the English tourists they encountered in Italy. Anglo-Italicus claimed that:

> It is an easy but an ungrateful task to allude to Velluti's deficiencies, but his merits are more numerous and far more prominent. In person he is tall and slight; there are defects in his form, but these are more than counterbalanced, they are annulled, by the beauty of his attitudes, the noble ease of his walk, and the graceful action of his arms. The defects of his voice are so glaring as to be evident to the coarsest ears, and are therefore the less to be insisted on by the judicious and delicate.[2]

"To refer continually to Velluti's bad soprano, and his liability to be out of tune," Anglo-Italicus continued, "is to imitate a person of my acquaintance, who, in going through the superb galleries of sculpture at the *Vatican*, was chiefly struck by the ugly faces and stiff ringlets of the busts of various Roman ladies."[3] Anglo-Italicus added wryly that, like English tourists in Italy, Velluti's detractors missed his merits: not only were "notes in his voice rare and perfect; his upper tones are sweet, clear, and true; some of his lower ones claim the same praise," but "his chief merit is in his expression, in his perfect *gusto*, in his mode of linking note to note in a manner that chains the ear and touches the heart."[4] To Anglo-Italicus, Velluti's foremost strength, that is, his "sentiment," was one "that the generous and the gentle must instinctively feel, but which it would be labour in vain to attempt to instill into the coarse and the vulgar."[5] By using the pseudonym "Anglo-Italicus," the writer reinforced an aesthetic authority marshalled in Velluti's defense as they affirmed the legitimacy of "Anglo-Italian taste."

"Anglo-Italicus" was the pen name of none other than Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, author of *Frankenstein* and the widow of the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley. Two months after Mary Shelley anonymously published her most famous novel, and the day after Percy Bysshe

[1] "Velluti. To the Editor of the Examiner," *The Examiner* (June 11, 1826), 372.
[2] "Velluti. To the Editor of the Examiner," *The Examiner* (June 11, 1826), 372.
[3] "Velluti. To the Editor of the Examiner," *The Examiner* (June 11, 1826), 372.
[4] "Velluti. To the Editor of the Examiner," *The Examiner* (June 11, 1826), 372.
[5] "Velluti. To the Editor of the Examiner," *The Examiner* (June 11, 1826), 372.

Shelley attended the London premiere of Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* on 10 March 1818, the Shelleys traveled to Italy along with Claire Clairmont, Mary's step-sister and the mother of Lord Byron's daughter, Allegra.[6] The Shelleys left England to evade their creditors, avoid debtors' prison, maintain custody of their children, and improve their health in a sunnier and warmer climate. Claire Clairmont joined them to deliver her daughter to Byron, who had already settled in Venice after he fled England due to sexual scandals and mounting debts.[7]

The Shelleys moved between various Italian cities, but settled in Tuscany, surrounding themselves with fellow British expatriates. In Livorno (Leghorn), they befriended John and Maria Gisborne, who moved from England to Rome, and eventually, Livorno, in an attempt to establish a business. Maria was a close friend of Mary Shelley's father, William Godwin, while John was the brother of Muzio Clementi's third wife, Emma.[8] The Shelleys eventually settled in Pisa and formed a circle (eventually known as the Pisan circle) of English tourist and expatriate writers, as well as a few Italian intellectuals, including the *improvvisatore* (improvisatory poet) Tommaso Sgricci.[9] They were also joined by Shelley's cousin, Capt. Thomas Medwin, who had previously served in India with Edward Williams. Now retired, Edward and his wife, Jane, joined Medwin on his travels abroad, first in Geneva, and then in Pisa. Edward Trelawny served in India on the same naval ship as Edward Williams, at a different time, but after retiring from the navy, he, too, traveled to Switzerland, met Medwin and the Williamses, and followed them to Pisa.[10] Lord Byron moved to Pisa (from Ravenna and Venice) as well. Finally, the Shelleys and Byron convinced the radical writer, former *Examiner* editor, and sometime-opera critic Leigh Hunt to move to Pisa in order to revitalize his health, save his family from financial ruin, and establish a quarterly magazine—*The Liberal*—where Shelley and Byron would publish their liberal opinions without censorship and consequences from the British government.[11] On 1 July 1822, Percy Bysshe Shelley and Edward Williams sailed on their new boat to Livorno to welcome Leigh and Marianne Hunt and their children. On 8 July, Shelley and Williams sailed

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[6] Thomas Love Peacock, *Peacock's Memoirs of Percy Bysshe Shelley with Shelley's Letters to Peacock*, ed. H.F.B. Herbert-Smith (London: Henry Frowde, 1909), 68-69. Peacock recalled that he saw Shelley "for the last time, on Tuesday the 10th of March. The evening was a remarkable one, as being that of the first performance of an opera of Rossini in England, and of the first appearance here of Malibran's father, Garcia. He performed Count Almaviva in the *Barbiere di Siviglia*. Fodor was Rosina; Naldi, Figaro; Ambrogetti, Bartolo; and Angrisani, Basilio. I supped with Shelley and his traveling companions after the opera. They departed early the next morning."

[7] C.L. Cline, *Byron, Shelley, and their Pisan Circle* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), 2-3.

[8] See Helen Rossetti Angeli, *Shelley and his Friends in Italy* (New York: Brentano's, 1911), 22 and Frederick L. Jones, ed., *Maria Gisborne & Edward E. Williams, Shelley's Friends: Their Journals and Letters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, Press), 6.

[9] Cline, *Byron, Shelley, and their Pisan Circle*, 11.

[10] Cline, *Byron, Shelley, and their Pisan Circle*, 9 and 26.

[11] Otherwise known as the "Cockney School" for their radical politics. See Maria Schoina, "The Pisan Circle and the Cockney School," in *Byron in Context,* ed. Clara Tuite (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 214-221 and Cox, *Poetry and Politics in the Cockney School: Keats, Shelley, Hunt and their Circle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 20-21.

back north to pick up their families, but their boat sank off the coast of Viareggio.[12] While Jane Williams returned to England in September, Mary Shelley lived with the Hunts in Italy for another year. In 1823, Byron left for Greece, abandoning Hunt and *The Liberal*, effectively ending the circle.[13]

After living in Italy for five years, the grieving Mary Shelley returned to England in 1823 with her only surviving son, just over a year after Shelley drowned. According to Maria Schoina, the 26-year-old lived in a state of liminality, confusion, and betweenness in the years that followed her return to England from Italy, leading to her self-identification as a so-called "Anglo-Italian" in 1826. She supported herself financially by thematizing Italy in many of her writings, particularly those that served the post-Napoleonic influx of tourists. In this writing, according to Schoina, Mary Shelley reinvented Italy in her detailed descriptions of Italian history, literature, politics, customs, and the Tuscan countryside. To render her writings more competitive and commercial, Mary Shelley cited her long Italian experience to claim authority on all things Italian, all the while discrediting other English travel writers.[14]

However, her attempt to distinguish herself was not without hubris. Mary Shelley would have never had the opportunity to hear the castrato Velluti sing in London, were it not for another Englishman living in Tuscany. John Fane, Lord Burghersh, served in Florence as the British Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty's government to the restored Granduchy of Tuscany from 1814-30. Throughout his tenure in Florence, the diplomat composed and produced six operas. In fact, Velluti premiered the role of Ippolito in Burghersh's opera *La Fedra* in 1822, before creating the role of Armando in Meyerbeer's *Il crociato in Egitto*.[15] It was through Burghersh, that the Duke of Wellington—Burghersh's wife's uncle—became acquainted with Velluti and, along with other members of the British aristocracy, pressured the management of the King's Theatre to premiere *Il crociato*.[16]

This chapter thematizes the role and importance of the sonic and sonic knowledge in cultivating relationships, both imagined and real, between Italy and Britain. In what follows, I recount the sonic and musical experiences of two very different classes of Anglo-Italians in Tuscany. First, I provide an account of Mary Shelley's definitions and descriptions of the so-called "Anglo-Italian." Five months after Anglo-Italicus's debut in *The Examiner,* Shelley fully explained her concept of the "Anglo-Italian" in her October 1826 review of three books about Italy. In the review, she provided several criteria that distinguished her imagined Anglo-Italian "race" from English tourists, including their taste, style of interaction with Italians, knowledge of Italians politics, culture, and language, and especially, acoustic immersion in the Italian countryside. "The true Italian character," she explained, was most authentically apprehended, not just through the sense of sight, but also through a sustained

[12] Angeli, *Shelley and his Friends in Italy*, 309.
[13] Cline, *Byron, Shelley, and their Pisan Circle*, 192.
[14] Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians,'* 62.
[15] See Aubrey S. Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence, 1814-1830: Dilettantes in an 'Earthly Paradise'* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 71-80.
[16] "Music of the Month," *London Magazine* Vol. 12 (May-Aug 1825), 475.

and deep physical experience of the sounds of an authentically Italian environment.[17] Knowledge required immersion in the wellspring of lived experience.

This final set of criteria touches on what Jonathan Sterne has called "the audiovisual litany"—the idealization of hearing as "pure interiority"— as well as theories of "acoustemology," which join "acoustics to epistemology" in order to "investigate sounding and listening as a knowing-in-action: a knowing-with and knowing-through the audible."[18] For such scholars as R. Murray Schafer, Steven Feld, Ana María Ochoa Gautier, and many others, listening might be defined as a relational process through which a listener subjects themselves in the world and becomes a "sonic way of knowing and being in the world."[19] In these historical and ethnographic anthropologies of sound, revealing for example how Colombians heard themselves in relation to each other and in relation to the Global North, the sounds of a particular space provide access to an indigenous and counter-hegemonic locale of "native" human experience, as well as authentic access to "natural" environmental perception and experience.[20] By thinking through these ideas about environmental knowledge in the view of the Pisan circle's professed sonic experiences in Tuscany, I want to shed an historical light on the critical assumption that immersion in sound provides special insight into anthropology – that knowledge of sound and listening to sound at once expands knowledge of the Other, and helps the knowing listener to "go native." This chapter therefore contributes to debates in music and sound studies over the status of sonic knowledge or "the acousteme" by offering what I am calling an "historical anthropology of sound" within an intra-European setting.[21]

This historical anthropology of sound, therefore, requires hearing past urban environments and peoples in order to envoice the Tuscan landscape. Letters and journals written by the Pisan circle from 1818-1823 betray an "outsider outlook" on Italian human behaviors, recording their condescending views of the noisy "inhabitants." I will also show

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[17] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," *Westminster Review* 6 (October 1826), 333. The Shelleys, as part of the classical liberal Cockney school, believed in "the moral perfectibility of man," and were heavily influenced by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the idealization of "natural" man, and that the arts and letters could effect a just, more equitable, "natural" society. See Jeffrey N. Cox, "Cockney Cosmopolitanism," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 32:3 (2010), 245-259.

[18] See Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Production* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 15 and Steven Feld, "Acoustemology" in *Keywords in Sound*, David Novak and Matt Sakakeeny, ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 12.

[19] Steven Feld and Donald Brenneis, "Doing Anthropology in Sound," *American Ethnologist* 31, no. 4 (November 1, 2004): 482.

[20] See Ana María Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

[21] On the other hand, R. Murray Schafer is interested in the keynote of the soundscape—a sonority specific to a particular place, at a given time, and which participates in shaping the meaning of that environment, and the way its inhabitants define their community. See R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning the World* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1993.) More recently, Robin James has shown how sound-based rules structure social practices in Robin James, *The Sonic Episteme: Acoustic Resonance, Neoliberalism, and Biopolitics* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2019).

how they described being captivated by the sounds of the Tuscan countryside, inscribing scenes of peasants singing Rossini in the fields, accompanied by cicadas. In particular, they claimed to be infected—just like the "inhabitants" they observed—by a musical "epidemic" spread by the sounds of the duet "Ah! Nati, è ver, noi siamo" from Rossini's 1818 opera *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, a number sung, not coincidently, by a "native woman" and a crusader knight in Dongala (modern Sudan). I demonstrate the ways in which these immersive (what I have called) "acoustemological" experiences were discursively held to transform Pisan-circle "listeners" from ignorant cultural aliens into knowing "Anglo-Italians."

Next, I move from Pisa to Florence, where Burghersh composed and produced his six operas, which were performed by a mixture of Italian and English professional and amateur musicians, to an audience that comprised mainly Italian and English guests. Ironically, while he would not have fit Mary Shelley's criteria to qualify as an Anglo-Italian due to his aristocratic status and Tory politics, Burghersh's reception in the Florentine press shows that locals adopted the diplomat as one of their own. The chapter ends where it began: in London, where Mary Shelley styled herself as the authoritative voice on Italy, and Burghersh founded the Royal Academy of Music. I conclude by showing that each of them, in revealing ways, opportunistically weaponized rival Anglo-Italian "sonic knowledge" to elevate their own authority in London's musical culture.

Defining the Anglo-Italian

As already observed, five months after Anglo-Italicus's debut in the *Examiner*, Mary Shelley publicly introduced the figure of the "Anglo-Italian" and the set of criteria that distinguished the Anglo-Italian "from the mere traveler, or true John Bull," in her 1826 review of three popular books about Italy: Lord Normanby's *The English in Italy*, Charlotte Anne Eaton's *Continental Adventures*, and Anna Brownell Jameson's *Diary of an Ennuyée*.[22] The claim was that, unlike the typical English tourist in Italy, Mary Shelley's Anglo-Italian had, not only distinctive standards of taste, but distinctive standards of sensing and knowing. Shelley explained that the post-Napoleonic influx of English visitors to Italy gave rise to "a new race or sect among our countrymen, who have lately been dubbed Anglo-Italians."[23] Unlike the typical English tourist in Italy, the Anglo-Italian "ceases to visit the churches and palaces, guide-book in hand; anxious, not to see, but to say that he has seen."[24] Instead, the Anglo-Italian "lost the critical mania in a real taste for the beautiful, acquired by the frequent sight of the best models of ancient and modern art."[25] Besides their admiration for classical values, however, the Anglo-Italian was versed in present-day Italian politics, social conduct, and domestic life. Knowledge of the sounds of the Italian language, in particular, was

[22] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," *Westminster Review* 6 (October 1826), 327. For more analyses of Mary Shelley's definition of the 'Anglo-Italian', see Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians,'* 57-88 and Timothy Morton, 'Mary Shelley as Cultural Critic', in *The Cambridge Companion to Mary Shelley*, ed. Esther Schor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 259-273.
[23] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," 327.
[24] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," 327.
[25] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," 327-328.

certainly essential to understanding Italian society and necessary for their integration into the adopted culture.[26] Mary Shelley did not openly assert her Anglo-Italianness at the beginning of her review essay, but cited Lord Byron as a paradigmatic agent of this "well-informed, clever, and active race."[27] But Shelley was also clear about the dangers of assimilation, since, as a "well-informed, clever, and active race," the Anglo-Italian embraced only the best manners of the Italians.[28] "Without attempting to adopt the customs of the natives," Shelley explained that the Anglo-Italian "attaches himself to some of the most refined among them and appreciates their native talent and simple manner."[29] Furthermore, the Anglo-Italian's claim to radicalism was in itself another form of elite distinction, that elevated them above the urban populace.[30] For example, Shelley scolded the Whig politician Lord Normanby for his "offensive display of superiority of rank" in his writings on Italy.[31]

Crucially, Mary Shelley claimed that immersion in the Italian countryside granted the Anglo-Italian knowledge of "the true Italian character," which could only be encountered off the tourist's tracks.[32] She explained that "our country-men see only the surface of the country, and are unaware of the minutiae of the peasant's life, and their mode of agriculture," while the Anglo-Italian listened to the peasants "singing in perfect tune, and with clear, though loud voices, the simple but beautiful melodies peculiar to the Italian peasantry."[33] In other words, to Mary Shelley, one could not become an Anglo-Italian had not one been immersed for a substantial period in the full acoustic environment of the Tuscan countryside.

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Let us now pass from London in 1826 to Tuscany, between 1818-1823 to show how the Pisan circle inscribed and wrote about the sounds of Italy and its "inhabitants." In a now-famous letter to Marianne Hunt, written on 28 August 1819, Mary Shelley vividly described her immersion in the natural and sonic surroundings in Livorno:

> We live in a little country house at the end of a green lane, surrounded by a *podere*… They are like our kitchen-gardens … A large bed of cabbages is very unpicturesque in England, but here the furrows are alternated with rows of grapes festooned on their supporters, and the hedges are of myrtle, which have just ceased to flower; their flower has the sweetest faint sell in the world, like some delicious spice. Green grassy walks lead you through the vines.[34]

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[26] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," 327-328.
[27] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," 327-328.
[28] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," 327-328.
[29] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," 327-328.
[30] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," 341.
[31] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," 341.
[32] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," 333.
[33] [Mary Shelley,] "The English in Italy," 333.
[34] Letter from Mary Shelley to Marianne Hunt, Leghorn, August 28, 1819 in Betty T. Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, Vol. 1* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 102.

She further described Livorno's farm laborers who cultivated the *podere* as if they were an extension of the landscape:

> The people are always busy… They work this hot weather in their shirts, or smock-frocks (but their breasts are bare), their brown legs nearly the colour, only with a rich tinge of red in it, of the earth they turn up.[35]

Emerging organically from the red earth, for Mary Shelley, the farm labourers were not quite human. "They," rather, were absorbed into the backdrop of the Tuscan countryside. However, she also noted the music and sounds that accompanied this scene:

> They sing, not very melodiously, but very loud, Rossini's music, 'Mi revedrai, ti revedro,' and they are accompanied by the cicala, a kind of little beetle, that makes a noise with its tail as loud as Johnny can sing; they live on trees; and three or four together are enough to deafen you. It is to the cicala that Anacreon has addressed an ode which they call 'To a Grasshopper' in the English Translation.[36]

There are a number of themes to unpack in this letter – a useful digest of the Pisan circle's sonic experiences in Tuscany: Mary Shelley's immersion within the climate of the Tuscan countryside, her interest in the culture of the farm laborers, her fascination with the farm laborers' singing, the sounds of the cicada, and the power of Rossini's music.

A Sonic Cartography of the Tuscan Countryside

The Pisan circle flourished in the Tuscan countryside and its climate, whether for medical reasons or for their creativity, peppering their letters and journals with lively details of the landscapes. Percy Bysshe Shelley's close friend, Thomas Love Peacock recalled that, in his letters, Shelley:

> delighted in the grand aspects of nature; mountains, torrents, forests, and the sea; and in the ruins, which still reflected the greatness of antiquity. He described these scenes with extraordinary power of language, in his letters as well as in his poetry; but in the latter he peopled them with phantoms of virtue and beauty, such as never existed on earth.[37]

In one of Shelley's first letters from Italy to Peacock, for example, he confirmed that Italy's climate and scenery, as opposed to Britain's, had deep physiological effects and was already mending his health: "but no sooner had we arrived at Italy than the loveliness of the earth & the serenity of the sky made the greatest difference in my sensations—I depend on these

[35] Bennett, *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, Vol. I*, 102.
[36] Bennett, *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, Vol. I*, 102-103.
[37] Peacock, *Peacock's Memoirs of Percy Bysshe* Shelley, 71.

things for life."[38] Other members of the Pisan circle recounted their experiences in the Tuscan countryside in vivid detail as well. In a letter to his sister-in-law, Elizabeth Kent, Leigh Hunt shared that he had "become more reconciled to the beauties of Tuscany" and that the countryside was in "most luxurious condition … The corn is as high as my chin, as I walk through it. The poppies and other wild-flowers are in excessive condition: and the vines and fig-trees all robust and insolent."[39] Edward Williams wrote to Trelawny that he looked forward to summering in the outskirts of Pisa with the Shelleys, at the Villa Poschi in the village of Pugnano, because of the "shady retreats of olive and chestnut woods that grow above our heads up the hill sides."[40]

Moreover, the Pisan circle delighted in the sounds and music of Tuscany's nature. Take Edward Trelawny, who recounted an incident when he accompanied Mary Shelley to a pine forest in the outskirts of Pisa in search of her husband. When they finally found Percy Shelley, the poet urged Trelawny—in an eerie premonition of his death—to

> Listen to the solemn music in the pine-tops—don't you hear the mournful murmurings of the sea? Sometimes they rave and roar, shriek and howl, like a rabble of priests. In a tempest, when a ship sinks, they catch the despairing groans of the drowning mariners. Their chorus is the eternal wailing of wretched men.[41]

In another example, Mary Shelley relished that she could "hear no sound except the rushing of the river in the valley below" at Bagni di Lucca.[42]

Of all the sounds of the Tuscan environment, however, the Pisan circle members were most fascinated by the sounds of the cicadas, the "little beetles" heard, in Mary Shelley's 1819 account, to accompany Rossini's music, 'Mi revedrai, ti revedro.' Leigh Hunt recalled his experience with the cicadas in his *Autobiography*:

> You find yourself in Virgil's country the moment you see the lizards running up the walls, and hear the *cicada* (now *cicale*) 'bursting the bushes with their song.' This famous 'grasshopper' of Anacreon, as the translators call it, which is not a

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[38] Percy Shelley's letter to Thomas Love Peacock, in Milan on April 6, 1818 in Frederick L. Jones, ed. *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Vol. II: Shelley in Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pg. 3-4.
[39] Letter from Leigh Hunt to Elizabeth Kent, Florence, 2nd June, 1824 in [Thornton Leigh Hunt, ed.] *The Correspondence of Leigh Hunt, Edited by his Eldest Son* Vol. 1 (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1862), 219-220.
[40] Letter from Edward Williams to Edward Trelawny, Pisa, April 19, 1821 in Jones, ed., *Maria Gisborne & Edward E. Williams*, 158. He also explained that Percy Bysshe Shelley "has a small boat building, only ten or twelve feet long, to go adventuring, as he calls it, up the many little rivers and canals that intersect this part of Italy; some of which pass through the most beautiful scenery imaginable, winding among the terraced gardens at the base of the neighbouring mountains, and opening into such lakes as Bientina, etc."
[41] E.J. Trelawny, *Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1858), 75.
[42] Letter from Mary Shelley to Maria Gisborne, Bagni di Lucca, June 15, 1818 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, Vol. 1*, 72.

> grasshopper but a beetle, sitting on the trees, produces his 'song' by scraping a hollow part of his chest with certain muscles. The noise is so loud, as well as the incessant during the heats of the summer-days, as to resemble that of a stocking-manufactory.[43]

It was as if these creatures existed to displace the alienating sounds of industry. In one of her letters to Maria Gisborne from Bagni di Lucca, Mary Shelley, too, wrote of how she appreciated "hearing the noisy cicala" and "sweet singing birds and … Cuckoo" during a ride in the chestnut woods.[44] A few years later, Mary Shelley again wrote to Maria Gisborne, recounting that "the country wants rain and the Cicalas sing in the trees, I suppose, entreating for dew, and telling the Gods that the dry leaves hurt the sweetness of their merry song."[45] That same week, Claire Clairmont was so overwhelmed by the cicada's sounds that she included a translation of Anacreon's "Ode to the Cicala" in her journal and explained that Italians

> say to those who threaten to take the law, "Cantate cantate, e poi farete come la Cicala, scoppiarete." Which alludes to the Cicala singing louder & louder if his stomach is rubbed until it finally bursts." (sing, sing, and then like the cicala you'll burst)[46]

Upon her return to London, Maria Gisborne recorded her nostalgia for the busy countryside and especially the sounds of cicadas, which she contrasted with the sounds of the noisy city. In her journal, she wrote that she "regretted the loss of the Cicala, filling up all the vacant intervals of the day with her never-ending song; her substitute was the rough broken rumbling sound of rolling carriages and dray carts."[47] As we have and will again soon see, cicadas were also frequently related to Rossini's music.

Listening to Italians: The Modern Noise of Tuscany's "Inhabitants"

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[43] Leigh Hunt, *The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1906), 345.
[44] Letter from Mary Shelley to Maria Gisborne on July 2, 1818, Bagni di Lucca in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 74.
[45] Letter from Mary Shelley to Maria Gisborne July 19, 1820 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft* Shelley,155.
[46] Claire Clairmont wrote down the translation of Anacreon's poem on July 12, 1820: "How happy are you sweet Cicala! Sitting upon the tops of the trees, and drinking dew & singing. Kings might envy your free life! All that the fields bare and all that the Seasons bring is your's. Your hurt nothing & so the farmer loves you; you are the delight of all men, the prophet of summer! The Muses love you & Apollo in his love for you has given you that melodious voice. Old age harms thee not. Child of earth. Wise, musical passionless creature, not made of flesh & blood you are almost equal to the Gods." Marion Kingston Stocking, ed., *The Journals of Claire Clairmont* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 155-156.
[47] Written in Maria Gisborne's journal in London on June 28, 1820, in Jones, ed., *Maria Gisborne & Edward E. Williams*, 37.

While Mary Shelley's circle reveled in the sounds of the Tuscan countryside, they held less favorable and more condescending views of the sounds of made by urban Italians living in the Tuscan cities and towns where they resided. Naturally, it seemed, Italians belonged more to the rural than the urban. In one of his first impressions of Italians in 1818, Percy Bysshe Shelley explained to his friend Thomas Jefferson Hogg that "The Italians … seem a very inferior race of beings."[48] A few months later, while relaxing in the thermal baths of Lucca, Shelley wrote to his father-in-law, William Godwin, that "the modern Italians seem a miserable people—without sensibility or imagination or understanding."[49] Mary Shelley's comments on Italy's "inhabitants" amplified her resentment towards "modern Italians" and her awareness of being a cultural alien herself. In an 1820 letter to Marianne Hunt, Mary Shelley shared that she and her husband would attempt to "mix a little with the Italians." [50] She reserved judgement, however, because she looked down on Pisa's inhabitants with contempt: "Pisa is a pretty town but its inhabitants would exercise all Hoggs vocabulary of scamps, raffs &c &c to fully describe their ragged-haired, shirtless condition." [51] She continued: "The Pisans I dislike more than any of the Italians & none of them are as yet favourites with me."[52]

Mary Shelley and her circle's disdain for the Pisans and other metropolitan Italians was frequently ascribed to their sonic experiences of the city. In an 1818 letter to Leigh and Marianne Hunt, Mary Shelley bemoaned that Pisa is a "noisy mercantile" and "dull town situated on the banks of the Arno," but that she was "disgusted" and "could never walk in the street except in misery, because "the criminals condemned to labour work publicly in the streets heavily ironed in pairs ... look sallow and dreadfully wretched and you could get into no street but you heard the clanking of their chains."[53] Her step-sister Claire Clairmont divulged similar sentiments in her journal about the noisiness and vulgarity of the townspeople in Livorno, complaining especially of "violins squeaking, & women singing."[54]

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[48] Letter from Percy Bysshe Shelley to Thomas Jefferson Hogg, Milan, April 30, 1818, in Jones, ed. *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 14.

[49] Letter from Percy Bysshe Shelley to William Godwin, Bagni di Lucca, July 25, 1818 in Jones, ed. *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 22.

[50] Letter from Mary Shelley to Marianne Hunt, Pisa, March 24, 1820 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 136.

[51] Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 136. She still indicated that she preferred to live in Italy rather than England: "Not that I much wish to be in England if I could but import a cargo of friends & books from that island here. I am too much depressed by its enslaved state, my inutility; the little chance there is for freedom; & the great chance there is for tyrant to wish to be witness of its degradation step by step, & to feel all the sensations of indignation & horror which I know I should experience were I to hear daily the talk of the subjects or rather the slaves of King Cant whose dominion I fear is of wider extent in England than anywhere else."

[52] Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 136.

[53] Letter from Mary Shelley to the Hunts, Leghorn, May 13, 1818, in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 67.

[54] Claire Clairmont's journal entry on September 25, 1820 in Stocking, ed., *The Journals of Claire Clairmont*, 178. On the other hand, Leigh Hunt, in his *Autobiography,* reflected on a more positive,

On her way back to England in August 1823, Mary Shelley compared the noisiness of the French people she encountered to the Italians in a letter to the Hunts. For Mary Shelley, the French

> are very quiet too, no brawling no talking loud, so that a village seems a solitude, & in the very midst of one I have not heard the thousandth part of the noise which so annoys Marianne in one single family;… Such are my impressions hitherto, & you see that they are not in favour of the Italians…. The quiet of these people still strikes me as very agreable [sic]—I do not know how the English will seem—but the absence of loud voices, violent gesticulation & eternal clack gives even to the lower orders an air of gentleness & good breeding that even the highest Italians want.[55]

Anticipating Marianne's response that, perhaps, Mary Shelley has turned "traitress to dear Italy," she admitted that

> the inhabitants were never favourites with me—I had been habituated to many of their defects until I was hardly aware of them, but the contrast absence of them strikes me as agreable [sic] Still I love & turn to Italy as the place where all my delights were centred [sic] & where only I can feel most forcibly that I am still united to those I have lost—besides I like its country & the life & the daily habits one has there better than any others—Besides & besides I love Italy with all my heart & all my soul & all my might & all my strength and all my hopes are centred in returning there.[56]

Mary's aversion towards the noisy and ill-behaved Italians, therefore, at no stage threatened her abiding love for the vibrant sonic energy of the Italian countryside.

Just as the Pisan circle denigrated the noisy behavior of the Italians, they were particularly unimpressed by Italian musicians and their audiences. Mary Shelley complained to Claire Clairmont about Pisan audiences as well as the inferiority of the Italian musicians: "We entered the box of a friend of P… a bad Orchestra—a screaming Prima donna & a worse Basso pouring forth mellifluous notes on an inattentive audience."[57] In fact, after attending Milan's La Scala in their first few weeks in Italy, Percy Shelley, in a letter to Thomas Love Peacock, praised the opera "as a most splendid exhibition" but that "the opera itself was not a favourite & the singers very inferior to our own."[58] Shelley expressed

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romanticized, sonic experience of Florence: "wherever you turned was music or a graceful memory." In Hunt, *Autobiography*, 328.

[55] Letter from Mary Shelley to the Hunts, Savoy Pont Bon Voison, July 30-August 1, 1823, in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 358.

[56] Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 356.

[57] Letter from Mary Shelley to Claire Clairmont, Pisa, Jan 14-15, 1821in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 175.

[58] Letter from Percy Shelley to Thomas Love Peacock, Milan, April 6, 1818 in Jones, ed. *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 4.

similar sentiments a few weeks later to Thomas Jefferson Hogg, explaining that "the Opera is very good, and the house larger or at least as large as that of London," but that the prima donna Mad. Camporese is a "cold and unfeeling singer and a bad actress," while "the best singer is a man called David." [59] Mary recalled the performance in a letter to the Hunts, and praised Giovanni David as well, "one singer who is famous in all Italy …—he has a tenor voice and sings in a softer & sweeter way than you ever hear in England." [60] But again, she admonished the behavior of the Italian audience during the performance:

> In Italy except the first night or two you can never hear any thing of the opera except some favourite airs—for the people make it a visiting place & play cards and sup in the boxes so you may guess that the murmur of their voices rises far above the efforts of the singers—but they became silent to hear some of David's songs which hardly at all accompanied—stole upon the ear like a murmur of waters while Mad. Camporesi ran up the octaves beside him in a far different manner.[61]

A few years later, Mary Shelley insinuated that most of the Italian singers she heard, save for the tenor David, were quite inferior to their British counterparts. She wrote to Maria Gisborne from Pisa that, "the Opera here has been detestable," but that the Scottish John "Sinclair is the primo tenore & acquits himself excellently," although "the Italians after the first have enviously selected such operas as given him little or nothing to do."[62] Thomas Medwin also declared that Sinclair's "voice possessed a wonderful sweetness and melody."[63] Overall, then, only the British tenor—who had moved to Italy to build up his reputation before returning to London—could save the life of opera in urban Pisa.

The Pisan circle's writings attest continually to aural disdain, especially for the ostensibly uncultured, noisy, ignorant, and ill-mannered Pisans. However, despite the Pisan circle's negative view of Italians, a few "refined" Italians, did not count, their circle accepting into its orbit several Italian intellectuals, among them the University of Pisa physics professor Francesco Pacchiani, the Pisan governor's daughter, Emilia Viviani, and the *improvvisatore* Tommaso Sgricci.[64] The Pisan circle was particularly awed by Sgirrici's talents. In a letter to Leigh Hunt, Mary Shelley described a performance of Sgricci improvising

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[59] Letter from Percy Shelley to Thomas Jefferson Hogg, Milan, April 30, 1818 in Jones, ed. *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*,14.

[60] Letter from Mary Shelley to the Hunts, Leghorn, May 13, 1818, in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 67.

[61] Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 67.

[62] Letter from Mary Shelley to Maria Gisborne, Pisa, February 9, 1822 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 218.

[63] Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 218.

[64] Cline, *Byron, Shelley, and their Pisan Circle*, 14. For more on Tommaso Sgricci and the role of the *improvvisatricci* and their effect on Romantic poetry and print media, see Angela Esterhammer, *Romanticism and Improvisation, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) and Angela Esterhammer, *Print and Performance in the 1820s: Improvisation, Speculation, Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

poetry as "an exhibition peculiar to the Italians and like their climate—their vegetation and their country fervent fertile and mixing in wondrous proportions the picturesque the cultivated & the wild until they … mingle and form a spectacle new and beautiful."[65] On the surface, Mary Shelley's assessment is no different from her description of peasants singing Rossini in the fields of Livorno in 1819. But she also suggested, in other words, that Sgricci's talents were less attributable to the talents of his "race," than to his merits as an extension of the non-human Italian climate, vegetation, and country:

> We were the other night at the theatre where [Sgricci]…. delivered an extempore tragedy. Conceive of a poem as long as a Greek Tragedy, interspersed with choruses, the whole plan conceived in an instant—The ideas and verses & scenes flowing in rich succession like the perpetual gush of a fast falling cataract. The ideas poetic and just; the words the most beautiful, *sette* and grand that his exquisite Italian afforded.[66]

Furthermore, Mary Shelley compared Sgricci's utterances of the Italian language to the sounds of Mozart, the composer her circle idolized:

> [Sgricci's] motions [were] graceful beyond description: his action was perfect; and the freedom of this motions outdo the constraint which is ever visible in an English actor—…it was one impulse that filled him and unchanged deity who spoke within him, and his voice surpassed in its modulations the melody of music…. From what we have heard of him I believe him to be good and his manners are gentle and amiable—while the rich flow of his beautifully pronounced language is as pleasant to the ear as a sonata of Mozart.[67]

Yet in the same letter, she bemoaned that "the Pisans are noted for their … entire ignorance of the fine arts.—Their opera is miserable their theatre the worst in Italy."[68] Furthermore, she complained that the Pisans underappreciated Sgricci's talents, and declared that "The theatre was nearly empty on this occasion—The students of the University half-filled the pit and the few people in the boxes were foreigners except two Pisan families who went away before it was half over."[69] She declared that:

> to improvise to a Pisan audience is to scatter otto of roses among the overweighing stench of a charnel house: -- pearls to swine were oeconomy in comparison. As Shelley told him the other night, he appeared in Pisa as Dante

[65] Letter from Mary Shelley to Leigh Hunt, Pisa, December 29, 1820 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 171.
[66] Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 171.
[67] Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 171-172.
[68] Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*,171.
[69] Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 171.

> among the ghosts—Pisa a city of the dead and they shrunk from his living presence.[70]

Therefore, because of their social distinction, only the members of the Pisan circle could understand and appreciate Sgricci's genius. The circle accepted Sgricci for his cultural refinement and talents, but even more so because his style of declamation indexed, for them, the sounds of the already fertile, energetic, and authentically Italian nature he was subject to.

Musical Epidemics

I have established, so far, that the Pisan circle extolled the sounds of the Tuscan countryside and that they held less favorable and condescending views of the sounds of the Italians living in the Tuscan cities and towns where they resided. I return now to the letter Mary Shelley wrote to Marianne Hunt in Livorno, in which she described the sounds of the farm laborers singing Rossini, accompanied by cicadas. The passage is worth quoting a second time:

> They sing, not very melodiously, but very loud, Rossini's music, 'Mi revedrai, ti revedro,' and they are accompanied by the cicala, a kind of little beetle, that makes a noise with its tail as loud as Johnny can sing; they live on trees; and three or four together are enough to deafen you.[71]

The Cicada-and-Rossini trope appeared frequently in the writings of this liberal circle, the composer's music being heard in this context as authentic and rural. In an 1819 letter informing Thomas Jefferson Hogg of his son's death, Percy Shelley, too, recognized the sounds of Rossini in the fields:

> I have a little room here like Scythrop's tower, at the top of the house, commanding a view of the sea and the Apennines, and the plains between them. The vinedressers are singing all day *mi rivedrai, ti revedro*, but by no means in an operatic style.[72]

"Mi rivedrai, ti rivedrò", which means, "You will behold me again … I will behold you again" refers to two internal lines of one of Rossini's most famous pieces of music in early nineteenth-century Italy and supposedly throughout Europe: "Di tanti palpiti," the cabaletta of the opening aria for the title character in *Tancredi*.

In a core chapter of his book, *Music in the Present Tense* (2019), Emanuele Senici accounts for the historical "naturalization" of "Di tanti palpiti" in the early nineteenth century, by charting its migration from its centralized production in the urban sphere in Venice, into the decentered "Italian" countryside in the form of folk songs, and folk-song

[70] Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 172.
[71] Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 102-103.
[72] Letter from Percy Bysshe Shelley to Thomas Jefferson Hogg, July 25, 1819 in Jones, ed. *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 105.

variants. Senici asks why this melody, and why the words "mi rivedrai ti rivedrò", in particular, became so popular and indigenized. By comparing "Di tanti palpiti" with other Rossinian melodies and other Italian melodies with literate origins that eventually became "popular" songs, Senici suggests that this melody was sufficiently "natural", repetitive, and memorable enough for Venetian street vendors to initially begin singing the tune, but then became even more memorable after they constantly repeated the melody, therefore implanting its infectious essence in the ears of even more people in the public. "Di tanti palpiti" was repeated so often that it eventually lost not only is original operatic identity, but much of its language, and became a folk song in dialect "for the people."[73]

"Di tanti palpiti" was not the only Rossinian earworm that infected members of the Pisan circle. In his autobiography, Leigh Hunt described how songs spread into the popular environment like a raging pestilence:

> the whole people are bitten with a new song, and hardly sing anything else till the next. There were two epidemic airs of this kind when I was there, which had been imported from Florence, and which the inhabitants sang from morning till night. [74]

Hunt's use of language and the phrase "epidemic airs" is revealing, as he hinted at the contagious process by which farm laborers may have caught onto the folk song version of "Di tanti palpiti." The use of the term "epidemic" suggests something positive: a situation out of control for sure, but also one that is popular, affirmative, and liberal. For Hunt, by exposing their bodies to disease, the Pisan critics embraced a new aesthetic nature, one more attuned to the soundscape that bound Italians into tight-knit popular communities.

As if to prove their acoustic immersion in the at once sound-filled and epidemic air, several members of the Pisan circle claimed to be "bitten" and infected with one Rossinian earworm in particular: "Ah! Nati, è ver, noi siamo" from Rossini's 1818 opera, *Ricciardo e Zoraide* (1818). In a letter to Maria Gisborne in which she congratulated the recipient's sister-in-law, Emma Clementi, Mary Shelley exclaimed that

> all the time I write, a duo of Rossini's is running in my head, now singing at the Opera—Sinclair sings one part, and cuts an amazingly fine figure among them. It is hummed about as much as merivedone was, Do you know it? 'Nati in ver noi siamo."[75]

Sinclair's performance of the cabaletta "Ah! Nati, è ver, noi siamo" of the popular duet "Ricciardo! Che veggo?" in Rossini's 1818 Neapolitan opera also bit Captain Medwin, in his recollection of attending Byron's box at the Pisan opera with Shelley in 1822. "Sinclair, the

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[73] Emanuele Senici, *Music in the Present Tense: Rossini's Italian Operas in Their Time* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 200.
[74] Hunt, *Autobiography*, 308.
[75] Letter from Mary Shelley to Maria Gisborne, Pisa, January 18, 1822 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 215.

celebrated tenor, had an engagement," Medwin enthused, "and electrified the house in the duo (I forget the name of the opera) of—Cio che tu brami, Io bramo,/Non aviam che un'cuore."[76] This cabaletta appeared to have a particularly infectious sonic character.

Why did this cabaletta become such an earworm for the Pisan circle? First, we know that the circle appreciated the Scottish tenor Sinclair's superior singing to the rest of the cast. Moreover, Medwin's account provides an important clue in that, whilst he did not remember the name of the duet, the internal lines of the cabaletta, "Ciò che tu brami, io bramo/Noi non abbiam che un cor" stayed with him. The quatrain reads as follows:

> Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo
> Sol per amarci ognor;
> Ciò che tu brami, io bramo
> Noi non abbiam che un cor.[77]

Medwin likely remembered the latter two lines (as opposed to the first two) because of their irksome repetition: each "Noi non abiam che un cor" is repeated three times,"non" or "no" is repeated another five times, whilst "abbiam" repeats twice more. The last two lines, "Ciò che tu brami, io bramo/Noi non abbiam che un cor" are also recited twice in the coda, alongside several more iterations of the latter line. It is no wonder that Medwin remembered these words over the title of the duet.

Besides the incessant repetition of the words, however, the cabaletta thrives on typical conventions of Rossinian musical repetition, and here I echo Senici in speculating as to the musical reasons for this particular passage.[78] For one, Rossini often wrote the same exact notes, just an octave apart, in his soprano-tenor cabalettas, especially in the operas he composed for Isabella Colbran and Giovanni David (the Shelleys' favorite) in Naples.[79] After Ricciardo sings "Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo Sol per amarci ognor;/ Ciò che tu brami, io bramo/Noi non abbiam che un cor" (see *Example 3.1*), Zoraide repeats the same exact phrases, only an octave higher (see *Example 3.2*). After a brief bridge, Ricciardo repeats the previous lines verbatim, then Zoraide repeats the line an octave higher, followed by a coda. To Medwin, hearing this same musical segment repeated four times, Senici might say, could have implanted the beginning of this "epidemic."

But there are micro-musical repetitions in evidence as well. The very first phrase, "Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo" features two repetitions of a dotted rhythm (see *Example 3.3*.) The next two lines are set to repeated music as well, while the repeated words of "Noi non

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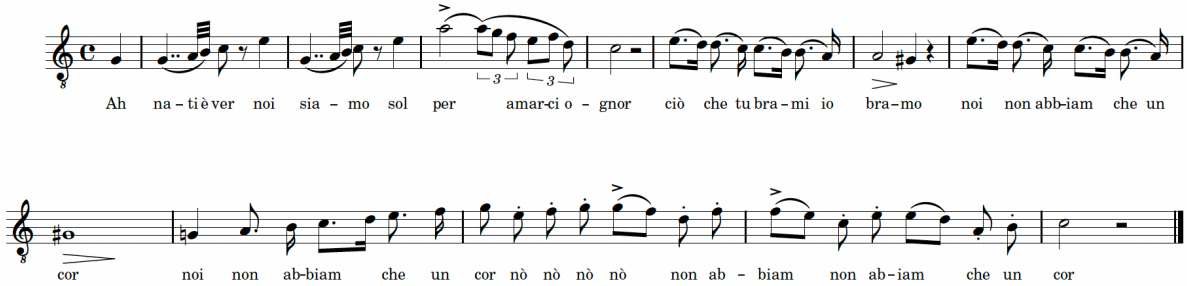
[76] Medwin, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 371.

[77] "Ah! It is true, we are born only to love each other; what you crave I crave, we have only one heart."

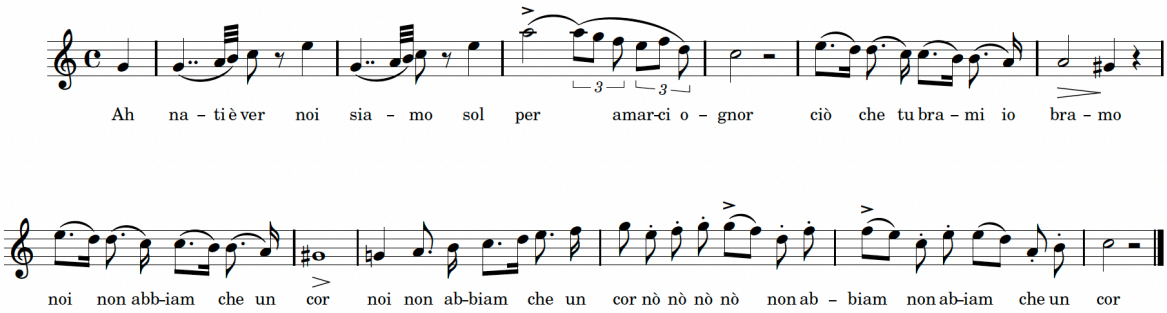
[78] For more on Rossinian repetition, see Emanuele Senici, *Music in the Present Tense: Rossini's Italian Operas in Their Time* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019).

[79] Several other Rossinian soprano-tenor duets contain similar patterns, such as the cabaletta, "Ah! Non poss'io resistere" from Rinaldo and Armida's duet "Amor…possente nome" in *Armida* (1817); the cabaletta "Piacere ugual gli dei" between Matilde and Corradino from the quartet "Ah! Capisco non parlate" in *Matilde di Shabran* (1821); and the cabaletta "Che mai pensar, che dir" between Zelmira and Ilo in the duet "Ah chè quei tronchi accenti" in *Zelmira* (1822).

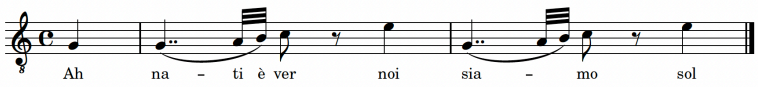
abbiam che un cor" are in fact set to different music (see *Example 3.4*). As mentioned above, the latter words are repeated several times, but begin with a motive with the same notes as the first "Ah! Nati, é ver" phrase, but with the opposite rhythm; instead of starting with a dotted rhythm, the dotted rhythm appears in the latter half of the phrase (see *Example 3.5*).



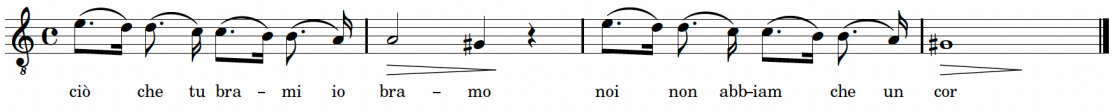
Example 3.1 Ricciardo's opening line from Rossini, *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, Act II "Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo"



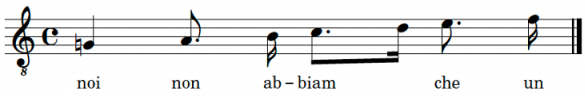
Example 3.2 Zoraide's opening line from Rossini, *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, Act II "Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo"



Example 3.3 Micro-musical repetitions in opening phrase of Rossini, *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, Act II "Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo"



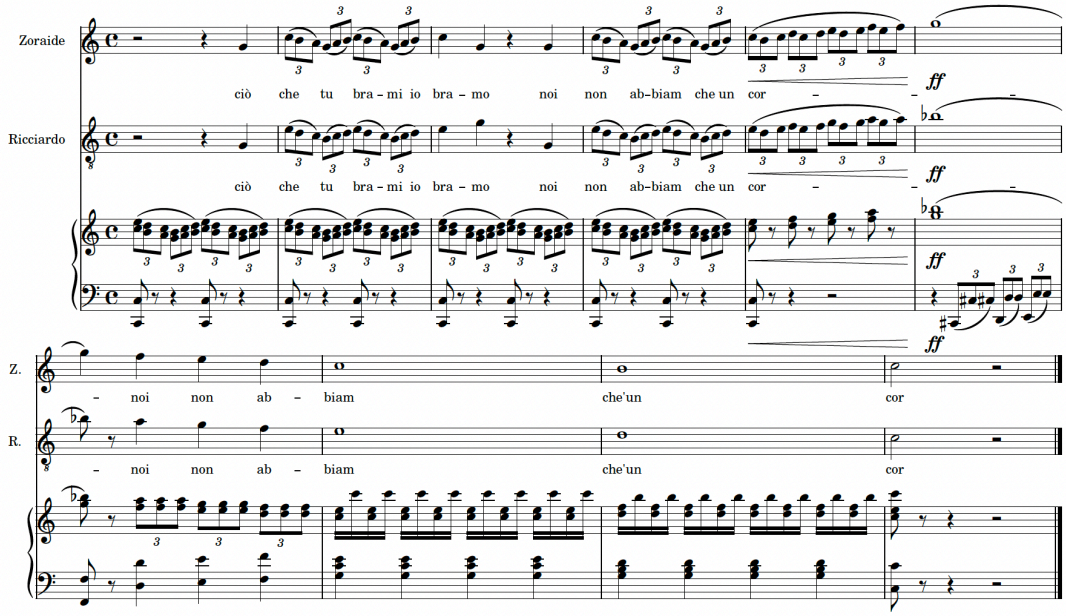
Example 3.4 Repeated phrases in Rossini, *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, Act II "Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo"



Example 3.5 Opposite rhythm in Rossini, *Ricciardo e Zoraide,* Act II "Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo"

The coda features musical re-iterations as well. As mentioned earlier, the words "Ciò che tu brami, io bramo/Noi non abbiam che un cor," are repeated several times. Musically, though, at first "Ciò che tu brami, io bramo" and "Noi non abbiam che un cor" are set to the same triplet phrases, sung in sixths (see *Example 3.6*.) These two phrases are repeated yet

again. The voices compete with the winds, which play the exact same triplet phrases. A typical Rossinian ending follows, of a banal tonic, subdominant, dominant, dominant (I-II^6-I$^6_4$-V) accompanying a four-note descending motif, repeated five times and increasing in pace until the end of the duet (see *Example 3.7*.)

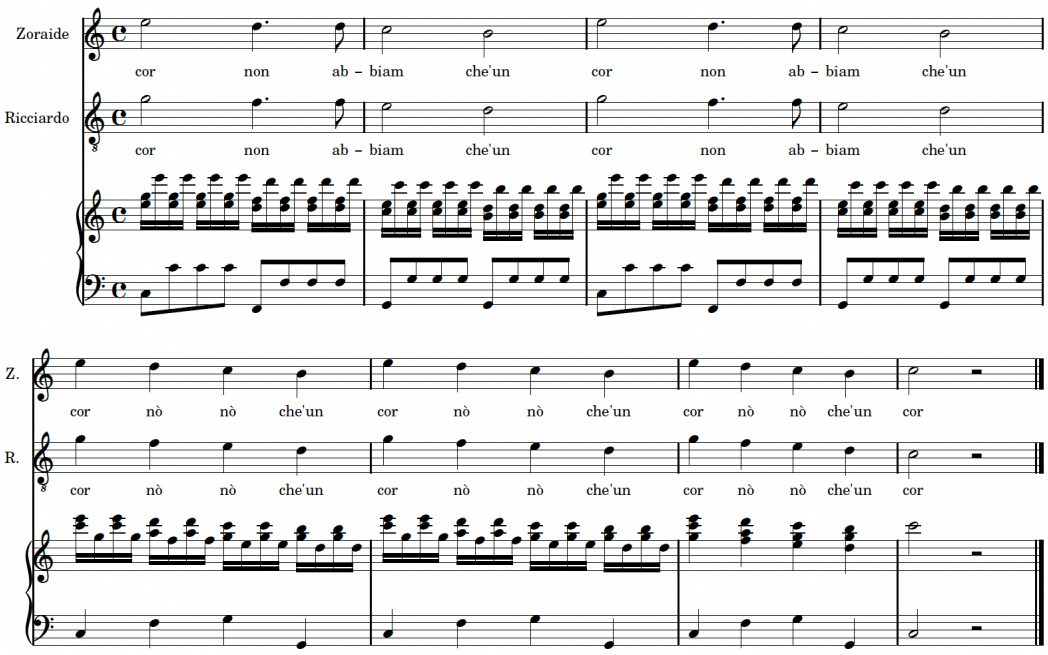


Example 3.6 Coda from Rossini, *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, Act II "Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo"

While these multiple levels of repetition likely contributed to the duet's popularity throughout Europe and its becoming an ear-worm in Tuscany, other musical components served as well.[80] The cabaletta features a feverishly galloping accompaniment to the voices which, along with the singers' dotted rhythms, also provides a sense of propulsion, forward

[80] Stendhal points out how this cabaletta had "infected" other parts of Rossini as well. Of course, Rossini often self-plagiarized, but usually changed keys, voices, and text when he inserted his existing pieces into new operas. But in his hurry to compose his 1819 opera *Eduardo e Cristina* for Teatro San Benedetto in Venice, Rossini copied the duet almost verbatim for Cristina's cavatina: the key and words are the same, except for some minor changes in the bridge and coda. The main difference is that the soprano (Cristina) repeats the same four lines, instead of alternating with the contralto (Eduardo), who only interjects a few times and joins in the bridge and coda. Stendhal tells the story of the opening night of *Eduardo e Cristina* in Venice: "The early scenes of the opera were greeted with frantic applause; but unfortunately there sat in the pit a solitary Neapolitan business-man, who proceeded to provoke a frantic state of consternation among his immediate neighbours by singing the theme of every number before the performers on the stage had reached it. Everybody was naturally intensely curious to discover where he had already managed to hear this supposedly original music. 'Where have I heard it before' he exclaimed. 'Why, in Naples, of course, six months ago, in *Ermione* and *Ricciardo e Zoraide*. It was very popular, you know! But the only thing I can't understand is why, did you go and change the title? In any case, the cavatina of your nice new opera is patched together out of the best phrases from a duet in *Ricciardo*: Ah! Nati in [sic] ver noi siamo…and Rossini hasn't even bothered to change the words!'" See Stendhal, *Life of Rossini*, trans. by Richard N. Coe (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970), 388-389.

momentum, and excitement. While the orchestral accompaniment remains in the background during the main lines of the cabaletta, the orchestra plays a more prominent role during the bridge and coda, adding requisite levels of Rossinian noise.[81] In the coda, the winds compete with the voices, overlapping Ricciardo and Zoraide's triplet rhythms in call-and-response patterns (see *Example 3.6*). Along with the increasing fervor of the additional layers of orchestration and triplet rhythms, the music twice crescendos into a noisy fortissimo (see *Examples 3.6* and *3.8*). Repetition, percussive rhythms, excitement, noisiness, and the constant use of crescendi: all of these musical elements likely contributed to the Anglo-Italian apperception of the cabaletta's infectiousness (see *Example 3.8*).



Example 3.7 Repetitive ending of Rossini, *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, Act II "Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo"

Many in Shelley's circle claimed to be unable to resist this duet and other Rossinian epidemics because of the extent of their immersion, like the "peasant inhabitants" they were observing, in an affecting sonic environment. For example, Leigh Hunt recalled how Lord Byron—Mary Shelley's prime example of an Anglo-Italian—regularly "lounged about, singing an air, generally out of Rossini" and would continue to sing while he bathed, dressed, left his house, and walked down the road.[82] Hunt explained that "Rossini was [Byron's] real

[81] Rossini's "noise" was a frequent criticism of Rossini's operas. For more on Rossini's noisiness, see Melina Esse, "Rossini's Noisy Bodies," Cambridge Opera Journal 21, no. 1 (March 2009): 27-64; Benjamin Walton, *Rossini in Restoration Paris: the Sound of Modern Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995); Senici, *Music in the Present Tense*, 117-123; Emily I. Dolan, *The Orchestral Revolution: Haydn and the Technologies of Timbre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[82] Leigh Hunt, *Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries with Recollections of the Author's Life and of his Visit to Italy, Vol. 1* 2nd Ed. (London, Henry Colburn, 1828, 126.

favourite" because he liked "his dash and animal spirits" and believed that the "best music…was lively."[83] He described the irrepressible force and ubiquity of such tunes as an outgrowth of the irrepressible spiritual energy of Italy.

Discursively speaking, then, Rossini's music infected Tuscany's inhabitants, as much as that music was folded into Tuscany's environmental landscape. Rossini's music, too, was heard to share musical components with the very insect that both fascinated and deafened Mary Shelley's circle in the countryside. The cicada's sounds, like Rossini's music, are full of percussive rhythms, deafening crescendi and noise, and of course, repetition.[84] Just as the Pisan circle had no respite from the chorus of cicadas, there was no escape from the Rossinian epidemic. The circle may have preferred Mozart's music and had an ambivalent relationship with the music of the "fashionable" Rossini.[85] But Byron's and the rest of the Shelley circle's susceptibility to Rossini's "epidemic airs" and immersion in the Tuscan countryside enabled their transformation from English tourists and cultural aliens to Mary Shelley's imagined "Anglo-Italian." In fact, Mary Shelley identified the Pisan circle as a musical-natural group. In a letter to Maria Gisborne, describing the Pisan circle and their creative work, Mary Shelley expressed that "Pisa, you see, has become a little nest of singing birds."[86] To become a true Anglo-Italian, according to Mary Shelley's criteria, required a truly environmental experience of being taken-up with and absorbed into the sounds of the Italian countryside. Once that sonic knowledge was fully acquired; only then was the formerly naive first-time tourist turned into an all-knowing Anglo-Italian savant.

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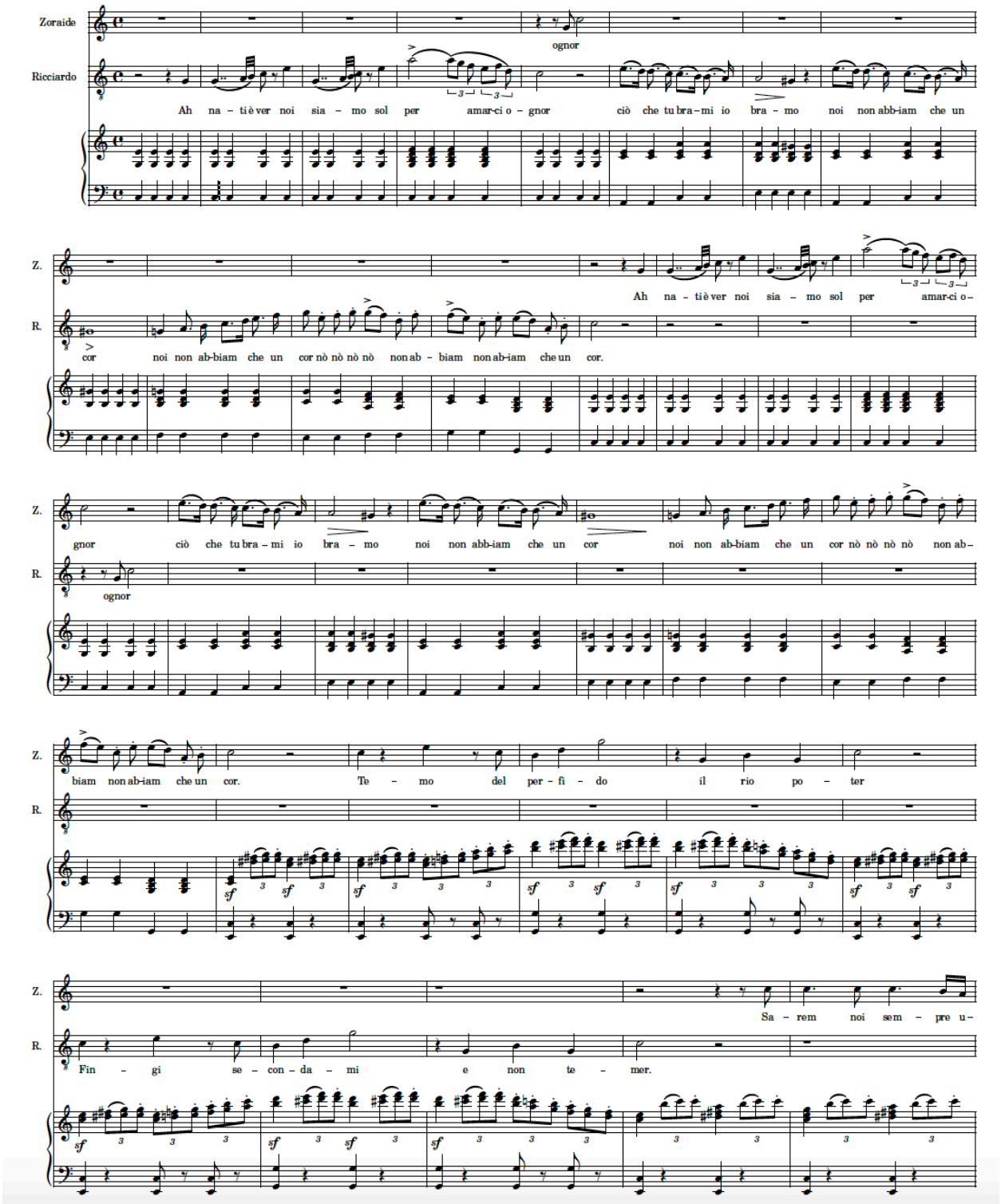
[83] Hunt, *Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries*, 127.

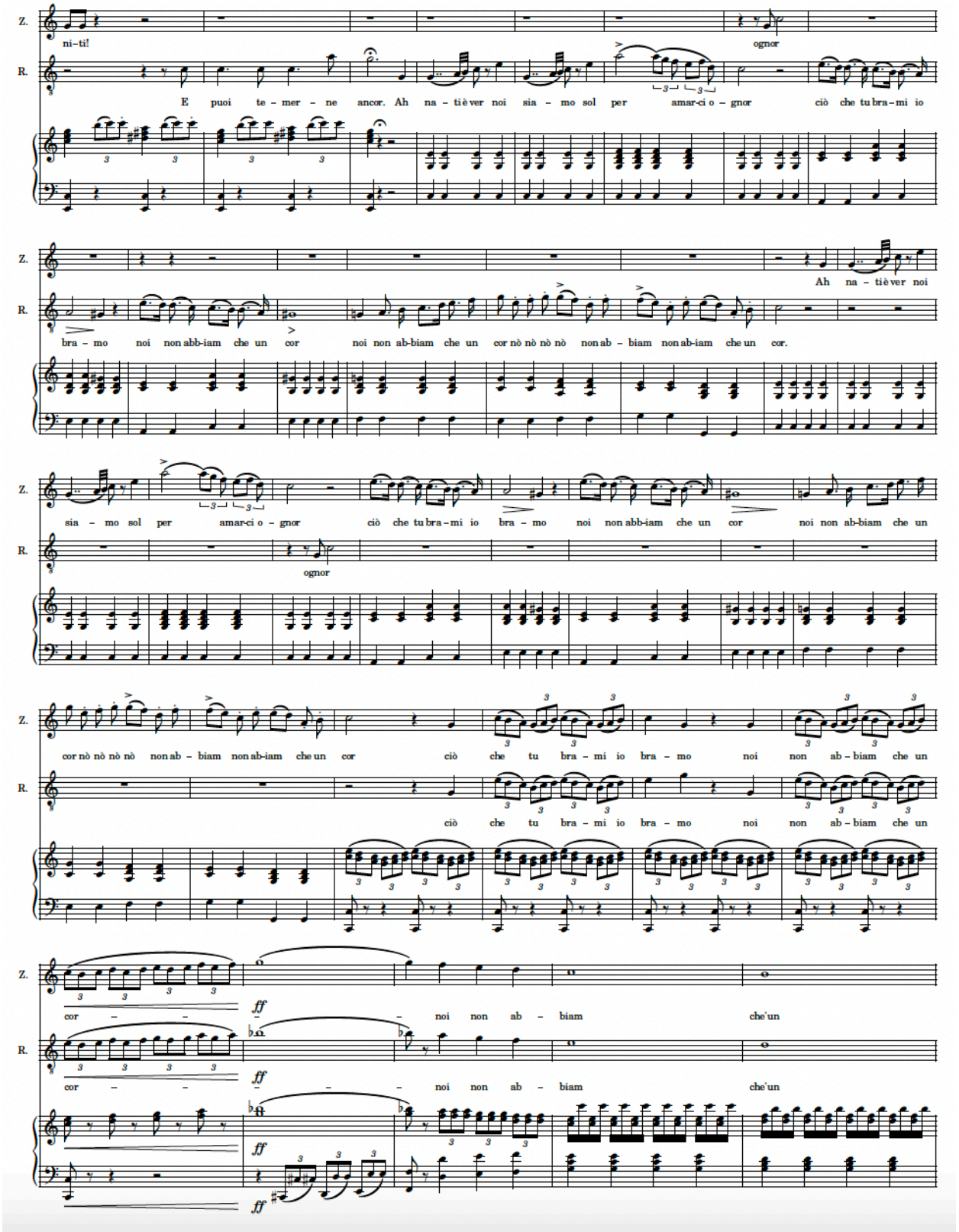
[84] The cicada produces its unique sounds with the use of an organ called the tymbal in its abdomen. The tymbal contains several ribs which buckle when the insect flexes its muscles. A click is heard every time a rib buckles, so when several ribs buckle, the vibration and loud buzzing occurs. See David Rothenberg, *Bug Music: How Insects Gave us Rhythm and Noise* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2013), 118.

[85] See, in particular, Mary Shelley's letter to Leigh Hunt, about a musical evening at the Novello home: Brunswick Square, October 20 & November 3, 1823 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 395.

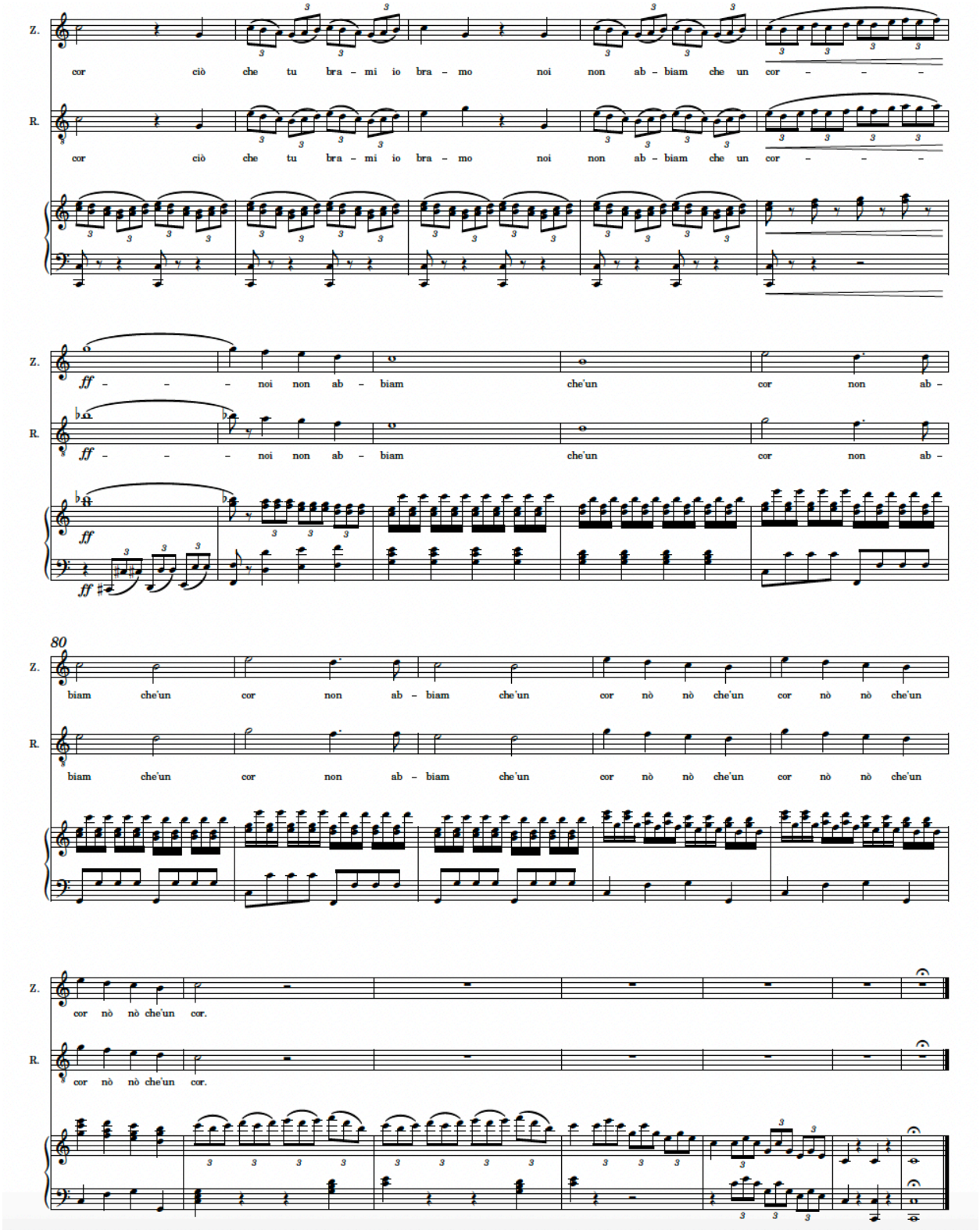
[86] Letter from Mary Shelley to Maria Gisborne, Pisa, November 30, 1821 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 209. Furthermore, she reported that the Shelleys' Pisan housing overlooked the countryside and the sea, "entirely out of the bustle and disagreeable puzzi&c—of the town" and that they lived across from Byron's Casa Lanfranchi and not far from Edward and Jane Williams.



Example 3.8 Rossini, *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, Act II "Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo"



Example 3.8 Rossini, *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, Act II "Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo", continued



Example 3.8 Rossini, *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, Act II "Ah! Nati, é ver, noi siamo", continued

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Listening to Englishness: The Glory of an "Ardent Italian-like Bard"

While Mary Shelley and her circle moved to Tuscany for personal, political, and health reasons, John Fane, Lord Burghersh, moved to Florence in 1814 to serve as the British Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty's government to the restored Granduchy of Tuscany, and to maintain a Tory presence in Tuscany when Napoleon was exiled to Elba.[87] Unlike Mary Shelley and her circle, who espoused radical politics, Burghersh belonged to a long-standing Tory family who embraced conservative politics.[88] Lord Burghersh remained Britain's representative to Tuscany until the Tories lost power in 1830.[89] His status as a noble Tory politician would have immediately prevented him from becoming Mary Shelley's version of an Anglo-Italian. Yet the Florentine press fawned over Burghersh's performances and his contribution to Florence's post-Napoleonic musical culture, to the extent that they eventually adopted the Lord and his Lady as one of their own. While Mary Shelley invented the figure of the Anglo-Italian to suit herself and without consultation from Italians, Burghersh was readily accepted as an Italianized Englishman by local critics and intellectuals.

During his tenure in Florence, the dilettante composer performed with elite Italian musicians, produced performances, and composed six operas. From 1821-1830, the performances of Burghersh's six operas operas (*Bajazet*, 1821, *La Fedra,* 1822, *L'Eroe di Lancastro,*1827, *Il Torneo*, 1828, *Lo Scompiglio Teatrale*, 1829, and *L'Assedio di Belgrado*,1830) , as well as his non-operatic compositions, served as the centerpieces for twenty-six private and prestigious *Accademie*, which were concert performances or staged productions in the small theater that had been constructed inside the Palazzo Ximenes, Burghersh's Florentine residence.[90] These performances were performed by a mixture of mostly English and Italian amateur and professional singers, including members of Florence's Pergola opera theatre troupe and the castrato Velluti, who sang the role of Ippolito in Burghersh's *La Fedra* in 1822, before creating the role of Armando in Meyerbeer's *Il crociato in Egitto*. The orchestral members were all professional, local musicians, save for several English amateur harpists.[91]

Unlike Mary Shelley, none of Burghersh's surviving letters and papers provide his perspective of musical activities in Florence: instead, the remaining evidence is provided by the Florentine reception of his *Accademie*. As Aubrey Garlington has shown, in his *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence*, the Florentine critics generally reported on the distinguished guests attending the performances and praised Burghersh's compositional skills, especially for his choral pieces and numbers requiring multiple harpists.[92] For example, in 1829, a

[87] See Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence,* 1-2.
[88] See Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence,* ix-x. Burghersh's father was the 10th Earl of Westmorland who served as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and Keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1811, Burghersh married the Duke of Wellington's favorite niece, Priscilla Wellseley-Pole, and by 1822 he joined the Privy Council.
[89] See Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence,* 2.
[90] Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence*, 2.
[91] See Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence*, 71-80.
[92] See Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence*, 71-83. In fact, the Florentine critics were more interested in reporting about the distinguished guests attending the events rather than the music in

Gazzetta di Firenze reporter provided details about the « egregio spartio », or worthy score, of *L'eroe di Lancastro*, in particular the opening battle Sinfonia, Lancastro's cavatina, two choruses, and the use of harps in the orchestral music.[93] A similar review followed in February 1830, this time for an *Accademia* featuring Burghersh's opera buffa *Lo scompiglio teatrale*: the writer highly praised the opera, and claimed that the numbers in the first act were « sono tutti pezzi che abbondano di vivace espressione », or pieces full of lively expression.[94]

Burghersh sought to promote his Italianized musical activities and success in Florence back in London. Here, I use Anglo-Italian not in Mary Shelley's sense of the term, but that Burghersh was an Englishman living in Italy, producing these operas along with a mixture of Italian and English performers, to an audience full of Italian and English guests. Burghersh sent his friend, William Ayrton, editor of *The Harmonicon*, a copy of the *Gazzetta*'s

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their reviews prior to 1827. For example, on 20 March 1819, the *Gazzetta di Firenze* reported about the guest list at Burghersh's *Accademia di musica* the previous evening: "Last evening His Excellency Lord Burghersh gave an *Accademia* of instrumental and vocal music that he himself had composed at his home which was honored by the presence of His Imperial and Royal Highness, the Heir Apparent and His August wife, the Archduchess Maria Anna, and her sister, Her Royal Highness, the Princess Amalia, Her Majesty, the Duchess of Parma, and the Royal Princess of Saxony, Her Imperial and Royal Highness Maria Teresa, and His Royal Highness, her consort, Prince Antonio" (Garlington's translation of "Notificazione," *Gazzetta di Firenze* no. 34 (March 20, 1819), 4. «Nella scorsa sera S.E. Lord Burghersh diede nel palazzo di sua abitazione un Accademia di musica strumentale e vocale da lui stesso composta. Questa festa fu onorata dalla presenza di S.A. I. e R. il nostro Principe Ereditario unitamente alla di lui Augusta Sposa, l'Arciuduehessa Maria Anna, e alla di Lei sorella S.A.R. la Principessa Amalia, da S.M. la Duchessa di Parma e dai Reali Principi di Sassonia, S.A.I. e R. l'Arciduchessa Maria Teresa, e S.A.R. il di lei consorte, il Principe Antonio.») Three years later, on November 20, 1822, the *Gazzetta* reported the premiere of Burghersh's *La Fedra*, featuring Velluti and other principal singers who were engaged with the Teatro della Pergola, as well as a few dilettante singers. But again, the social and aristocratic aspects of the evening were highlighted over musical details. The *Gazzetta*'s accounts of Burghersh's musical activities were increasingly more musically informative beginning in 1827. That year, a reporter praised selections from *La Fedra* and *L'eroe di Lancastro*, Burghersh's gifts and skills as a diplomat and composer, and the quality of the performance, especially by the English dilettante performers. Unlike previous reports of Burghersh's performances, this anonymous reporter focused on an aria and chorus from *L'eroe* that featured twelve harps. See Granducato di Toscana," *Gazzetta di Firenze* no. 42 (April 7, 1827), 4. In 1829, a critic provided details about the « egregio spartio », or worthy score, of *L'eroe di Lancastro*, in particular the opening battle Sinfonia, Lancastro's cavatina, two choruses, and the use of harps in the orchestral music. See "Granducato di Toscana," *Gazzetta di Firenze* no. 76 (June 25, 1829), 4.

[93] "Granducato di Toscana," *Gazzetta di Firenze* no. 76 (25 June 1829), 4. The reporter also shared that the Teatro della Pergola orchestra provided the accompaniment, while dilettante performers, both young and old, Florentine, and foreign, ably provided their talents in the chorus. But of course, the reporter noted that a lavish party followed the performance and lasted until 4 a.m.

[94] "Granducato di Toscana," *Gazzetta di Firenze* no. 17 (February 9, 1830), 4. The critic also appreciated some numbers in Act II, and explained that some of these numbers had in fact already been published by Ricordi. Just like the previous *Accademia*, the evening concluded with a grand and splendid party and dance, and both Lord and Lady Burghersh received lavish praise for their graciousness.

review of the 1828 *Accademie,* featuring selections from the operas *L'eroe di Lancastro* and *Il torneo.* In the accompanying letter, Burghersh expressed his wish that Ayrton could have attended the event to "hear & see the manner in which I have put it up" and revealed that many of the performers were in fact English: "the chorus of 20 almost the whole of which for the honour of England in English, eleven out of fourteen harps that executed the Quartett were played by our country women." [95] In the 1828 volume of *The Harmonicon*, Ayrton featured a translation of the *Gazzetta* article as a "Foreign Musical Report," informing English readers of Burghersh's Anglo-Italian musical activities:

> The execution of this music was intrusted (sic.) to different professori and dilettanti of note, as well of our city as of English visitants. The harps were fourteen in number and played by as many young ladies. The choruses were sustained by no less than forty noble ladies, who were arrayed in dresses of a uniform and beautiful kind, and their hair adorned with wreaths of white flowers … and presented a most beautiful spectacle, certainly unrivalled in any theatre.[96]

The Florentine journalist seemingly exaggerated the number of female choristers and provided more credit to the Florentine dilettantes and *professori* than to the English "visitants" involved in the performance, while Burghersh seemed quite proud of his compatriots' performances. Furthermore, the critic explained that "several pieces of the music in question produced so deep an impression that no one could refrain from bursting into prolonged applauses.[97] Finally, the critic lauded Burghersh's works as "the living features of genius."[98]

As the Florentine and British press praised the productions of Burghersh's operas and his Italian and English performers, Burghersh became evermore integrated within Florence's society and the Florentine press treated him with continuous praise. Burghersh and his wife seemingly received this type of public recognition and honor to the almost total exclusion of other elegant residents and dignitaries of the city, native as well as foreign, precisely because of Burghersh's status as a dilettante composer who hosted these elegant evenings. In fact, from 1827 through 1829, Burghersh was the only individual cited by name in the customary, traditional article following the *Carnevale* season that reflected on the state of the city. According to Aubrey Garlington, such treatment in Florentine practice was a particular honor, the local press indigenizing Burghersh as one of the city's own.[99]

In fact, Burghersh's reputation as a distinctive contributor to Florentine culture was confirmed beyond public journalism. In *Diary of an Ennuyée* (1826), the book that Mary Shelley lambasted as non-Anglo-Italian in her "English in Italy" review, Anna Brownell

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[95] 24 April 1828 letter from Burghersh to William Ayrton. GB, Lbl, Additional MSS no. 52340, "William Ayrton, correspondence and papers."
[96] [William Ayrton,] "Foreign Musical Report: Report" *The Harmonicon* Vol. 6 (1828), 140.
[97] [William Ayrton,] "Foreign Musical Report: Report" *The Harmonicon* Vol. 6 (1828), 140.
[98] [William Ayrton,] "Foreign Musical Report: Report" *The Harmonicon* Vol. 6 (1828), 140.
[99] Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence*, 105.

Jameson's protagonist became deeply enamored with Florence, where "love, music, and devotion hold divided empire, or rather are *tria juncta in uno*. The liberal patronage and fine taste of Lord Burghersh, contribute perhaps to make music so much a *passion* as it is at present."[100] Jameson had somehow come to believe that it was through music, and not just elegant social occasions, that Lord Burghersh contributed to the city's well-being.

At least one English visitor recognised essentially Italian traits in the failure to separate out the classes at Burghersh's performances. On 25 March 1830, Lord Burghersh produced another performance of *La Fedra,* initiating a season of farewells before the Fanes' departure from Florence. The *Gazzetta* did not report on this event, but the Whig aristocrat and politician, Charles Greville, wrote about the event and other musical experiences during his visit to Florence in his journal of Continental travels. Greville's account is the only personal account of Burghersh's musical activities in Florence by an Englishman. Greville called on Lord Burghersh on 23 March, after breakfasting with Lord Normanby—the Whig politician who was, according to Mary Shelley, decidedly not "Anglo-Italian"—, and described the frantic scene at the Burghersh home, two days before the performance. Burghersh "was at breakfast—the table covered with manuscript music, a pianoforte, two fiddles, and a fiddler in the room. He was full of composition and getting up his opera of 'Phaedra' for to-morrow night."[101] Unlike the *Gazzetta* reporters, however, he found the following evening's performance, as well as the audience and gathering quite distasteful:

> Here all the society of Florence was assembled in nearly equal proportions of Italians, English, and other foreigners. Nothing can be worse than it is, for there is no foundation of natives; people who come here from want of money or want of character. Everybody is received without reference to their conduct, past or present, with the exception, perhaps, of Englishwomen who have been divorced, whose case is too notorious to allow the English minister's wife to present them at Court.[102]

This Anglo-Italian musical experience proved too much for Greville: the *Accademia* did not provide the ordered class structure he experienced in England, and the mixed social environment at Burghersh's opera was too much to handle.

Nevertheless, a long article affirming Burghersh's talents and *Accademie* appeared in the *Gazzetta* a few weeks later in advance of the Fanes' departure from Florence in early May 1830. The accolades were even more effusive than previous articles, Burghersh being regarded as an illustrious composer, whose artistic intelligence and genius were specifically noteworthy in all the choral numbers.[103] The critic praised the individual performers, both

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[100] Anna Brownell Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée* (Paris: Baudry's European Library,1836), 40.
[101] Charles Greville, *The Greville Memoirs: A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV, King Willliam IV, and Queen Victoria* Vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904), 306.
[102] Greville, *The Greville Memoirs*, 308.
[103] "Granducato di Toscana," *Supplemento alla Gazzetta di Firenze* no. 46 (April 17, 1830), 4. «L'intelligenza dell'arte e il Genio brillano specialmente in questi pezzi e nei Cori tutti.»

the *dilettanti* and the first class voice teachers.[104] The article concluded with a lengthy quotation from Milan's periodical, *Il censore universale dei teatri* of Milano, which stated that Burghersh had honored Italy by applying himself to opera, «al nostro genere di musica», or "our musical genre."[105] The article further claimed that audience members were struck by the power of *La Fedra* and the extent to which the composer idolized Italian melody. The critic also admired the inventiveness of Burghersh's instrumentation, the melodic suaveness of the vocal lines, and his exquisite taste.[106] The article concluded with words of praise that the *improvvisatore* and close friend of the Shelleys, Tommaso Sgricci, imparted « al nobile Lord », "our noble Lord":

> Your genius found its way to Fedra's obsessions which inspired you to pen golden notes which flowed like the blazing tears of a swan. Then through sound you swiftly evoked Theseus's glorious son. Ardent Italian-like Bard! You believed yourself able to depict the excellence of antiquity, and your great heart wept.[107]

"Italian-like Bard": by the time he left Florence in May 1830, Burghersh was deemed thus by, not only the Florentine and Milanese press, but also the Shelleys' favourite, Sgricci. Only, in this case, Sgricci, who heard the philosophic sounds of classical antiquity, was the listener, rather than the "listened-to."

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Return to London

As I have shown, Mary Shelley invented the figure of the Anglo-Italian in 1826 to suit herself and in defiance of the need to consult with actual human Italians, while Burghersh was readily accepted as an Italianized Englishman by Italian critics and intellectuals. Upon their return to England, both Mary Shelley and Lord Burghersh opportunistically weaponized their status as Anglo-Italians in attempts to influence musical culture in London. There, Shelley styled herself as the authoritative critical voice on Italy, whereas Burghersh devoted his energies to practical institution-building: beginning with the founding and directing of the Royal Academy of Music as an Italian-style conservatory.

Shelley's "Anglo-Italian," indeed, may have been a cynical construction. After settling back in England, the grieving Mary Shelley had financial reasons to capitalize on her Italian experiences, in the hope of becoming a cultural authority. When she first arrived in London,

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[104] "Granducato di Toscana," *Supplemento alla Gazzetta di Firenze* no. 46 (April 17, 1830), 4.
[105] "Granducato di Toscana," *Supplemento alla Gazzetta di Firenze* no. 46 (April 17, 1830), 4.
[106] "Granducato di Toscana," *Supplemento alla Gazzetta di Firenze* no. 46 (April 17, 1830), 4.
[107] "Granducato di Toscana," *Supplemento alla Gazzetta di Firenze* no. 46 (April 17, 1830), 4. «Quando col Genio tuo stretto a consiglio Nelle smanie di Fedra t'insparsi, Pioveanti ardenti lagrime dal ciglio, E col pianto le note a uree vergasti. Ma poi che di Teséo l'inclito figlio Col suono imitator ratto evocasti, Bardo d'italo ardir, pinger credesti Virtudi antiche, e il tuo gran cor pingesti.» Garlington's translation in Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence*, 94.

she privately wrote about her missing the land, sounds, and music of Italy, as well as her Anglo-Italian circle. In a letter to Thomas Jefferson Hogg, Shelley complained about England as a "sunless country" and that "All is desolate—Streets, mud—cockneyism—ballad singers—cries—hackney coaches—lodgings—cheerless solitude—what a compound! Let me turn from it."[108] A few weeks later, she wrote to Leigh Hunt that she had recently celebrated his birthday at Vincent Novello's home. She apparently had missed Italian mannerisms (or the mannerisms of her Anglo-Italians), for Vincent's Italian father, Frank Novello "transports me into Italy by his very best kind of Italian face, manners & speech; his voice too is very delightful, and was the only very good voice there." [109] But she desperately missed Hunt and Italy: "In short, I sigh ardently for Italy, and would give ten worlds to have celebrated your birthday with you at Florence, delighted as I was by the Paradise of Sweet Sounds at the Novellos."[110] Several months later, she wrote to Marianne Hunt that her "only public amusement is the Opera, which is inexpressibly delightful to me."[111] A year later, she wrote to Leigh Hunt that she thought of "Italy as of a vision of Delight afar off" and that she attended the "Opera sometimes merely for the sake of seeing my dear Italians & listening to that glorious language in its perfection."[112]

The Anglo-Italian was public by the middle of 1826, Mary Shelley having cast herself, not only as "Anglo-Italicus" defending Velluti in the *Examiner* and in her review of "The English in Italy," but also in her essay, "A Visit to Brighton." Her latter essay contains a strong affirmation of "Anglo-Italian taste," where Shelley interprets Italian opera, in particular, as an instrument of symbolic domination:

> I like to … be secure of hearing the best performers and singers at concerts, and go to the opera where Pasta and Velluti are strung to the top of their bent, at the sight of the accomplished amateurs and Italianized English, who are certainly better judges for their partiality for cadence and bravura.[113]

She, too, was amused by observing these "Italianized English" at the King's Theatre:

> I know of no civilised congregation of men and lovely women more delightful to look upon than the audience of an Italian opera; when every ear and eye is enchanted by the thrilling tones of Pasta in Medea, or by the pathos and truth of her identification with the hapless Nina; --or when Velluti appears in the

[108] Letter from Mary Shelley to Thomas Jefferson Hogg, Brunswick Square, October 18, 1823 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 395.
[109] Letter from Mary Shelley to Leigh Hunt, Brunswick Square, October 20 & November 3, 1823 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 395.
[110] Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 397.
[111] Letter from Mary Shelley to Marianne Hunt, London, June 13, 1824 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 426.
[112] Letter from Mary Shelley to Leigh Hunt, Kentish Town, June 27, 1825 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 491.
[113] [Mary Shelley,] "A Visit to Brighton," *The London Magazine* 6 (December 1826), 461.

> Crocciato or Aureliano, graceful as the imaginative dream of a love-sick girl, exciting respect by that mixture of dignified appeal to our best sympathies.[114]

Mary Shelley betrayed her strategic manipulation of an invented Anglo-Italianness in a letter to John Howard Payne in 1826, by describing how she succeeded in passing off as an Italian lady during a night at the opera with her friend and fellow widow Jane Williams:

> We spoke Italian all the time [and] were not the least annoyed to be sure as we quitted the house, one or two parties turned enquiring glances on the ladies without shadows … how odd shadowless ladies, but our Italian changed the surprise into ah! Foreign ladies often have no shadows –We were comfortably situated as far as the respectability of *nos alentours* went … One old lady beside me with her glass tried to follow the English of the Italian in her book. I put her right as far as I could in dumb show. But when she obstinately turned over the pages of the 2nd act of the 'Crociato' in search of the words of Nina I saw no hope of setting her right except by speaking and that was not in the bond – I could understand a little English but not speak a word. The personage before me offered me his book – Apparement, Madame vous etes etrangere, voulez vous vous profitez de non livre? In my character of Italian I accepted his civility, as an English person I could not.[115]

Mary Shelley's claim to Anglo-Italian authority and distinction allowed her to pass among a group of unversed English opera attendees, due to her familiarity with and knowledge of Italian manners and language. Furthermore, the educational role of the Anglo-Italian was reinforced by Mary Shelley's interceding on the behalf of the 'old lady' who could not follow the libretto at the King's Theatre.[116]

While Mary Shelley attempted to use her Anglo-Italianess as a cultural critic, Burghersh used his Italian sonic credentials to assert control over music pedagogy and performance in London. Already in 1822, having proposed the founding of the Royal Academy of Music, Burghersh's correspondence with fellow founders reveals that he advocated for an Italian-style academy rather than a French conservatoire.[117] In fact, Burghersh shifted his attention from composing, producing, and performing Anglo-Italian operatic productions in Florence, to cultivating the next generation of English musicians in strictly Italian pedagogical styles.

Since its inception in 1823, the Royal Academy of Music aimed at providing institutional recognition to both Italian and English pedagogical styles, with faculty comprising instructors of both nationalities. In fact, a third of the original instructors were

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[114] [Mary Shelley,] "A Visit to Brighton," *The London Magazine* 6 (December 1826), 461.
[115] Letter from Mary Shelley to John Howard Payne, Kentish Town, June 11, 1826 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 519-520.
[116] Letter from Mary Shelley to John Howard Payne, Kentish Town, June 11, 1826 in Bennett, ed. *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 519-520.
[117] Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence*, 112.

Italian musicians and pedagogues, including Muzio Clementi (keyboard instruction); Domenico Crivelli and Giovanni Liverati (singing); Carlo Coccia (composition); Domenico Dragonetti (double bass) and Paolo Spagnoletti (violin); and Giovanni Puzzi (horn). Several of the other English-born instructors were either descendants of Italian immigrants or students of Italian pedagogues.[118] Velluti, too, taught briefly in 1825, in no small part due to Burghersh's influence.[119] All vocal students were required to study Italian for four hours a week and to complete a regular course of *solfeggio* before they could move to more advanced vocal studies.[120] Yet Burghersh and his board hoped to cultivate an English style of singing coming from the local choral tradition as well: the Academy's board entrusted the teaching of English singing to choir masters and singers of the likes of William Hawes, William Knyvett, and George Smart.[121]

After losing his post in Florence due to the Tories' defeat in 1830, Burghersh returned to England and assumed full control of the Royal Academy of Music. Just as he produced his music in Florence, Burghersh sought to combine the administration of the Academy with the promotion of his own music as a new means of self-satisfaction. He therefore produced a performance of his opera, *Catherine, or the Austrian Captive* at the King's Theatre on 6 November 1830, sung by students from the Academy. William Ayrton, Burghersh's friend, praised the opera in his review for the *Harmonicon*, alleging that the performance "created a new era in music, and which doubtless will give a powerful impulse to the art, stimulating professors … to endeavor to keep pace with an amateur."[122] According to Ayrton, not only did Burghersh usher in a new era in music, but he also employed a new English "style of his own, and is no plagiarist." [123] But only Ayrton seemed to appreciate Burghersh's style in the periodical press, and the composer had no further compositional successes in London.[124]

None of this is to imply that Burghersh was not an insufferable snob. Under his direction, according to its early bourgeois chroniclers, the young Academy moved from one state of crisis to another, due in no small part to Burghersh's imperious manner and

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[118] For example, the violinist Nicholas Mori was the son of Italian wig-makers and studied with Viotti; while the cellist Robert Lindley studied with James Cervetto (son of the Italian Jewish cellist Giacobbe Basevi Cervetto) and frequently performed with the double bassist Dragonetti. W.W. Cazalet, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music, Compiled by Authentic Sources* (London : T. Bosworth, 1854), 23. For information on individual instructors, see *Grove Music Online.*

[119] Cazalet, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music*, 26.

[120] Claudio Vellutini, "Interpreting the Italian Voice in London (and Elsewhere)," in *London Voices, 1820-1840: Performers, Practices, Histories* ed. Roger Parker and Susan Rutherford (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 62.

[121] Vellutini, "Interpreting the Italian Voice in London (and Elsewhere),"62.

[122] [William Ayrton,] "The Drama: King's Theatre" *The Harmonicon* Vol. 8 (1830), 525.

[123] [William Ayrton,] "The Drama: King's Theatre" *The Harmonicon* Vol. 8 (1830), 525. "[B]ut if he inclines to any one school, it is that of Mozart. He is wholly guiltless of the fault of almost every other dramatic composer of the day, that of imitating the great musical idol of the age, Rossini. Not a passage, not a single phrase, can be traced to this source; a fact which, at least shows independence, and the consciousness of a strength that disdains all appeal to popular prejudice."

[124] Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence*, 112.

mistreatment of faculty and students [125] Furthermore, when Burghersh proposed the founding of the Academy in 1822, he was too far removed from London to observe its changing musical scene and to understand the needs of the Academy. According to triumphalist historians, the Academy all but failed as an educational institution and would have been forced to close, were it not for Burghersh's financial wrangling.[126] Upon the Tories' return to power in 1841, however, Burghersh, now the Lord Westmorland, was officially posted to Berlin and attempted to meddle with musical culture, there, instead.[127] We could say that, as a music-maker rather than a listener, Burghersh fell victim to the rise of the newly "liberal" listening subject, "liberals" being those sensitive and well-educated souls who consumed rather than made culture. Such liberals, that is, idealized aural experience above all. Ironically perhaps, they ranked sonic knowing through solitary immersion in listening as higher than sonic knowing through socially sanctioned acts of composition and performance.

Thus ends this journey of two very different types of Anglo-Italians. By offering this historical anthropology of sound, I have revealed the political hypocrisies of the radical Mary Shelley and her circle, who betrayed their hegemonic and "outsider outlook" on Italian culture by recording their condescending views of noisy "inhabitants." Furthermore, I have shown how the Pisan circle's immersive "acoustemological" experiences—that is, their listening to the sounds of the Tuscan countryside and becoming infected by Rossinian musical "epidemics"—transformed them into Mary Shelley's version of "Anglo-Italians." As the Pisan circle became integrated within Italian culture and the Tuscan environment, their listening subjects—especially the farm laborers singing Rossini in the fields—were rendered all but inaudible, fading into the landscape and losing all semblance of agency. The denizens of the Pisan circle, in these ways, at once romanticized and harvested the sonic world of Tuscany and the people of Italy for their own purposes. Meanwhile, the Tory politician Lord Burghersh apparently treated his Italian musicians with more respect and agency than the Pisan circle, and his Italian associates treated him in kind and even valorised him, although they might have been doing so for political reasons as well. Yet we have also seen how both Shelley and Burghersh made claims to sonic knowledge from Italy to strategically elevate their own authority in the context of London's culture. On the one hand, for Mary Shelley, sound was the primary means for an individual to access privileged knowledge of Italy, which in turn transformed an individual into the so-called Anglo-Italian race. On the other hand, for Burghersh, sound acted for the purposes of diplomacy and exchange. It was not merely the role of the sonic and sonic knowledge; it was the *claim* to sonic and sonic knowledge that, in the final analysis, counted utmost when it came to cultivating relationships between town and country, listener and performer, non-environment and environment, Britain and Italy.

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[125] See Frederick Corder, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music, from 1822-1922* (London: F. Corder, 1922), 27-45.
[126] Corder, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music*, 27-45.
[127] Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence*, 112.

EPILOGUE

PAGANINI AND AN ANGLO-ITALIAN MUSICAL SYNERGY, 1831-1834

"Finally, the moment has come that I have longed for so much, to see London!"[1] Niccolò Paganini wrote these words during his tour in Berlin on 26 February 1829 to Lord Burghersh. The virtuoso violinist and the British diplomat and composer had been plotting a London tour for a few years: they previously met when Paganini performed in Florence in 1818 and 1827. Soprano Angelica Catalani had previously invited the violinist to join her return tour to London in 1828, yet Paganini hoped to concertize on his terms only. In 1826, he wrote to his lawyer, Luigi Guglielmo Germi that "Catalani would like to bind me to her company to London; but I do not want this."[2] Paganini finally arrived in London from Paris on 14 May 1831, on the heels of a successful concert tour throughout the continent.

I end my dissertation with the reception of Paganini's concert tours in London, between 1831-1834, not only because this case study relates to the themes of my chapters, but also because it illustrates the importance of the subject construction of the "Anglo-Italian." Chapter 1 of my dissertation examined Anglo-Italian musical material, economic, and global relations through Clementi's circulating musical products. First, I show how Paganini's economic calculations to reach London, the scathing critiques of his admission prices, and his influence on Paganini imitators as far afield as Calcutta, continue my story from Chapter 1. Chapter 2 discussed an Anglo-Italian *buffo* aesthetic by way of Naldi's and Ambrogetti's reception in London. Similarly, I demonstrate that Paganini's status as a comedic, improvisational, and carnivalesque performer and his mixed reception in London extends on chapter findings on the history of laughter. Chapter 3 explored Anglo-Italian anthropologies of sound in the cases of Mary Shelley's and Lord Burghersh's sonic experiences in Tuscany. Burghersh's involvement in bringing Paganini to London aside, I show how the violinist attracted the critical attention of such journalists as Leigh Hunt and Thomas Love Peacock (both writers involved with the Shelley circle); and how their reviews of selected performances betray the extent to which he was said to purview an environmental ethos in his music, not unlike the ethos purportedly perceived by the Pisan circle in Tuscany. I further demonstrate that the British reviews of Paganini's performances in London more closely resembled that of his Italian reception, which described the violinist in terms of neoclassical ideas and imagery, rather than the Romantic and gothic tropes contemporaneously used on the continent. Finally, I return to Francis Jeffrey's 1807 review of *Corinne*, in which he claimed that the English character resembles more closely that of an ancient Roman, than a modern Italian. I argue that, to these British critics, as Paganini's playing invoked the atmosphere of ancient Rome in London, they appropriated the violinist

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[1] "Ecco finalmente il momento da me tanto desiderato di veder Londra!" See Paganini's letter to Lord Burghersh, 26 February, 1829, reprinted in *Niccolo Paganini Epistolario, a cura di Roberto Grisley* (Milan, Italy: Acccademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 2006), 452-453.

[2] "La Catalani vorrebbe legarmi in società con lei per Londra; ma io non lo voglio." See Paganini's letter to Germi on April 6, 1826, reprinted in *Niccolo Paganini Epistolario, a cura di Roberto Grisley* (Milan, Italy: Acccademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 2006), 289.

into their ancestry. The virtuoso's reception in London, therefore, not only recapitulates the themes of this dissertation, but also reveals an Anglo-Italian musical synergy between the "extremes of civilized Europe."[3]

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In the weeks prior to Paganini's arrival in London in May 1831, the material and economic disharmony so typical of Anglo-Italian entanglement were exposed for all to see. Londoners awoke to several reporters' and readers' scathing critiques and defenses of Paganini's admission prices to his concerts at the King's Theatre. As was his practice throughout his concert tours, Paganini charged double the usual admissions price. Yet, as several English writers observed, baseline prices at the King's Theatre were even more expensive than on the Continent; they did not find the cost justifiable for a mere soloist and orchestra, as opposed to full operatic productions, which were justifiably expensive. Paganini's critics blamed the King's Theatre manager, Pierre François Laporte, for shrewdly taking advantage of English prosperity and national character, while several rumors of Paganini's miserliness abounded. For example, a *Times* reporter lambasted the proposed price as "one of those extravagancies which could only have entered the head of a foreigner, who had beforehand arrived at the happy conviction, moreover, of the infinite gullibility of the English nation."[4] The following day, a letter to the editor printed in the same newspaper demanded "to know why John Bull should suffer such imposition as is evidently intended to be practiced upon his pockets" and "why are we to pay so much more for the gratification than our neighbours," deeming the situation a "downright imposition upon the British public."[5] At least one correspondent wanted to give the violinist the benefit of the doubt, as perhaps he was "never informed" of English baseline prices.[6] Yet another writer sought to put an end to the complaints and insisted that Paganini's critics were "mistak[ing]" the controversy "for a question of art. It is no such thing."[7] The same writer launched into an extended disquisition on the economics of price and demand: "suppose", the writer continued, "Paganini finds the house crowded at his increased charges, then he will that he has calculated correctly, and the public will thereby have admitted that he knows his own value better than they do. But suppose he is greeted by a beggarly account of empty benches, that no doubt he will … reduce his price." [8] The writer concluded that "Paganini, like any other marketable commodity, is worth just so much as he will bring, and no more."[9] Like Clementi, to harken back to Chapter 1, the violinist was often described here as an item of exchangeable property – a saleable antiquity – brought to English shores to expand the repository of canonic musical knowledge, and advance knowhow and wealth.

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[3] See [Jeffrey, Francis], "Review of 'Corinne, ou l'Italie," *Edinburgh Review* 11 (1807): 183.
[4] "Laporte and Paganini," *The Times* (May 19, 1831), 3.
[5] "Paganini," *The Times* (May 19, 1831), 3.
[6] "Paganini's Concert," *The Times* (May 21,1831), 2.
[7] "Chat and Miscellanies," *The Tatler* (May 26, 1831), 227.
[8] "Chat and Miscellanies," *The Tatler* (May 26, 1831), 227.
[9] "Chat and Miscellanies," *The Tatler* (May 26, 1831), 227.

Paganini was no passive combatant in this marketing war. His responses to the controversy reveal why he wanted to perform in London in the first place. A letter written by "friends of Paganini" defended the violinist and blamed the controversy on Laporte, who had failed to inform Paganini of standard English admission prices. "How, then, can it be fairly imputed to a foreigner on his first arrival in England, totally unacquainted with the usages and habits of the country, and ignorant of the national character," they argued, that "he should be the person to hazard any measure calculated to excite."[10] They insisted that Paganini would never want to provoke "public indignation or distaste" because "it is evidently so greatly to his interest to conciliate, the favor of a nation whom he justly considers as the most zealous in their patronage of the arts?"[11] Paganini himself flattered the English public in a similar way when he wrote a letter to *The Times*, translated by the editor, which was printed on the eve of his first performance: "I feel the duty of announcing it myself to implore the favour of the English nation, which honours the arts as much as I respect it."[12] His defense, once again, was that he had been ignorant of baseline prices:

> Accustomed in all the nations of the continent to double the ordinary prices of the theatre where I have given my concerts, and little instructed in the customs of this capital, in which I present myself for the first time, I did believe that I could do the same: but informed by many of the journals that the prices already established there are higher than those on the continent, and having myself seen that the observation was just, I second willingly the desire of a public, the esteem and the good will of which I ambition as my first recompense.[13]

Paganini, evidently, was now fixed to relent.

Notwithstanding the violinist's willingness to "second … the desire of the public," economic critique, encompassing moral as much as financial concerns, clouded Paganini's reception even until his last performances in 1834.[14] The majority of articles written about the violinist made a point to enumerate how much money he pocketed after each performance. In addition, several caricatures of Paganini lampooned the wealth he accumulated on tour. The inscription of one such caricature indicated that Paganini received "the homage of 5,000 persons, after having pocketed £2,000 for two hours performance."[15] Other caricaturists alleged that Paganini had already earned more money in London than throughout the Continent altogether. On one hand, such caricatures might be taken in good faith: here was a musician taking advantage of London's prosperity as well as betrayed English stereotypes of Italians as stingy, as they included inscriptions such as "score of his

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[10] "Laporte and Paganini," *The Times* (May 19, 1831), 7-8.
[11] "Substance of the articles between Signor Paganini and M. Laporte (from the *Observer*)," *The Times* (May 23, 1831), 3.
[12] "Paganini: To the Editor of the Times," *The Times* (June 2, 1831), 2.
[13] "Paganini: To the Editor of the Times," *The Times* (June 2, 1831), 2.
[14] "Paganini: To the Editor of the Times," *The Times* (June 2, 1831), 2.
[15] Reprinted in Leslie Sheppard and Herbert R. Axelrod, *Paganini* (Neptune City, N.J.: Paganiniana Publications 1979), 355.

pecuniary harvests since 1825" and that the receipt totals did not include "innumerable sums at Private Concerts, Presents, &c."[16] On the other hand, these caricatures confirmed London's status as the world's economic center, as well as the city's importance, three years before Victoria's coronation, as the most powerful financial hub for musical exchange globally.

Positive regard for the Genoese violinist clearly outstripped negative complaint, as copycat Paganinis appeared throughout British dominions in the wake of his successes in London. An impersonator calling himself the "English Paganini," for example, performed several successful concerts at Sadler's Wells. The phenomenon of "Paganinis … springing up like the armed men of Cadmus," as described in the *Harmonicon*'s "Diary of a Dilettante," even spread to Calcutta, in which an English violinist named Mason Italianized his name to Signor Masoni and impersonated the virtuoso.[17] As a writer for the *Asiatic Journal* reported, Masoni's benefit Concert at the Town Hall on 17 February 1831 "electrif[ied] the musical world at Calcutta," and was "spoken of in terms of astonishment," not only for his "command over the violin," but for his skills as an "able improvvisatore."[18] Just as Clementi's musical products were mass produced and circulated eventually throughout the Empire, so too was Paganini's style and persona.

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An entire corpus of contemporary criticism, then, condemned this hype, questioning the economic and moral value of circulating and reproducing such expensive objects of commercial exchange, the violinist's now-priceless Guarneri del Gesù, "Il Cannone," not excepted. Yet, after the controversy over ticket prices eventually settled down, several English reviews of Paganini's performances recognized his comic potential, as well as his technical brilliance and genius, pointing to our second theme. Chapter 2 argued that self-professed "Anglo-Italians" valued a newly elevated form of mirth or comedic spectacle in London, and that the standard story of an emergent anti-comic Victorian morality in the 1830s is barely more than partial. Indeed, we would do well to interrogate what "comedy," as a contested category, or "laughter," as more than a mere spontaneous outburst, meant in this context. This is not to say, as we have seen, that Paganini was above ridicule. Rather it is to observe that select critics clung to the ethos of an Aristotelian view of laughter that had a self-critical and reformist logic – to describe the mixture of sentiments they felt, and the plaintive laughter induced for Paganini's audiences, at the same time as they found a new interest in musical characterization. A careful review of his reception, that is, demands an appreciation for ambiguity.

Dana Gooley has worked to counter one-dimensional conceits of comedy, laughter, and the idea of "Romanticism" in view of Paganini. In his 2005 article, "'La commedia del violino': Paganini's Comic Strains," he reorients pervasive Romantic tropes applied to Paganini, tropes that lend themselves to exaggeration, misunderstanding, and ridicule.

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[16] Reprinted in Sheppard and Axelrod, *Paganini*, 370-37.
[17] "Diary of a Dilettante," *The Harmonicon* Vol. 9 No. 9 (September 27, 1831), 226-227.
[18] As quoted in "Diary of a Dilettante," *The Harmonicon* Vol. 9 No. 9 (September 27, 1831), 227.

Surveying press discourse characteristic of his European tours, Gooley claims that Paganini only became a "Romantic virtuoso" late in his career in 1828.[19] Overblown tales and myths of Paganini's demonic possession, acts of murder, imprisonment, and depression, which later provided a performative foil to the pretentions of such central European and Romantic heroes as Liszt, Chopin, and Schumann, all struggled with and against the Genoese performer's reception in Europe, but never appeared (so argues Gooley) in Italian reviews. Though skeptical and often antagonistic, the reviews of Paganini's concerts throughout Italy, where he played exclusively until 1828, show that Italian writers never associated his name with the word "Romanticism." Instead, according to Gooley, the Italian reviews from 1813-1827 described the violinist in terms of neoclassical ideas, metaphors, and images, whereas modern Romantic and gothic tropes were incubated on the Continent. Gooley writes that, for his countrymen, Paganini (more often than not) played like Apollo or the "angel of Paradise, was the "Genoese Orfeo," and drew power from the "harmony of the spheres."[20] Furthermore, Italian writers brightly characterized the violinist's virtuosity in terms of "wonders" and "miracles," and compared him to his Italian artistic predecessors. Take a review from the *Gazzetta di Genova* from 7 September 1814:

> With the fourth string alone he combined, so to speak, the sounds and notes like Raphael and Michaelangelo combined light and colors on canvas … it would not be surprising if he went down to the hell of the medium demons of Tasso, Dante, Virgil, and Orpheus, all of which he has already tamed with his miraculous violin.[21]

As Gooley argues, Italians did indeed recognize Paganini's originality and extravagance, but they did so without discussing his psychology, anatomy, or supposed irreligion. Gooley is surely right to rescue Paganini's reputation and music from the tropes of an anachronistic, dominant, and solely "Romantic" figuration; though such salvage may also be achieved via an assessment of the musical relationships fostered between Britain and Italy, as explored below, wherein "Paganini" appears as a specifically Anglo-Italian essence.

Because of the lack of detailed musical reviews published in Italian principalities, Gooley uses concert programs and musical evidence to demonstrate that Paganini was most likely received "at home" as a theatrical and comic performer. Gooley explains that Paganini's concerts simulated a night at the opera by beginning both halves of his concerts with overtures, playing concert variation sets based on popular operatic melodies (e.g. "Nel cor più non mi sento" from Paisiello's *La molinara*, "Dal tuo stellato soglio" from Rossini's *Mosè in Egitto*, etc.), and by interspersing operatic arias sung by star singers throughout his concerts.[22] Gooley further demonstrates that Paganini took on the role of a "performer-

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[19] See Dana Gooley, "La commedia del violino: Paganini's Comic Strains" *Musical Quarterly* 88.3 (2005), 374-376.
[20] See Gooley, "La commedia del violino," 376.
[21] Gooley, "La commedia del violino," 418. Quoted from M. Tibaldi Chiesa, *Paganini: La vita et l'opera*, 4th ed. (Milan: Garzanti, 1947), 95.
[22] Gooley, "La commedia del violino," 378-379.

comedian" by employing a comic mode in his compositions and performances, by the use of vocal mimicry, characterization, polyphony, dialogue, and rapid shifts in technique (from pizzicato, to harmonics, to different bowing techniques, to tremolos, etc.).[23] The virtuoso's inventiveness in the deployment of such techniques, Gooley argues, was not unlike the tropes of *commedia dell'arte* (which I discussed at length in Chapter 2). He explains that Paganini's music was probably not directly informed by *commedia dell'arte* traditions, but rather, drawn from *opera buffa* and *grottesco* ballet which included elements of the improvisatory theatrical tradition. Italian comic opera in Paganini's formative period (1795-1815) was dominated by the Venetian *farsa* (a genre similar to the Neapolitan *opera buffa* genre which I discussed in Chapter 2, except that the entire action takes place in a single act) and likely encountered Rossini's popular *farse* between 1810-1813, such as *La pietra del paragone*, *L'inganno felice,* and *L'equivoco stravagante*.[24] The genre (especially in Rossini's hands) retained the rapid-fire dialogue, satire, laughter, dynamic interplay, and improvisational flow of the *commedia dell'arte* tradition. These were all featured in Paganini's art: techniques such as mimicry, rapid shifts in technique, polyphony, and dialogue, therefore, were most likely recognized by native audiences as comic and theatrical.

While Gooley speculates that Italian audiences recognized Paganini as a theatrical comedian-performer, the evidence of the press suggests that period English audiences also appreciated his comic genius. For example, *The Times* published a notice written by a musical amateur named Willian Gardiner (later author of the 1841 *The Music of Nature*), who was present at Paganini's first concert. Regarding the violinist's performance of his theme and variations on Paisiello's "Nel cor più non mi sento" from the opera *La molinara*, Gardiner described "a tone so 'plaintive and desolate, that the heart was torn by it,'" but at the same time, the violinist was "so *outre*—so comic—as to occasion the loudest bursts of laughter."[25] Critics wrote similarly of Paganini's second concert at the King's Theatre, in which the virtuoso performed his second violin concerto as well as the solo theme & variations "The Carnival of Venice," based on the Neapolitan canzonetta "Oh! Mamma Cara." A *Standard* critic remarked on the "playful and sparkling hilarity" of the third movement of the concerto, otherwise known as "La campanella."[26] The critic, furthermore, greeted "the continual use of pizzicato" in "The Carnival of Venice" with "extreme delight."[27] However, the "drollery" of Paganini's "treatment of the subject was almost as remarkable as his marvelous skill."[28] A *Morning Post* critic explained that Paganini played the "elegant melody as indicative of the Ladies moving gracefully about" and then introduced different *commedia dell'arte* characters "such as *Harlequin*, *Columbine*, *&c.*, by the style of the different variations."[29] But one particular variation, which Paganini performed on the G string only,

[23] Gooley, "La commedia del violino," 382-383.
[24] Gooley, "La commedia del violino," 392-393.
[25] "Paganini's Concert," *The Times* (June 6, 1831), 3.
[26] "Paganini's Second Concert," *The Standard* (June 11, 1831),1.
[27] "Paganini's Second Concert," *The Standard* (June 11, 1831),1.
[28] "Paganini's Second Concert," *The Standard* (June 11, 1831),1.
[29] "Paganini's Third Concert," *The Morning Post* (June 14, 1831),1.

which was "imitative of the *Clown's Dance,*" was "exceedingly characteristic and comic."[30] As *The Standard* critic recounted, the audience concurred with both critics: "laughter and bursts of applause" emanated from the audience, to such an extent that the critic had "never witnessed more enthusiasm in an audience."[31] The writer implied that this form of laughter was a knowing one, hinting at period collective knowledge of Venetian carnival and Neapolitan comedy.

It is significant, in this regard, that Paganini was featured as a character in an 1831 pantomime featuring a Venetian diorama at the Drury Lane Theatre.[32] A *Tatler* critic noted that "There is an attempt to satirise Paganini in this Pantomime, which is a compliment to him, but not in the best taste."[33] On the other hand, a writer for the *Metropolitan* noted that "the whole of the comic business of this pantomime is far superior to that of the other house; the Paganini scene is particularly good."[34] British caricaturists also viewed Paganini as a comic—or even circus—performer and the subject of ridicule. The pose which he assumed as he played and his appearance when bowing to an audience were constantly lampooned (in addition to the accumulation of his wealth, as mentioned earlier).[35]

The fact that Paganini performed also in ensemble rather than as soloist supplies yet more evidence to counter his myth as a solitary Romantic figure. The English press wrote about, while caricaturists also depicted, Paganini as a musical collaborator: he performed often, as a soloist but also as a quartet player, with Anglo-Italians such as the violinist Nicolas Mori (son of Italian immigrants and Viotti's pupil), the bassist Domenico Dragonetti (born in Venice and eventually moved to London), the violinist Paolo Spagnoletti (born in Cremona and eventually settled in London, and the conductor and composer Michael Costa (born in Naples, moved to England in 1830), in addition to the cellist Robert Lindley and violinist J. B. Cramer.[36] Paganini, that is, far from being interpreted a singular inexplicable phenomenon, was thoroughly integrated into a pre-existing Anglo-Italian music business.

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[30] "Paganini's Third Concert," *The Morning Post* (June 14, 1831),1.
[31] "Paganini's Second Concert," *The Standard* (June 11, 1831), 1.
[32] "Book review," *The Literary gazette* (December 31, 1831), 780.
[33] "The Pantomimes," *The Tatler* (December 28, 1831), 412.
[34] "Dramatic Review," *Metropolitan: a monthly journal of literature, science and the fine arts* (February 1832), 53.
[35] For example, a caricature published by Mori & Lavenu in 1831 portrayed Paganini playing on a tightrope. Reprinted in Stephen Samuel Stratton, "Nicolo Paganini: His Life and Work" (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, 20.
[36] On Paganini's quartet performances, see "Paganini," *The Court Magazine and Belle Assembleé* 1.4 (October 1832), 167. Several prints portrayed Paganini's performances with the leading musicians of London. For example, a print currently in the *Victoria & Albert Museum* collections, depicts Paganini as the "Modern Orpheus," shows the violinist performing with violinist Nicolas Mori, cellist Robert Lindley, double bass player Domenico Dragonetti, and a keyboard player, probably Sir George Smart, with conductor Michael Costa. See "The Modern Orpheus. Opera House—June 3d 1831. Sketches of the Musical World No. 1, to be continued," Print, June 10, 1831, (London: Thomas MacLean, 26 Haymarket), accessed February 16, 2022, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1378698/sketches-of-the-musical-world-print-mclean-thomas/.

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I return now to Gooley's contention that Italian reviews from 1813-1827 described Paganini's performances in terms of neoclassical ideas, metaphors, and images. While it would be incorrect to allege that the descriptions and anecdotes of the virtuoso that Gooley labels "Romantic" were entirely unanticipated in British discourse, these discursive elements arrived in London by way of "foreign musical reports" from Paris and German-speaking lands.[37] English critics seduced by such "foreign" discourse adopted anti-traditional seriousness or modern cynicism in their writing, reinterpreting the comedic elements in Paganini's displays as anathema, and using demonic descriptors to portray not only the violinist's virtuosity, but his appearance as well. "The *mighty wonder* has come forth—a very Zamiel in appearance," claimed the *Athenaeum* critic in his review of Paganini's debut at the King's Theatre, "and certainly a very devil in performance!"[38] This critic (probably Henry Chorley) borrowed dark and supernatural metaphors in order to declare that Paganini "possesses a demon-like influence over his instrument, and makes it utter sounds almost superhuman," morbidly suggesting that "the arrival of this magician is quite enough to make the great part of the fiddling tribe commit suicide."[39]A *Tatler* critic also exclaimed that "never did we expect to come away from an hour and a half's concerto on the violin with a refreshed and eager spirit, yet such has been the case this evening. Verily he hath a Devil."[40] So too, hearing a break with the past, *The Monthly Review* critic wrote:

> Paganini is one of the most forcible examples of the almost superhuman strength which results from the exaltation of mind produced by genius. When he seizes the violin … he is another creature; and during the musical action, his strength is more than quintupled.[41]

Along with restating myths on Paganini's personal life, some reports, for example, speculated about Paganini's anatomy and medical condition, or even his own supposed morbid interest in observing the shrieks of a woman undergoing an operation.[42]

While some writers vividly described Paganini as a Romantic genius, the bulk of criticisms printed in British periodicals in fact ignored such tropes: instead, their reviews resembled the more philosophico-comic reflections of Italian writers by appealing to neoclassical precedent, rhetorical traditions, and humanist education. One *Times* reporter, for

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[37] See, for example "Foreign Musical Report: Frankfort, Paganini," *The Harmonicon* Vol. 7 No. 11 (November 1829): 288; "Extracts from the Diary of a Dilettante," *The Harmonicon* Vol. 7 No, 12 (December 1829): 308-309; "Foreign Musical Report: Leipzig," *The Harmonicon* Vol. 7 No. 12 (December 1829): 31; "Paganini. Paganini's Kunst Die Violine Zu Spielen (Paganini's Method of Playing the Violin," *The Harmonicon* Vol. 8 No. 7 (July 1830): 270-272; and "Diary of a Dilettante: Fétis's Opinion of Paganini," *The Harmonicon* Vo. 9, No. 9 (September 1831): 224.
[38] "Paganini!!!" *The Athenaeum* 188 (June 4, 1831), 364.
[39] "Paganini!!!" *The Athenaeum* 188 (June 4, 1831), 364.
[40] "Music," *The Tatler* 241 (Jun 11, 1831), 963.
[41] "Book Review," *The Monthly Review* Vol. 2 No. 4 (August 1832), 498.
[42] "Diary of a Dilettante," *The Harmonicon* Vol. 10 No. 1 (January 1832), 20.

example, wrote of Paganini's "sounds realizing the idea of Apollo and his lyre," while a critic for the *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* enthused that Paganini, "like another Orpheus … wielded all wills to his purpose by the sound of this fiddle … [and] commenced his wonders."[43] A writer for the *Metropolitan,* who "never witnessed the King's Theatre so moved" and that "we should be stocks and stones if such divine music did not stir our sensibility," turned instead to ancient Rome to explain Paganini's talent by quoting the philosopher, Seneca:[44]

> 'As the immortal gods never learned any virtue, though they are endued with all that is good; so there are some men who have so natural a propensity to what they should follow, that they learn it almost as soon as they hear,'—Where could Paganini have heard what he has learned—or is he not rather endued with his peculiar power, than indebted to study or imitation for it?[45]

The writer then discussed the violinist's possession by the devil, but rather than focusing on gothic tropes, explained him in terms of a venerable history of Italian violin virtuosi:

> Really, on consideration, violinists are a dangerous set of fellows. Tartini was familiar with the devil, as his 'Devil's Solo' sufficiently shows; and Corelli whose Christian name was Arcangelo, bestowed the term of 'Arch-devil' upon Struncke, a German player, who had astonished him.[46]

This is to say, that for this critic, Paganini's association with the devil derived from the reception of his predecessors, rather than Romantic imagery.

An *Harmonicon* critic even attempted to temper the enthusiasm of his colleagues by invoking neoclassical tropes in an ironic tone. He acknowledged that Paganini was "not only the most wonderful violinist living" but "that musical history does not enroll the name of anyone who in the power for astonishing can be compared to him."[47] However, the critic insisted that he "must limit the degree of our praise to the epithets wonderful and astonishing," because he was "more pleased by some who are now gone, and by others still living."[48] Admitting that audiences and several colleagues appealed to neoclassical myth in praising Paganini, he acknowledged that

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[43] "Signor Paganini," *The Times* (May 23, 1831), 3 and "THE DRAMA," *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* Vol. 38 No. 152 (August 1833), 491-492.
[44] "Paganini!," *Metropolitan: A Monthly Journal of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts* Vol. 1, No. 111 (July 1831), 221-223.
[45] "Paganini!," *Metropolitan: A Monthly Journal of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts* Vol. 1, No. 111 (July 1831), 221-223.
[46] "Paganini!," *Metropolitan: A Monthly Journal of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts* Vol. 1, No. 111 (July 1831), 221-223.
[47] "Signor Paganini," *The Harmonicon* Vol. 9 No. 8 (August 1831), 190-191.
[48] "Signor Paganini," *The Harmonicon* Vol. 9 No. 8 (August 1831), 190-191.

> it may appear rash to make so open a declaration at a moment when this artist is only spoken of in terms of the most high-flown panegyric—in language that could alone be applicable to an Orpheus or an Amphion, were they to revisit our earth, and go through a second course of those miracles which they worked when the world was green and nothing impossible to the gifted musician.[49]

The critic continued to cite ancient Greece liberally, declaring their intention to "speak fearlessly" in their tempered enthusiasm for Paganini, "unawed by the whole power of the press, and regardless of the danger of being stigmatized for a few days, perhaps weeks, as hardened heretics—as rank Boeotians."[50] Thus, we see that most English critics, like their Italian counterpoints, requisitioned neoclassical language to describe the violinist's performances, rather than applying the gothic tropes employed on the continent.

Other writers took this neoclassical language even further, to claim that Paganini revived the bucolic atmosphere of classical antiquity. A laudatory poem published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* compared the violinist to Aeolus, the keeper of winds in Greek mythology: "He comes, the mighty arch-image, to call Strange spirits from the deep, entrance the brain…. Sweet as the harp that murmurs to the breath Of Eolus; heart-stirring as the alarm Of battle-trumpet; stealing from the sphere Of Paradise all melody and charm."[51] Here, we might be tempted to recall Chapter 3, which demonstrated the importance of the role of acoustic immersion in the Italian environment for self-identified "Anglo-Italians" to claim sonic knowledge, and therefore authority, on Italian culture.

Even the most purportedly "Romantic" of poets and writers, who provide the most interesting British accounts of Paganini, could not help but evoke classical pasts. Take, for example, the writer and East India Company official, Thomas Love Peacock, who served as a music and opera critic for *The Examiner* in the 1820s and early 1830s, after Leigh Hunt's departure for Italy. An intimate of the Hunt-Shelley circle in London, Peacock attended the *Barbiere* premiere at the King's Theatre together with Percy Bysshe Shelley the night before the latter left for Italy. The pair corresponded continuously throughout Shelley's sojourn in Italy. Just as the Pisan circle idealized the acoustic qualities of the Tuscan countryside, so too Peacock lauded the worldmaking or Orphic powers of the violinist's bow, the ways it reinvigorated the ambient purity of a lost, though still resounding antiquity.

Echoing his critical Italian predecessors, Peacock opened his 12 June 1831 article with the standard encomium that "PAGANINI is the great wonder of the day." Yet he, too, recalled classical pasts, moving on to discuss the ongoing "dispute among the learned" on "whether the tensile instruments of the ancients were all played by the hand, or whether some of them … were played by the bow."[52] Here, Peacock refers to the ongoing debate on whether mythological musicians such as Orpheus plucked or bowed their instruments.

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[49] "Signor Paganini," *The Harmonicon* Vol. 9 No. 8 (August 1831), 190-191.
[50] "Signor Paganini," *The Harmonicon* Vol. 9 No. 8 (August 1831), 190-191.
[51] C.H., "Paganini," *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle* (December 1831), 553.
[52] "Theatrical Examiner," *The Examiner* (June 12, 1831), 373-374. For more on the debate on whether mythological plucked or bowed their instruments, see George Dubourg, *The Violin, being an Account of that leading Instrument and its most eminent Professors, &c.* (London: Henry Colburn, 1836).

Before Paganini's arrival, Peacock found the "evidence adduced by the partizans of the ancient bow" quite "shadowy and inconclusive."[53] However, once he heard Paganini, he was "now satisfied that ORPHEUS and AMPHION played on the violin."[54] Furthermore, by "launch[ing] his bark into 'Cecilia's world of sound,'" the virtuoso not only evoked the Roman patron saint of music, but had discovered "what is to us a new land, but in truth only the lost land of the ancients, the Atlantis of musical magic."[55] Imagining that Paganini was divinely inspired by the pre-Christian gods of ancient Greece and Rome, Peacock declared that the violinist "draws forth from his instrument notes and combinations which (in the modern world) none before him have produced or dreamed of."[56] These sounds were "wild and wonderful alike in the strongest bursts of power, and in the softest and sweetest touches, air-drawn and evanescent as the voices of distant birds."[57] For Peacock, Paganini's playing was "replete with intellect and feeling—as if his mind were an inexhaustible treasury of deep thoughts and thrilling emotions, which he was pouring forth through the medium of 'all sweet sounds and harmonies.'"[58] This last clause recollects Wordsworth's "Lines written a few miles above Tintern Abbey," and the poet's more-than-picturesque evocation of the memories of a sublime Welsh scene, here coded Italian.

Throughout Paganini's last appearances in England in 1834, Leigh Hunt, too, drew on neoclassical tropes and environmental language to describe the violinist's performances. For example, Hunt included a few of these tropes in the opening stanzas of a poem describing Paganini:

> So play'd of late to every passing thought
> With finest change (might I but half as well
> So write!) the pale magician of the bow,
> Who brought from Italy the tales, made true,
> Of Grecian lyres; and on his sphery hand,
> Loading the air with dumb expectancy,
> Suspended, ere it fell, a nation's breath.[59]

Here, Hunt somewhat evokes the Romantic notions of Paganini: "the pale magician of the bow." However, he writes that Paganini "brought from Italy" to England "the tales, made

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[53] "Theatrical Examiner," *The Examiner* (June 12, 1831), 373-374.
[54] "Theatrical Examiner," *The Examiner* (June 12, 1831), 373-374.
[55] "Theatrical Examiner," *The Examiner* (June 12, 1831), 373-374.
[56] "Theatrical Examiner," *The Examiner* (June 12, 1831), 373-374.
[57] "Theatrical Examiner," *The Examiner* (June 12, 1831), 373-374.
[58] "Theatrical Examiner," *The Examiner* (June 12, 1831), 373-374. Like continental writers, Peacock did focus on Paganini's physique, yet described him as graceful, rather than grotesque. Besides the virtuoso's "stupendous Roman nose," "tapering chin," and "narrow and pale face," the critic explained that the violinist's "manners … would be grotesque, if imitated", but were "agreeable, and even graceful, from their natural and unaffected simplicity." Moreover, Peacock may have been reminded by the *improvvisatori* as he witnessed Paganini's playing from memory, "which seems to be the results of the inspiration of the moment."
[59] "Paganini" *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* 3 *(*April 16, 1834),19.

true, of Grecian lyres," suggesting, like Peacock, that the violinist revived the sounds of the classical past. Hunt conjures even more neoclassical references in the following stanza, by comparing Paganini's playing to "godlike ravishment" and to the yearning of Juno, the ancient Roman goddess of marriage and fertility, for her faithless husband Jove, the god of the sky and thunder:

> He smote,—and clinging to the serious chords
> With godlike ravishment, drew forth a breath,
> So deep, so strong, so fervid thick with love,
> Blissful, yet laden as with twenty prayers,
> That Juno yearn'd with no diviner soul
> To the first burthen of the lips of Jove…[60]

In a review of one of Paganini's performances on the "grand viola" a month later, Hunt again evoked Greek mythology (the ancient Romans having appropriated and carried the classical lineage forward) by exclaiming that the instrument had "enabled Paganini to descend, like another Orpheus, into the lower regions, with all his beauty."[61]

A few weeks later, *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* republished the article "Modern Antiques, Paganini Anticipated" from *The Common Place Book of a bookish Comedian*, as well as Hunt's response to the original article. The original writer bemoaned that, quoting Ecclesiastes, "There is nothing new under the sun," yet "John Bull still retains all his inordinate passion for novelties, and eagerly welcomes every supposed rarity with his usual cuckoo cry, 'wonderful, wonderful! And most wonderful wonderful!! and yet again wonderful!!! and after that out of all whooping!!!!" [62] "In reality", lamented the journalist, "most modern marvels, are merely reproduced, or reimported objects of ancient popularity, and the fashionable plaudits of to-day, only echo the acclamation bestowed by the children of Cockeney [sic] on similar exhibitions some centuries past."[63] The writer argued that the same criticism could be applied to Paganini and his audiences. "The mortal frame of the Italian *maestro,* is but the temporary tenement of a wandering soul … the animating essence of Orpheus," but which previously "inhabited the body" of Thomas Baltzar, the celebrated seventeenth-century violinist still buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.[64] The correspondent quoted an Anthony Wood, who claimed that Baltzar played the violin in such a way that no one "in England saw the like before," as well as a few more quotes which, he contended, sounded similar to the sensation that Paganini's performances elicited in England.[65] Hunt, on the other hand, responded to the original article by stating that the correspondent would admit that "it is difficult to say how far old genius may not revive with

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[60] "Paganini" *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* 3 *(*April 16, 1834),19.
[61] "Paganini has brought forth his viola; the grand viola," *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* 6 (May 7,1834), 44.
[62] "Modern Antiques," *Leigh Hunt's London Journal*,12 (June 18, 1834), 91.
[63] "Modern Antiques," *Leigh Hunt's London Journal*,12 (June 18, 1834), 91.
[64] "Modern Antiques," *Leigh Hunt's London Journal*,12 (June 18, 1834), 91.
[65] "Modern Antiques," *Leigh Hunt's London Journal*,12 (June 18, 1834), 91.

new variations" but "surely it is a fine thing to have it back again at all."[66] For Hunt, the "very delights we feel in the playing of Paganini … arises from reflecting that the wonderful things one hears about the ancient Greek music are possibly realized" in the violinist's "'magic shell.'"[67] Therefore the "sun itself," even though "under which there is nothing new, is a fine thing," and Hunt was "glad of its shining" even "though our ancestors had it in the times of Orpheus."[68] In other words, Hunt did not mind that Paganini's technique was not as original as claimed, precisely because his playing conjured up the sounds of classical antiquity.

Paganini's reception in England, and the similarities between his Italian and British reviews, clarifies the economic, aesthetic, and environmental nature of an Anglo-Italian musical synergy. As I discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, Francis Jeffrey, in his 1807 review of Madame de Staël's *Corinne*, *ou l'Italie*, called Italy and Britain the "extremes of civilized Europe."[69] Jeffrey further argued that the "Englishman bears a much greater resemblance to a Roman, than an Italian of the present day," connecting the contemporary British character with that of ancient Rome.[70] Rather than being expressive of Paganini's (abnormal) self, critics such as Peacock and Hunt opined, his playing revived the beauteous arcadian atmosphere of classical antiquity – first Greek, then Roman, then Italian, and now English in provenance. Just as Amphion built the walls of Thebes with music, so the virtuoso conjured up, to these critics, the bucolic spirit of ancient Italy when he performed in England, the new Rome.

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Paganini's reception from 1831-1834 perhaps serves as a pinnacle, or rather, a transition between the three Anglo-Italian musical cultures that I have identified and the Anglo-Italian musical activity that would follow. Muzio Clementi resigned, due to ill health, from Clementi & Co. in 1831, and passed away on 11 March 1832. Due to his overwhelming contributions to musical life in London, the Directors of the Philharmonic Society covered the cost of his funeral expenses; he was buried at Westminster Abbey, not far from Baltzar.[71] To be sure, the Philharmonic Society has continued to flourish till this day, in no small part due to Clementi's efforts in the institution's first years. His former partners, the Collard brothers, took over Clementi's music business, notifying the public in 1834 that, from then on, they would desist from selling scores, and solely manufacture instruments (the firm continued to build pianos until 1929.)[72] Yet Clementi's instrument parts, pianos, and sheet music continued to circulate throughout the world for a few more decades, as several newspaper

[66] "Modern Antiques," *Leigh Hunt's London Journal*,12 (June 18, 1834), 91.
[67] "Modern Antiques," *Leigh Hunt's London Journal*,12 (June 18, 1834), 91.
[68] "Modern Antiques," *Leigh Hunt's London Journal*,12 (June 18, 1834), 91.
[69][Jeffrey, Francis], "Review of 'Corinne, ou l'Italie," 183.
[70] [Jeffrey, Francis], "Review of 'Corinne, ou l'Italie," 194.
[71] Dorothy de Val, "Clementi as Entrepreneur," in *Muzio Clementi: Studies and Prospects*, edited by Roberto Illiano, Luca Sala, and Massimiliano Sala (Bologna: UT Orpheus, 2002): 335.
[72] David Rowland, "Clementi's Music Business" in *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (London: Routledge, 2011), 157.

advertisements attest.[73] Meanwhile, Giuseppe Ambrogetti left London after the 1822 season. His immediate successor—both literally as the King's Theatre official *basso buffo* and figuratively as a tasteful (Rossinian) actor-singer—Giuseppe de Begnis, continued to perform at the King's Theatre through 1827 (save for a performance of *La Cenerentola* in 1831), began to teach at the Royal Academy in 1828, and served as an opera manager in Bath (1823-1824), Edinburgh (1827-1828), and Dublin (1834-1837), before relocating to New York in 1837.

Lord Burghersh returned to England from Florence in 1830 and assumed full control of the Royal Academy of Music, which he had helped to found in 1822. Throughout his tenure, the Academy, which, of course, still serves as a world-class conservatory today, only survived through Burghersh's financial contributions.[74] But upon the Tories' return to power in 1841, Burghersh, now Lord Westmorland, was officially posted to Berlin and he meddled in musical culture there, instead.[75] After he debuted the role of Idreno in Rossini's *Semiramide* in 1823, the Pisan circle's favorite, John Sinclair, returned to England and performed at Covent Garden, the Adelphi, and Drury Lane theatres throughout the rest of the 1820s, before briefly performing in New York and retiring from the stage in 1830 to become the director of the Tivoli Gardens in Margate.[76] Mary Shelley, on the other hand, temporarily stopped writing about, and imposing, her Anglo-Italian identity on readers, after the publication of her final article on travel in Italy in 1829, reviewing Henry Digby Beste's *Italy As It Is* (1828).[77] This said, she reasserted her claim to Anglo-Italian character in *Rambles in Germany and Italy, in 1840, 1842, 1843* (1844), less so for personal gain, than to advocate for the Risorgimento movement.[78]

This is not to say that Anglo-Italian musical activity ceased in the 1830s. In this decade and the next, the relationship took on a broader-based political edge, as humanitarian

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[73] For example, in the Caribbean, see "For Sale, a New Pianoforte," *Grenada Free Press; and Weekly Gazette* (December 5, 1832), 10; "Par Vente Privee," *Port of Spain Gazette* (January 10, 1834), 4; "Public Sale," *St. George's Chronicle, and Grenada Gazette* (March 5, 1836), 1; "For Sale, the Following Articles, Belonging to Gentlemen of H.M. 30th Regt. About to leave these Islands," *Royal Gazette, Bermuda Commercial and General Advertiser and Recorder* (September 22, 1841), 1; "Venta de Alhajas, Muebles," *Diario de la Marina* (Havana, Cuba) (June 25, 1846), 4; "Auction Sale," *Antigua Herald and Gazette* (June 21, 1851), 4. In South Africa, see "Just Received Per Duke of Clarence," *De Zuid-Afrikaan* (September 23, 1836), 8. In South America, see *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, August 8, 1837), 4; "Aviso," *Mercurio de Valparaiso* (Chile) (September 7, 1837), 3. In Mexico, see "Venduta Publica," *Siglo Diez y Nueve* (April 26, 1843), 4.

[74] Frederick Corder, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music, from 1822-1922* (London: F. Corder, 1922), 27-45.

[75] Aubrey S. Garlington, *Society, Culture and Opera in Florence, 1814-1830: Dilettantes in an 'Earthly Paradise'* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 112.

[76] W.H. Husk and John Warrack, "Sinclair, John," *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed September 13, 2022, https://www-oxfordmusiconline.com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/om_o-9781561592630-e-0000025853.

[77] Maria Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians': Configurations of Identity in Byron, the Shelleys, and the Pisan Circle* (Burlington, VT: Ashghate Publishing Company, 2009), 82.

[78] Schoina, *Romantic 'Anglo-Italians,'* 84.

moral sentiment and massed sympathy for the liberal cause of Italian self-government in the face of Austrian occupation grew.[79] Italian street musicians, especially organ grinders, were increasingly ubiquitous on English city streets, transforming the soundscapes of urban life, albeit increasing xenophobic attacks and reciprocal calls for charity and defense.[80] Increasing numbers of the British middling class toured and experienced the music of Italy at this time, which only amplified public calls for the relief of suffering. In elite spheres, British opera singers, such as Henry Russell, Adelaide Kemble, and Clara Novello, still sought training and performing experience in Italy, and Italian singers, such as Luigi Lablache, Giulia Grisi, continued to travel to and gained widespread popular celebrity in London. Italian opera (although the fashion for Rossini and *opera buffa* somewhat dissipated) flourished, despite "elitist" anti-opera sentiment.[81] Violinist and son of Italian immigrants, Nicholas Mori, who, along with Clementi, signed the original Philharmonic Society manifesto and performed with Paganini, continued to play in and lead the orchestra, to teach at the Royal Academy of Music, and to run the music publishing firm, Mori & Lavenu, throughout the 1830s. With his partner and cellist Robert Lindley, Mori instituted one of the first chamber music series in London, the Classical Chamber Concerts, operating out of Willis's Rooms in 1836.[82] The Neapolitan-born conductor, Sir Michael Costa, who conducted for several of Paganini's performances, moved to London in 1830 to take up the baton at the King's Theatre, at least until he founded Royal Italian Opera at Covent Garden in 1846.[83] All told, these activities occurred in a register quite different from those I have identified between 1813-1830, establishing Anglo-Italian musical culture on newly public and liberal foundations, in ways that deserve its own story.

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[79] See Maura O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 64.

[80] See Roger Parker, " 'As a stranger give it welcome': Musical Meanings in 1830s London," in *Representation in Western Music*, edited by Joshua S. Walden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 41 and Mary Ann Smart, "The Traffic in Voices: The Exchange Value of Italian Opera in Giuseppe Mazzini's London," in *London Voices, 1820-1840: Vocal Performers, Practices, Histories*, Roger Parker and Susan Rutherford, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019): 33-50.

[81] See Roger Parker and Susan Rutherford, "Introduction: London Voices 1820-1840, A 'Luminous Guide,'" *London Voices, 1820-1840: Vocal Performers, Practices, Histories* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 7 and Parker, " 'As a stranger give it welcome,'" 35.

[82] Christina Bashford, "The Late Beethoven Quartets and the London Press, 1836—ca. 1850," *The Musical Quarterly* 84 (2000), 86.

[83] Nigel Burton and Keith Horner, "Costa, Sir Michael," *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed September 13, 2022, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000006635.

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